

Politics and Economy of Banjarmasin Sultanate in the Period of Expansion of the Netherlands East Indies Government in Indonesia, 1826-1860

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ABSTRACT: *In the political aspect of the Sultanate of Banjarmasin, the government of the Netherlands East Indies managed to power the Sultanate of Banjarmasin with agreements made between the Government and the Sultan. These agreements were causing severe loss to the Sultanate which had an impact on the nobility and the ordinary people. The Dutch government also managed to make the Sultanate of Banjarmasin powerless and made the Sultanate into her territory, so the Sultanate of Banjarmasin was no longer sovereign. The Dutch government put her representatives in Banjarmasin and managed to rule the economic potential was owned by the Sultanate which is the coal mines. Banjarmasin Sultanate eventually collapsed into the territory of the Netherlands East Indies government in 1860, resulting in a change of government in Banjarmasin. Sultan no longer existed, that there arose Banjarmasin war against the government of the Netherlands East Indies. Furthermore, the Sultan families, the nobility, and common people were hand in hand to rebel against the Netherlands government, which was well known as "Banjarmasin War".*

KEY WORDS: *Sultanate of Banjarmasin, Netherlands East Indies government, conflict in politics and economy, and Banjarmasin war.*

INTRODUCTION

Sultanate of Banjarmasin in its history journey confront the spread of Islamic influence, which became widespread since the 16th century; even in the 17th century, development of Islam was so progressive under the authority of the Sultan of Banjarmasin as an activator of the changes taking

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place in the Sultanate, which was marked in the economic aspects that grew rapidly mainly with pepper trade. The Sultanate also played important role in contributing a development in Islam, so that Islamic civilization became more develop.

Furthermore, at that time, the Sultanate had to face VOC (*Vereenigde Oost-indische Compagnie* or Dutch East Indies Company) who wanted to dominate the pepper trade which was very important for the Sultanate. VOC came to the Sultanate and brought deep influence in the Sultanate, which led the resistance against the VOC. This happened due to the division politics that VOC brought into the Sultanate of Banjarmasin, thus it brought a setback for the Sultanate of Banjarmasin. Following the VOC, the Sultanate had to keep on fighting against the Netherlands who tried to take control the archipelago in general and the Sultanate of Banjarmasin in particular.

Based on events experienced by the Sultanate of Banjarmasin, both face considerable influence of Islam in the 16th century, 17th century, and foreign influence in the 18th century and the 19th century. This certainly brought a change to the Sultanate of Banjarmasin government. In this case, the Sultan and the noble family, which performed as a ruler in the Sultanate, acted as a driving force in the changes which took place in the government.

Therefore, writer will analyze how the “government of the Netherlands East Indies in the Sultanate of Banjarmasin in the 19th century” was working, which began from the entry of the Netherlands East Indies government in the Sultanate of Banjarmasin to rule the sultanate in the period from 1826-1860.¹

With regard to the above, writer will formulate some issues to be discussed as follows: (1) How the role of rulers and nobles, and people, with political and economic power did to face the expansion of the Netherlands East Indies government?; and (2) How the impact, which was suffered by the Sultanate of Banjarmasin, as a result of expansion of the Netherlands East Indies government?

To analyze more deeply about the Sultanate of Banjarmasin, the writer will discuss the Sultanate of Banjarmasin with the approach in the political field. This study began with the entrance of the influence of the Netherlands (1826) and ended with the success of the Netherlands to power the Sultanate of Banjarmasin (1860).

This paper aims to prove that there was a change in the Sultanate Banjarmasin as the impact of continued expansion of the Netherlands East

¹This working paper has been presented in an International Conference in Hawaii, United States of America, on April 2011.

Indies government in the Sultanate of Banjarmasin, especially in the field of politics and economy. The changes were mainly caused by the government of the Netherlands East Indies' intervention and the strife for the sultanate throne among the Sultan's families.

This paper also discusses the problems of the Sultanate of Banjarmasin in the 19th century. In this case, the writer try to dig up the local atmosphere by using both primary and secondary sources, as well as archival sources from the Netherlands that was kept in the National Archives of Indonesia and other. Local atmosphere that was unearthed was a local atmosphere of the region, especially the Sultanate of Banjarmasin in South Kalimantan by reviewing the "local genius" such as Tale, *Kroniek*, and Genealogy. In other words, the writer wants to explore local history² writing of Banjarmasin in the 19th century. The scope of the area is the Sultanate of Banjarmasin.

THE ENTRY OF THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES GOVERNMENT POWER

At the time the Dutch government came to Banjarmasin, the Sultan who ruled the Sultanate was Sultan Sulaiman Saidullah. He ruled the Sultanate from 1808 to 1825, and later he was replaced by his son named Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah, who reigned from 1825 to 1857 (Ven, 1860:98; and Meijer, 1899:278). Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah, whose very weak personality, was easily influenced by the queen, Nyai Ratu Kamala Sari, so he and his power were set by the queen, who was a former concubine of his father. However, Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah was a respected Sultan and people adhere to him. He issued a law in 1835, the law was well known as the "Law of Sultan Adam". The law was intended for his people to perfectly practice Islam, as well as guidelines for judges to implement the law (Mallinckrodt, 1928:343-354).

Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah's weakness in running the government was exploited by the Netherlands to gain control of the Sultanate of Banjarmasin, as the impact of agreement made with VOC (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or Dutch East Indies Company). Apparently, the Netherlands managed to confirm the agreement in detail. And so, on 4 May 1826, the affirmation of the agreement was signed by Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah and by government senior officials for *Zuid-en Oosterafdeeling van Borneo* in Banjarmasin named Martinus Henricus Halewijn, as a representative of the government of Netherlands East Indies. It stated the Netherlands'

²Local history is the history of "place", a "locality", a limit determined by the proposed agreement from the history writer. See Taufik Abdullah (1978:14-15).

sovereignty over the Sultanate of Banjarmasin, the limits imposed to the Sultanate, areas lent to the Sultan, and all the matters in terms of appointing the high officials, and others (ANRI, 1965:229-247). Consequently, the Dutch government managed to rule the Banjarmasin Sultanate with the rest of its realm.

Referring to the agreement in 1826 between the government of the Netherlands East Indies and the Sultanate, there were several verses of the chapter which were the most important ones: (1) the Netherlands East Indies government reserved the right to appoint members of the imperial family who they preferred, who showed a clear defense of Netherlands politics, to be the crown prince; (2) the Netherlands East Indies government also reserved the right to appoint preferred people to be *Mangkubumi*; (3) the Sultanate was not allowed to send a messenger or a letter to a foreign third party without permission from the government of the Netherlands East Indies; and (4) the Netherlands Indies government would protect the Sultan from local and abroad enemies (ANRI, 1965:229-247).

From the agreement's point of view, the influence and the consequence of the Sultanate was so huge, because it caused great loss of power to the Sultanate. For example in the case of appointing crown prince, according to the custom of the empire, only the eldest child of the queen was entitled to the throne, while the agreement mentioned that the Netherlands government reserved the right to appoint members of the imperial family who supported the Netherlands politics to become the crown prince. Thus it was clear that the Netherlands political action stained and damaged the unwritten traditions of the Sultanate.

POLITICAL SITUATION ON THE SULTANATE OF BANJARMASIN

On the Sultan and the Sultanate Authorities. Banjarmasin Sultanate was ruled by a Sultan. The daily administration of the government was handled by *Mangkubumi* (governor) accompanied by a *Sultan Muda*. *Sultan Muda* was a potential substitute for the Sultan. Relation between the Sultan and the government of the Netherlands East Indies was defined by a treaty in 1826 and 1845. According to the 1845 treaty, area belonged to the Sultanate of Banjarmasin was the area between Sand, Tanah Bumbu, Tanah Laut, Bakumpai, and Tanah Dusun (ANRI, 1973:xciii).

Since 1826, the Sultanate was ruled by the Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah. The palace that became the seat of government located in Martapura. Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah was old, so he did not pay attention to the problems of government. Imperial government matters were more determined by the queen. Nyai Ratu Kemala Sari and the Crown Prince,

Prince Abdurrahman, were already actively participating in government, while the *Mangkubumi* position was assigned to brother of the Sultan himself, named Mangkubuminata. Mangkubuminata died in February 1842. Then, according to the custom, the person who was supposedly appointed as *Mangkubumi* was the second Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah's son, the Prince Ismail, but Prince Ismail died in 1833; then, the one who became *Mangkubumi* was the third son of Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah, Prince Noch entitled Ratu Anom Mangkubumi Kencana. Meanwhile, the first son of Sultan Adam, Prince Abdurrahman, had been prepared as a crown prince who would replace Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah (Rees, 1867:12; and ANRI, 1973:xciii).

According to the agreement in 1826 in the Sultanate of Banjarmasin, *Mangkubumi* was positioned as the highest native official, who became the liaison between the Sultan and government of the Netherlands East Indies. *Mangkubumi* (governor) earned annual cash from the Netherlands East Indies government, since the *lungguh* regions (*apanage*) became the direct area which was ruled by the government of the Netherlands East Indies. *Lungguh* areas lied partly in the Martapura area. The amount of annual money earned was adjusted to the amount of money received from the *lungguh* areas (ANRI, 1973:xciii).

The result of the agreement in 1826 brought many changes for the Sultanate and the people. The Dutch government was able to interfere easily with the internal Sultanate matters, for example, in the terms of the Sultanate throne and the rights of the Sultan to set governance and foreign policy. All actions were limited and had to be consented to the Dutch government. In addition, the Sultanate territory was narrowed, causing the *lungguh* areas (*apanage*) obtained by each noble families (Soeroto, 1973:12), were also narrowed approximately half of the Sultanate before the Netherlands took control of the Sultanate.

While the Sultan's family grew bigger,³ it reduced the income the noble families earned. To overcome the lack, the noble families charged it to the people, by raising the head tax, income tax, and land tax in areas such as Amandit area,⁴ which was taken by tax officers by approval of *pembekal*.

³As a result of the Sultans who had more than one wife, such as Sultan Sulaiman, Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah, and Sultan Muda Abdurrahman, see ANRI (n.y.).

⁴Sultanate incomes were coming from taxes, such as land tax (for agricultural area), boat tax, customs taxes, and monopoly of the gold and diamond mining. For example, in agricultural areas (Benua Lima), farmers taxed land f.26; revenue tax (harvest yield) f.4; forced labor also may be replaced by (f.3 - f.4.30 for the single, and f1.30 - f2.30 for the married). Merchandise goods received about 10%, except salt and cotton which had lower

Pembekal-pembekal determined by himself, both on the amount of tax as well as how to collect the taxes. The high taxes made people unable to pay off the debt, so that caused a lot of people who owed (*pandeling*), performed forced labor to pay off the debt, and thus people suffered greatly (Soeroto, 1973:12).

On the Dynasty Competition. Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah's weakness was also exploited by his sons to seek advantage for themselves. They had ambitions for power and quarrel with each other for that. In 1833, Prince Ismail, Sultan's second son, died. Allegedly this unnatural death was a homicide committed by Prince Noch. Then, in 1841, there was a planned assassination of Crown Prince Sultan Muda Abdurrahman and as the mastermind of this plan was Prabu Anom. To eliminate the suspicion against him, Prabu Anom killed his spies, amounting to four people (Rees, 1867:12).

