

Lombok Expedition 1894, Dirk Teeuwen MSc

Dutch military operations in Lombok

Interested? You are allowed to make use of text and photographs/pictures of this article with written/mailed permission of the author. So, request!

Contents

Introduction

1. Portrait Gallery

2. Maps

3. The immediate cause of the expedition

4. Lombok, its people and its summarized history

5. Number of inhabitants of Lombok, strength of the expeditionary forces

6. Lombok and Dutch East-India – Indonesia

7. The Dutch final ultimatum, the 5th of July 1894

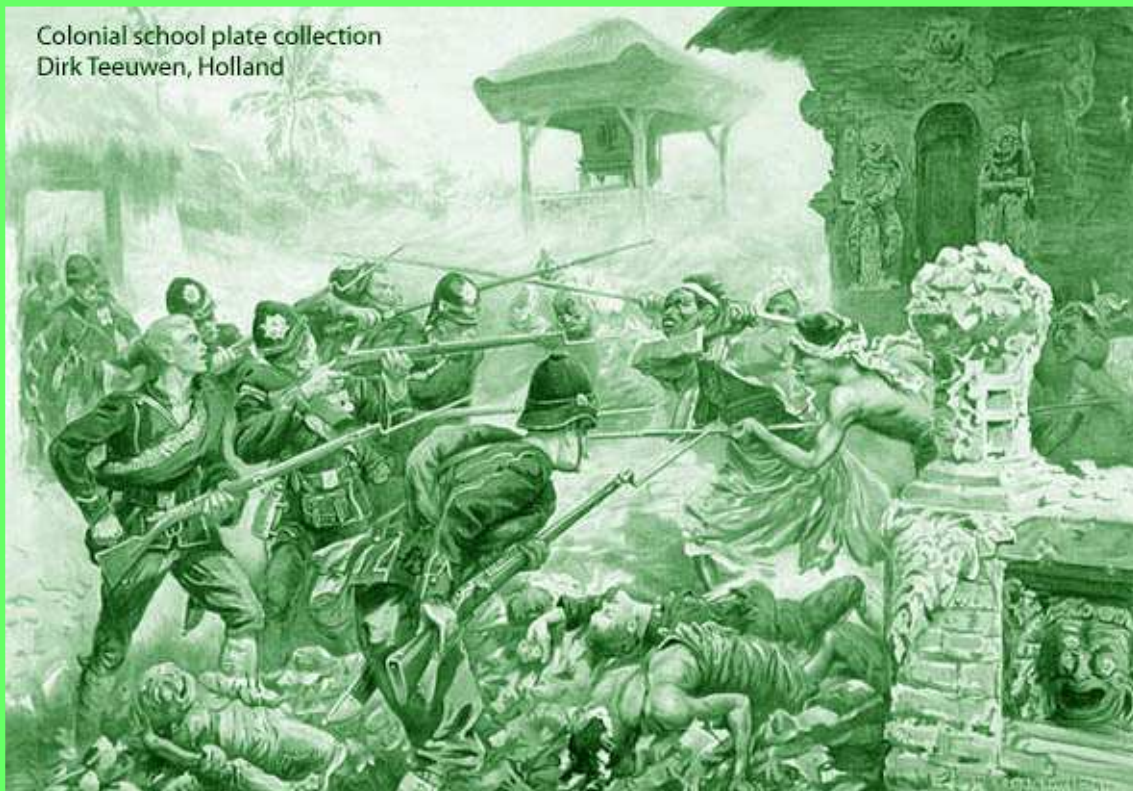
8. The Lombok Expedition directly after the 11th of July 1894

9. The capture of Mataram, attack of Cakranegara

Epilogue

Referred sources of text and pictures

Introduction



The Battle of Cakranegara, Lombok 1894

The original coloured school plate (a big one), a picture by J. Hoyneck van Papendrecht (1858-1933), is part of the author's personal collection. However, it was more practical to adapt a rather vague picture from Wikipedia and to reset it into black and white, after sharpening.