In 1842, *Mangkubumi* entitled *Mangkubumi Nata*, died, and then the position had become bone of contention between Prince Noch and Prabu Anom. Prince Noch was elected to that position, because he was older than his sibling rivals. Prince Noch was entitled *Ratu Anom Mangkubumi Kencana*, and this was the position he had expected. On the other side, Prabu Anom, who was very ambitious for the position, unfortunately was not selected. This failure added his determination to try to seize the position using the influence of the queen. So, this raised a serious dispute within the Sultanate. Therefore, since 1842, the position had been a bone of contention among the royal family (Rees, 1867:12).

The dispute in the Sultanate was also due to the intervention of the Dutch government to expand their sovereign territory. Apparently, the Sultan territory around Martapura in addition to producing gold was also found to produce coal mines in Pengaron, Kalangan, and Banyu Irang. And there was also a fertile area for plantation of cotton plants in Mount Jabok. Therefore, the Netherlands tried to get these areas, especially the coal mining areas. This was because since the beginning of the 19th century, the Dutch government began to use steam power for the ships, which was used for merchant ships and warships in the expansion of power and inter-island trade. Meanwhile, the Netherlands government was paying less attention for the regions in *Zuider-en Ooster Afdeeling van Borneo*, due to Java War in 1825-1830, Belgian War of Independence and Implementation of Forced Plant in 1830-1870 (Soeroto, 1973:167).

excise. See, for further information, A. van der Ven (1860:30-31); and J.J. Mallinckrodt (1928:142).

To achieve these interests, the Dutch government once again urged the Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah in order to get permission to dig a coal in the coal-mines-producing region. Apparently, the Dutch government managed to obtain permission to dig a coal mine in Pengaron (Riam Kiwa), Kalangan, and Banyu Irang in 1849, which in that year was also established.

In dealing with this situation, Prince Hidayatullah tried to stand on the two sides. He took a part indirectly in the fall of Sultan Tamjidillah and did not prevent a protracted unrest that occurred later, but also never showed hostility towards the Netherlands. The fall of Sultan Tamjidillah put the Netherlands government into the party openly opposed against the aspirations of the people. His intensive role and participation in the political life of the Sultanate of Banjarmasin encouraged the spirit to fight the flame. Prince Hidayatullah could not continue to stand in the middle of two opposing currents. Finally, he was dragged by the current mob which against the Netherlands government and joined it.

Due to the Netherlands East Indies government's deep intervention to the Sultanate, the Sultanate of Banjarmasin's power increasingly weakened. The Sultanate later became subordinate of Netherlands government and led the Sultanate experienced both political and economic setbacks. As a result, the Sultanate of Banjarmasin was on the verge of collapse.

ECONOMY OF SULTANATE OF BANJARMASIN: COAL MINE

After leaving Banjarmasin in 1809, Dutch people just came back in 1826. The Dutch colonial government directly made an agreement with the Sultan to exploit the coal mines in Pengaron and Banyu Irang. The colonial government also lifted the ban to go into the hinterland areas for the Dutch people. In 1843, Schwaner and some people who were members of the Commission of Natural Sciences (*De Natuurkundige Commissie*) arrived in Indonesia to conduct research on the natural state of Kalimantan. During a trip to rural areas, Schwaner group was assisted by the colonial government officials, both civilian and military. A mining engineer, Gaffron, discovered coal and gold in the south coast (Broersma, 1927:10), but it contained very little gold and had been mined by native people and Chinese. In Pelaihari and Riam, they found iron ore. According to Mulder, a researcher from Utrecht, Riam contained 70% pure iron. However, the cost to open mines in Riam was quite expensive because the area was far away and there was no direct transport to the port (Tunjung, 2004:48).

Permission for coal mining excavations was surely obtained through the agreement between the Sultanate of Banjarmasin and the Dutch government, in which the agreement also specified the concession and coal

excavation in Banyuiring, Pengaron, Kalangan, and Martapura. The Dutch government made a policy decision to rent *apanage land* (land given as a salary by the Sultan) which was owned by Prince Mangkubumi Kencana. Mangkubumi, in the reign of Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah, opened a coal mine in the Pengaron area. Land lease of 10,000 guilders a year, then the Netherlands took the initiative to immediately control the exploitation of coal resources. Coal at the time had many enthusiasts in the world market and sources of coal were commonly found in the Sultanate of Banjarmasin (Ideham ed., 2003:106).

In 1845, the governor A.L. Weddik renewed the agreement made with the Sultan in 1826 (Eisenberger, 1936:23-24). In the new treaty, the Sultan granted permission to the Dutch government to explore a coal mine in the whole territory. In 1846, the Dutch government-owned company, De Hoop, opened a coal mine in the Lok Tabat. After two years, the company stopped its exploration because no available means of transport were enough to carry coal from a mine in the highlands to the shelter in the lowlands as well as to Banjarmasin located 120 km away. Mining had also resulted in many workers felt ill from working too hard.

On September 28, 1849, Governor General J.J. Rochussen arrived in Banjarmasin, directly to Pengaron to open the first coal mine which belonged to Netherlands East Indies government and was named *Oranye Nassau* coal. In this particular trip, he brought also to Banjarmasin Resident a special and very secret letter. The letter stated that the Sultanate of Banjarmasin to keep its promises as written in the agreement and did not impede the progress of the coal mining, the Dutch government would run friendly politics and protect it (Saleh, 1993:13).

In the same year, there was additionally a secret letter from the Government of the Netherlands East Indies which suggested to include Riam into the direct area of *Gubernemen* (Government of the Netherlands East Indies) and recommended the Sultan to sell the place or move the capital of the Sultanate to the State. The letter was not addressed by the Sultan, and the Netherlands East Indies government failed to impose his will (Kiaibondan, 1953:34).

In 1849, the other company owned Netherlands East Indies, *Oranye Nassau*, opened the mine in Pengaron, Riam Kiwa region. The opening was performed by the Governor-General J.J. Rochussen. This Dutch-owned mine produced 10,000 tons per year. The Dutch government was very optimistic that this mine was able to produce as the mine in Martapura (Ideham ed., 2003:106).

In 1854, the mine production increased to 14,794 tons per year. The entire production of coal from *Oranye Nassau* was used by the navy. They, then, planned to increase production to meet the needs of the private steamer. Mining companies were using very cheap labor force, which came from the convicted people and people who did not have much money (Broersma, 1927:67).

In 1853, the Dutch government began to give permission to the private company, Julia Hermin, to open a coal mine in Banyu Irang near Kandangan. The company would open two holes which were not so deep. In 1854, the government company, Delf, also opened two mines in the same area. The opening of new mines was intended to increase coal production of *Oranye Nassau* in Pengaron. Delf quarry, which was expected to last for 80 years, produced about 30,000 tons of coal each year. In 1859, coal mining in South Kalimantan had to be stopped, because of the Banjar war. The mining buildings owned by Dutch people were damaged and several employees were killed by the people of Banjar (Lindblad, 1988:33).

IMPACT OF THE EXPANSION ON THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES GOVERNMENT

On the Dispute in the Sultanate. Foreign influences always meddle in the Sultanate of Banjarmasin, which had experienced chronic internal conflicts, especially among family members of Sultan. Existing intrigues or political conspiracy was the cause of the many murders at the time. This occurred in the history of Banjarmasin e.g. Prince Samudra against Prince Tumenggung (Prince Samudra's uncle) in the 16th century; Prince Amir against Penembahan Nata in the 18th century; and in the 19th century, Prince Hidayatullah clashed with Prince Tamjidillah (Kielstra, 1890; Kielstra, 1917; and Ras, 1968). In the feud between Prince Hidayatullah and Prince Tamjidillah, the Netherlands East Indies government came to interfere which was very deep in the Sultanate affairs.

On the Dispute over Mangkubumi Position. In 1825, Sultan Sulaiman was murdered and was replaced by his son, named Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah. The eldest son, Prince Abdurahman, was appointed as crown prince with the title of Sultan Muda Abdurahman. Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah was respected by people because of his gentle and affectionate towards the people. These virtues were not supported by the strong character of his personality until he felt down under the influence of his wife and unable to master his family and the Sultanate. His wife, Queen Nyai Kamala Sari, was a lady from the common people of Amuntai. The lady managed to take control of government, wealth, and Sultanate seal until Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah died.

Disputes within the empire continued to grow, because the rival, Prabu Anom, set up intrigues to claim Mangkubumi position, which was the highest position after the Sultan. Generally, the position was given to the Sultan's son or the royal family. The position of crown prince, entitled *Sultan Muda*, had been appointed to Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah's eldest son, Sultan Muda Abdurahman.

Besides, Sultan Muda Abdurrahman had a relationship with a Chinese princess named Nyai Aminah or Nyai Damang,⁵ who later became his concubine. From this relationship, Prince Tamjidillah was born in 1817, which was the oldest son and then all the other children were born later (Rees, 1867:12). Grandfather and father of Sultan Muda Abdurahman did not agree to see his relationship with the Chinese concubine. Therefore, they set up marriage between Sultan Muda Abdurahman with a royal princess named Princess Siti. She was a daughter of Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah's brother, Prince Mangkubumi Nata, a Mangkubumi who died in 1842 and replaced by Ratu Anom Mangkubumi Kencana or son of Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah (Kiaibondan, 1953:33). The Princess then became the empress, who gave birth to Prince Hidayatullah in 1822, and two other daughters, the Queen Syarif and Queen Jaya Kasuma (Kielstra, 1890:10).

In September 1851, Ratu Anom Mangkubumi Kencana died. The Resident, on behalf of the Dutch government, appointed Prince Tamjidillah as *Mangkubumi*. The reason was to support the Netherlands politics to dominate the entire coal mining region, located in Martapura, with a confidential letter given to the Resident Van Hengst in Batavia. The contents of the letter stated that as long as the Sultanate of Banjarmasin kept the promises written in the contract and did not impede the progress of mining coal, then, the Dutch government would carry out friendly politics (Saleh, 1993:12).

As Prince Tamjidillah became the ruler of the Sultanate, he would assist the Dutch government politics. Because of Prince Tamjidillah's promise to provide areas that the Dutch government aimed, as long as the Dutch government managed to support him as the Sultan.⁶ The action

⁵The term "Nyai" for the Sultan's wife, because it comes from the common people, but if she was the descendant of the king will be called "the Queen" which was passed by the Sultanate law. The empress who gives birth to the king or crown prince and comes from ordinary people is called "Nyai Queen", to distinguish the higher level of "Nyai" for example, against the mother of Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah was Nyai Ratu Intan Sari; and mother of Sultan Muda Abdurahman was Nyai Queen Kamala Sari. The mother of Prince Tamjidillah still called "Nyai" because the right to become Sultan was Prince Hidayatullah, not Prince Tamjidillah. See W.A. van Rees (1867:21).

⁶See "Verslag van Gallois van 1847" and "Verslag van Resident van Hengst van 1851" in ANRI (n.y.a).

from the Netherlands government, which designated Prince Tamjidillah as *Mangkubumi*, was opposed by Prabu Anom and Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah. Prabu Anom felt that he deserved the position as he was Sultan's son, and more senior. While Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah opposed the appointment, since Prince Tamjidillah was not a descendant of the Sultan, and he proposed Prabu Anom for the position.

However, the Dutch government remained at their decision, because they thought that Prabu Anom was not fit for the position. The basic reason was that Prabu Anom was a heartless person. He raised all kinds of taxes in his *lungguh* or *apanage* area, such as Campaka and Tamirung (around Martapura). As the result, people were suffering a lot and hated him (Rees, 1867:12; and Kiaibondan, 1953:34). In this case, the Netherlands government surely prefer to who would give advantage to them that was Prince Tamjidillah. Then on 21 September 1851, Prince Tamjidillah was inaugurated by the Resident on behalf of the Netherlands government in a ceremony attended by the Sultanate officials, the native rulers, and the scholars.⁷

Apparently, *Mangkubumi* position was contested by Prabu Anom, the fourth son of Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah; and in fact, he deserved the right to become *Mangkubumi* according to the prevailing custom in the Sultanate of Banjarmasin, which was supported by Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah as well. However, since the Dutch government had deeply interfered with internal affairs of the Sultanate and the Sultanate was no longer sovereign, it was easy to appoint *Mangkubumi* position to those whom they preferred, in accordance with the agreement in 1826. Thus, the Dutch appointed Prince Tamjidillah (son of a concubine) as *Mangkubumi* in the Sultanate of Banjarmasin in 1851.

On the Dispute over Crown Prince Title. After Prince Tamjidillah took position as *Mangkubumi* officials about six months, suddenly the Crown Prince Sultan Muda Abdurrahman died on March 5, 1852. Sultan Muda Abdurrahman were allegedly poisoned by his mother, Nyai Ratu Kamala Sari; and his sibling, Prabu Anom (Rees, 1867:36).⁸ In 1852, there were three candidates who desired to become crown prince, they were:

First, Prince Prabu Anom, the youngest brother of the Sultan Muda Abdurahman. As a candidate for crown prince, his position was not too strong. Because since he was child, he was accustomed to be spoiled child

⁷"Verslag van Resident van Hengst van 1851" in ANRI (n.y.a).

⁸Prabu Anom reason was because he was very ambitious for power in the Sultanate of Banjarmasin. To reach that, he persuaded his mother, Queen Nyai Ratu Kamala Sari, for support in eliminating rivals, such as Sultan Muda Abdurahman.

and he grew up to be an arrogant person and often oppressed the people. He was able to do something freely, just because people were reluctant to Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah and his mother. The only ancillary for him to become crown prince was his mother.

Second, Prince Hidayatullah. He was the second candidate, and his position as a substitute for his father's crown prince was strong. He was named "Hidayatullah". A Banjarmasin place said that the candidates should be named with the name of the previous Sultans (for example with the name of Sultan Hidayatullah, which was the third Sultan). His mother was a royal queen. In the terms of heredity of his father and his mother and also as the eldest son, according to tradition, he deserved to become crown prince. Three of the Sultans of Banjarmasin, from Susuhunan Nata Adam to Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah married with a commoner. It violated prevailing palace tradition; therefore, Sultan Sulaiman ordered Sultan Muda Abdurahman to marry with Ratu Siti, daughter of Prince Mangkubumi Nata, and the nephew of Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah. Between Sultan Sulaiman (brother), Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah (father), Prince Mangkubumi Nata (father in law) and the prominent men of the Sultanate, there was an agreement that the eldest son born of this marriage would be his father's successor. Thus, the Prince Hidayatullah, who was born in 1822, was considered as a candidate for crown prince, because Sultan Muda Abdurahman was strongly influenced during his life by Nyai Aminah. Prince Hidayatullah lived in his *lungguh* land in Karang Intan. In Karang Intan, he spent his time for hunting and became less known by the Dutch people in Banjarmasin in daily life. His attitude towards his subordinates was very nice, eager to sacrifice for others, friendly, and very popular for the people.

Third, Prince Tamjidillah. This third candidate was born from the mother of a Chinese concubine, Nyai Aminah. His father spoiled him very much; so, then, he became arrogant, oppressors of the common people, cunning, and greedy. Almost all the wealth of the Sultan Muda Abdurahman eventually fell into his hands. He liked to hang out with the Dutch people. Because of his relationship with the Netherlands people, he became a drinker; so, he was disliked by people, the noble families, and clergy groups (Saleh, 1958:97-99).

As we know that Crown Prince was the legal position to replace the Sultan. This job was to assist the Sultanate in running the government. As the Sultanate was under the supervision of the Netherlands government, then, the Netherlands government had a role in determining this position (ANRI, 1965:228-247).

On the Netherlands East Indies Government Action. With the emergence of such disputes in the empire, then to deal with it, the Dutch government took action such as by bringing a ship fire to Banjarmasin with the name of *Admiral van Kinsbergen* on May 13, 1856. The ship was carrying a letter decision dated April 22, which was about legalization of Prince Tamjidillah as the Crown Prince. It also brought a letter stating that Prabu Anom was required to stay in Banjarmasin, and a letter addressed to the Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah, which urged him to acknowledge Prince Tamjidillah as Crown Prince and prevented him to discuss more about the role of Crown Prince. In addition, the Sultan was required to set *Mangkubumi* definitive appointment to replace *Mangkubumi* position held by Prince Tamjidillah (Kielstra, 1892:93-94).

Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah replied to a letter to Resident dated June 4, 1856, which proposed Prince Hidayatullah as *Mangkubumi*. Governor-General and Resident Van de Graaf approved the proposal as it was supported by the former Resident of Banjarmasin, A. van der Ven, R. Wijnen, and Wijnmalen. Subsequently, a decree was issued, dated August 23, 1856, as a recognition to endorse Prince Hidayatullah as *Mangkubumi*, and he got an allowance f. 1,000 per month. This allowance was already valid on previous *Mangkubumi* as well. On October 9, 1856, Prince Hidayatullah was inaugurated in the presence of the Sultanate officials and the Netherlands authorities, in the palace of Banjarmasin.⁹

After the death of Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah, the Sultanate again coped with difficulties. Secretly, Prabu Anom visited Martapura to give last respect to the bodies of his father. Resident feared and sent soldiers to arrest him, but it was no avail. Thanks to Prince Hidayatullah, Prabu Anom was finally handed back to *Gubernemen* with the request that Prabu Anom was allowed to stay in Banjarmasin. This request was not granted and Prabu Anom was exiled to Java. Prince Hidayatullah was very upset and filed a request to resign from *Mangkubumi* position. The request was rejected, because the Dutch government still needed Prince Hidayatullah as *Mangkubumi*.¹⁰

On the Collapse of the Sultanate of Banjarmasin. Banjarmasin Sultanate suffered a very severe challenge to the dispute over the Crown Prince and *Mangkubumi* position after being left by Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah. Conflicts occurred within the Sultanate, so the Netherlands East Indies government took action which made easy the Netherlands government to carry out their objective to expand their territory in Borneo.

⁹“Maandrapport over 1856” in ANRI (n.y.a).

¹⁰See “Kolonial Verslag in 1857” in ANRI; and A. Sartono Kartodirdjo ed. (1973:168-169).

In the reign of Sultan Tamjidillah between the years 1857-1859, conflict between the two brothers were more pointed, and hatred of the people to the Sultan Tamjidillah was growing. Sultan Tamjidillah was resented by the noble class because their rights, *appanage*, were often vandalized. Moderate cleric class did not like him as well, because the Sultan was drinker and run things contrary to the religion of Islam (Saleh, 1982/1983:7).

Sultan Tamjidillah, in running his position as the Sultan, was unable to survive in peace in the palace of Banjarmasin, because the royal family hated him. There were three times of the planned assassination on him in early February 1858, first with poison and two times with a sharp weapon. It turned out that this effort failed, because preparedness of his bodyguards. Sultan suspected *Mangkubumi* Hidayatullah and the followers of Prabu Anom of the planned assassination. Thus, the Sultan position was a little shaky in the palace.¹¹

Meanwhile, outside the palace, because the action of royal families who raised various taxes, people suffered a lot and were unable to pay taxes so that the people were in trapped in various debts. Furthermore, these people were exploited as the slaves of the noble class. So far, people could only bear the grudge in the hearts but no reaction, because they still respect Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah. However, after Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah died and the Sultan throne was appointed to Tamjidillah, people in many regions were ready to fight against the Sultanate and the Netherlands East Indies government.

THE EMERGENCE OF REBELLIONS

On the Rebellion in Benua Lima. In this region since 1854, turmoil had occurred since the taxes were too high, so Jalil (head of Batang Balangan) requested the Resident to be allowed to move into Balanda area, but it was rejected. Consequently, in September 1858 rebellion broke out in Benua Lima,¹² i.e. State, Alabiu, River Right, Amuntai, and Kalua, led by Jalil, who previously was the follower of Prince Tamjidillah. However, after Prince Tamjidillah was appointed Sultanate throne, then Jalil was on the side of *Mangkubumi* Hidayatullah, because he did not agree with action of Prince Tamjidillah that had claimed Sultan position from Prince Hidayatullah.¹³

¹¹See "Maandrapport Februari 1858" in ANRI (n.y.a); and W.A. van Rees (1867:36).

¹²"Benua Lima" area belonged to territory of Sultanate of Banjarmasin according to the Agreement in 1845.

¹³"Kolonial Verslag in 1858" in ANRI.

The reason for the rebellion occurred because the ruler of the Benua Lima, Kiai Dipati Danuraja,¹⁴ raised various taxes to be two times of previous taxes. He did not care that people became suffering a lot and unable to pay the debt. People were getting more and more oppressed and then in September 1858, they stated to not pay the taxes anymore. This action was organized by the head of Batang Balangan, Jalil, including Amuntai area. They even attacked the palace guards who came to collect taxes in Benua Lima, as one of Sultanate source rice.¹⁵

The Benua Lima ruler, Kiai Dipati Danuraja, complained about this to the Sultan. Afterward, the Sultan summoned Jalil to come to Banjarmasin, but the call was ignored by Jalil. Also vice head of Kiai Dipati Danuraja in Benua Lima, Tumenggung Ngabehi Negara Jaya, threatened to use violence if the people stopped paying taxes. However, people were able to prevent the threat. With the help of Jalil and his followers, they created a fortress around their home as the defense (Rees, 1867:34).

On the Rebellion in Muning. This was a political rebellion that began in Kembayan, Muning Margasari area. The Muning area is located along the river Muning in Benua Empat (Margasari). The river parent empties into the river Country or Bahan. At the time, Muning river was deep and still flowed until Lawahan village. Benua Empat (Margasari) was a rice warehouse of Banjarmasin Sultanate beside Benua Lima. The regions and areas which were included were agricultural areas. The uprising which emerged here along the Muning river was more dangerous than Jalil's uprising in Benua Lima (Rees, 1867:40; and 1993:28-29).

Rebellion in this area was also caused by high taxes and forced labor. This area was ruled by the Sultanate officials who directly interacted with the people, namely *pembekal-pembekal*. It was they who raised the head tax and imposed forced labor. They had the power and freedom to control the people (Soeroto, 1970:17; and Saleh, 1993:30). As a result, the people became uneasy and agitated due to high taxes and, later, they were pushed to do forced labor. Because of these pressures, the people in Muning took action of defiance against the *pembekal*, which was to deny the payment of taxes and forced labor.

¹⁴Kiai Dipati Danuraja at first was the follower of Queen Nyai Ratu Kamala Sari, but because he had a quarrel with Prabu Anom, then, he sided Prince Tamjidillah. He was accused of involvement in the murder of Sultan Muda Abdurahman with witchcraft; hence, Prince Hidayatullah was not pleased with him and once almost attacked him with a dagger. See W.A. van Rees (1867:36).

¹⁵See W.A. van Rees (1867:34); M. Idwar Saleh (1993:26); and "Missive van Verdediging van Jalin, Penghulu Abdul Kosim en Penghulu Abdul Gani" in ANRI (n.y.a).

This defiance was led by a farmer from Muning, Margasari area. He was blind and elderly. Even though he was a wealthy man, he felt sorry for the suffering experienced by people in the region. He lived in a village near Kumbajau Lawahan in peace and possibly kept away from the crowd. He was known for his piety and he did not agree with the appointment of Prince Tamjidillah as Sultan of Banjarmasin. All these information was obtained from the Sultanate envoy and the recognition of two Netherlands spies from a coal mine in Pengaron, they were Mihing and Willem (Rees, 1867:41-47; Kielstra, 1892:141; and Meijer, 1900:661-670).

On the Martapura Rebellion. Martapura region belonged to the Sultanate of Banjarmasin region. The Dutch government had a lot of interference in the affairs in this region, such as in Pengaron, Kalangan, an area which was rich in coal mines; and Mount Jabok, a cotton plantation area, all of which were handled by the Netherlands. These areas were *lungguh* lands of Sultan's families. People there did not like the Dutch people. Because the Dutch government directly took control there by forcing people to work in the area in plantation and coal mining. In addition, the Dutch government also employed *pandeling* sent by the Sultan. They were around 266 people taken from Benua Lima area.¹⁶ They performed forced labor in mines and cotton plants. If they were less diligent and decided to stop working, because it was too heavy to dig in a musty cave, then, they were brought to trial. They would be punished by flogging with a rattan dozens times. Hence, the people there suffered a lot from this and this had been going on for years (ANRI, n.y.c).

They just kept the feeling of being suffered in their hearts; however, once Prince Tamjidillah, whom they hated became Sultan, they started to rebel against the Sultan and the Dutch government. They complained about their fate to Prince Antasari,¹⁷ who lived in Antasan as ordinary people with wives and children, age in 1859 about 50 years old. He (Prince Antasari) hated the Dutch government and supported *Mangkubumi* Hidayatullah. He made no secret of his origins, but he did not exaggerate his ancestors. Antasan and Martapura people respected him, because they knew Prince

¹⁶This *pandeling* was imported by the Sultan from Benua Lima region, belonging to the royal family. They were from Kerta Wijaya, 5 people; Angsa Yuda, 50 people; Wiraganti, 50 people; Singa Duta, 50 people; Prince Jayapati, 50 people; Nambui, 24 people; Penghulu Ambun, 12 people; and Jidan, 25 people. The *pandeling* was imported in late 1858, and was the last. See ANRI (n.y.b).

¹⁷Prince Antasari is a descendant of the Sultanate Prince Amir, who has a son, Prince Mas'ud. Prince Mas'ud had a son named Prince Antasari. See, for further information, Helius Sjamsudin (1990 and 2001:487-488).

Antasari was modest and pious. Netherlands officials in Martapura and in Banjarmasin also knew him very well. Therefore, his movements were always monitored by the Netherlands people (ANRI, n.y.c).

ABOLISHMENT OF THE SULTANATE OF BANJARMASIN

Netherlands action afterward against the rebellion was to bring *Arjuno* warship, completed with an army led by Colonel A.J. Andressen, on 30th April 1859, to Banjarmasin. Military leaders and civilian government immediately were taken over by him. He declared a state of war in the whole Sultanate of Banjarmasin. He was in dealing with the rebellion, did not directly take action, but studied the situations first. He held a meeting with religious leaders and the princes. In the meeting, it was decided that the Sultan Tamjidillah should be replaced by Prince Hidayatullah, based on the testament of Sultan Adam Alwasih Billah, and obedience of the people to Prince Hidayatullah (Rees, 1867:74-75).

On 11 June 1859, the entire territory of the Sultanate was declared in a state of war by the Dutch government. The Dutch government strengthened their defenses, in addition to *Arjuno* ship, by importing Celebes, *Mantrado* ship from Batavia which was able to carry about 110 people complete with weapon. It was intended to capture Martapura in advance in order to break into Pengaron. Besides, the Dutch government added more power to 100 soldiers led by Captain Ullman with *Cipanas* ship, but this ship ran aground, because of broken poles, so that could not be used again to conduct attacks to Martapura. Captain Ullman was forced to cancel his intention and return to Banjarmasin (Rees, 1867:76; and Saleh, 1993:42).

Situation in the Sultanate became chaotic, but Sultan Tamjidillah was unable to cope with the situation. So Sultan, on 25 June 1859, was dismissed from his position by Colonel A.J. Andressen of the imperial throne. In this case, he was pressed by Colonel A.J. Andressen so that the Dutch government could win Banjar war. In terms of it, Sultan Tamjidillah submitted a statement of his dismissal as the Sultan of the Sultanate of Banjarmasin as follows: (1) the Sultanate of Banjarmasin was suffering a lot from the rebellion against the Sultanate and the Dutch government; (2) so that people back to obey the legitimate government, Sultan stated to stop ruling and handed over power to Colonel A.J. Andressen, *Commisaris Gubernemen* and army commander of *Afdeeling* South and East Borneo, on their own would without any coercion; (3) as the guaranty from Netherlands East Indies government that if the security had recovered, the throne would be given to person who under the law of the empire was actually entitled to it and considered worth for the position by the

Government of the Netherlands East Indies; and (4) as a reward, Sultan mentioned two strands of rattan mats, delivered to those who obeyed the legal authority, in order that the peace and the prosperity could come back (Kielstra, 1892:173-175).

As the resignation of Sultan Tamjidillah, the throne was opened to Prince Hidayatullah. After he was crowned as Sultan in Amuntai, the Dutch government's effort to persuade him back into Martapura was failed, thus fail Colonel A.J. Andressen's peaceful politics. The Dutch government, then, replaced Colonel A.J. Andressen with F.N. Nieuwenhuyzen. The Dutch government's politics, then, became rigid and a number of decisions were taken in row to solve the political crisis in order to restore the Dutch government's reputation. The first action was dismissing Prince Hidayatullah from his position as *Mangkubumi*. F.N. Nieuwenhuyzen urged Prince Hidayatullah to surrender himself and recommended people to no longer follow Prince Hidayatullah's orders (Saleh, 1993:43).

Prince Hidayatullah was given the opportunity by Colonel A.J. Andressen to assume position in the Sultanate of Banjarmasin and then also by F.N. Nieuwenhuyzen (A.J. Andressen's successor as an army commander and concurrently the Dutch commissioner, previously designated as Resident of Surakarta, more firmly and strictly than Colonel A.J. Andressen). However, this offer was not addressed by Prince Hidayatullah. The Dutch government was so furious with Prince Hidayatullah's refusal and decided to strengthen their military defenses in Banjarmasin by substituting the Resident C.J. Bosch with Major G.M. Verspijk; and replaced Colonel A.J. Andressen who was considered too weak with F.N. Nieuwenhuyzen who was tougher and firm (Kielstra, 1892:201).

Finally, the Dutch government took over the Sultanate of Banjarmasin and declared an end to the Sultanate; and made it belong to the Netherlands government's sovereignty. The Sultanate region was placed in the *Oosterafdeeling van Zuid-en Borneo* region through the commissioners of the Dutch government, F.N. Nieuwenhuyzen, with a decree dated December 17, 1859.¹⁸ While, the end of the Sultanate of Banjarmasin statement was issued on June 11, 1860 by F.N. Nieuwenhuyzen on behalf of the Dutch government (ANRI, 1965:264-267).

So, after the Sultanate of Banjarmasin was abolished by the Dutch government, a statement was then submitted to the people in Banjarmasin on June 11, 1860. At first, there was no turbulence in Banjarmasin. As

¹⁸See "Besluit Gubernur Jendral, 17 Desember 1859" in *La C2 Geheim*, Jakarta: ANRI (National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia).

the first step, the Dutch government determined the distribution of area: Sultanate of Banjarmasin which had been abolished by the Dutch government, were divided into two regions and four districts. The two areas were: (1) Martapura region, with the central government in Martapura; and (2) Amuntai region, with the central government in Amuntai. Furthermore, the administrative centers of the four districts are: Alai, Amawang, Pengaron, and Kuwin (Banjarmasin). The Dutch government made highway from Tabanio to Pelihari, Martapura, Munggu Tajur, Amawang (Kandangan), Beach Hambawang, Barabai, Lampihung, and Amuntai.

After the statement (proclamation) of the abolishment of the Sultanate of Banjarmasin, the uprising emerged throughout the territory of the former Sultanate of Banjarmasin, for example in Hulu Sungai, Tanah Laut, Barito, and Kapuas-Kahayan which was pioneered by the Sultanate family, prominent people, as well as scholars. They opposed unfair action of the Dutch government (Kiaibondan, 1953:54).

CONCLUSION

In the political aspect of the Sultanate of Banjarmasin, the government of the Netherlands East Indies managed to power the Sultanate of Banjarmasin with agreements made between the Government and the Sultan. These agreements were causing severe loss to the Sultanate which had an impact on the nobility and the ordinary people. For example, people really suffered a lot, because the nobility raised the tax and Sultan, as ruler and protector of the people, was powerless of inhibiting the expansion of the Netherlands East Indies government which had troops and weapons as a colonialist. In addition, the family members of the Sultan were fighting each other to claim throne of the Sultanate. The Dutch government also managed to make the Sultanate of Banjarmasin powerless and made the Sultanate into her territory, so the Sultanate of Banjarmasin was no longer sovereign. The Dutch government put her representatives in Banjarmasin and managed to rule the economic potential was owned by the Sultanate, which is the coal mines. This happens occurred solely due to the strife in the internal Sultanate.

Banjarmasin Sultanate eventually collapsed into the territory of the Netherlands East Indies government in 1860, resulting in a change of government in Banjarmasin. Sultan no longer existed, that there arose Banjarmasin war against the government of the Netherlands East Indies. Furthermore, the Sultan families, the nobility, and common people were hand in hand to rebel against the Netherlands government, which was well known as "Banjarmasin War" or, some people called it, "Banjar War".

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