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

The aim of this article

This article covers some aspects of the Balinese history of Lombok, one of the Sunda Islands east from Bali, as well as of its subordinate Sasak people. In 1891 the Sasak Datus (chiefs) wrote a letter to the Dutch colonial government, asking for protection against the gruesome suppression by their Balinese neighbours. The grievances of the natives of Lombok, as well as Dutch imperialist aspirations, led to the military operations of the Royal Dutch East-Indian Army on Lombok, 1894. Dutch troops landed in July 1894. The military operated under the command of Major-General J. A. Vetter and, (finally), after a series of brilliant victories, succeeded in:

- taking the reigning Balinese Raja of Lombok-Karangasem (Karangasem was a principality on Bali) prisoner;
- restoring order on the island.

In "Epilogue" you can find my conclusions.



Major-General J. A. Vetter, later General and Commander of the Dutch East-Indian Army, 1837-1907

From> Magazine "Eigen Haard", Amsterdam Volume 1907

General Vetter died in November 1907

Library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

Referred sources of text and pictures

1. Photo and picture collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland
Library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland
2. Klerck, dr. E. S. de: History of the Netherlands East-Indies; Rotterdam 1938, volume II chapter XVII (library Dirk Teeuwen)
3. Cool, Capt. W.: De Lombok Expeditie 1894 (With the Dutch in the East, an outline of the Military Operations in Lombok 1894); Batavia 1896 (London, 1938 edition in English, translation E. J. Taylor); hoofdstukken (chapters) V – XII (library Dirk Teeuwen)
4. Have, J. J. ten: Het eiland Lombok en zijne bewoners (The island of Lombok and its people); The Hague Holland 1894, p. 11, 12, 13 (library Dirk Teeuwen)
5. Booms, Colonel A. S. H.: Neerlands Krijgsroem in Insulinde (Dutch Valour in the East; The Hague Holland 1902, deel "Kameraadschappelijke Trouw" hoofdstuk VIII (volume "Comradely Loyalty" chapter VIII (library Dirk Teeuwen)
6. Gelder, W. van: Schoolatlas van Nederlandsch-Indië; The Hague Holland 1916 (library Dirk Teeuwen)
7. Kepper, G. L.: Wapenfeiten van het Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger; The Hague Holland 1902 (library Dirk Teeuwen)
8. Magazine "Eigen Haard" Volumes 1895 and 1906 (library Dirk Teeuwen)



Lombok, July 1894

Before the combat. The young Balinese Raja of Lombok Ketut and his nephew Djilantik, vice-Raja of Karangkasem, Bali, pay a visit to Major-General Vetter and his staff. Sitting from left to right: Raja Ketut, Major-General Van Ham, Major-General Vetter, resident Dannenberg, vice-Raja Djilantik. Standing from left to right: Captain Willemstijn, Captain Karnister, resident Liefrinck, resident Boersma, Major Kotting.

**From> Magazine "Eigen Haard" Volume 1907, library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland
Dirk Teeuwen, Holland**



Sasaks in Lombok, 1890

From> Cool, Capt. W.: *De Lombok Expeditie; Batavia-Jakarta 1896*, p. 136

Glossary

1. **Datu**; tribal chief on Lombok, as well as on the other isles of the Sunda Archipelago and on the Philippines.
2. **Punggawa**; Balinese ruler of a district: subordinated aristocrat, subordinated to the Balinese Raja of Lombok.
3. **Raja**; Hindu sovereign
4. **Sultan**; Muslim ruler, once the highest in rank in Turkey. But a "Sultan" elsewhere could be lower in rank. Lower than colonial European authorities (Sultan of Solo on Java, for example) or lower than a Caliph (f.e. Caliphate of Bagdad).
5. **Caliph**; Muslim ruler, leader of a Muslim nation, a political successor of Mohammed.
6. **Vizir or katib**; high ranking political advisor or minister. Katib was more a secretary. In the Koran Aäron is the vizir, or helper, of Moses. (Penguin Classics). From> Dawood, N. J. (translator of course): *The Koran, Book Ta Ha*; Harmondsworth Great Britain 1964, p. 220 etc.
7. **Gowa**; formerly a principality in South-west Celebes (Sulawesi).
8. **Makassar**; now Ujung Pandang in South Celebes.
9. **Praja**; a larger kampong (hamlet) in the (centre of) the south-eastern part of Lombok.
10. **Dessa or desa**; Indonesian countryside municipality.
11. **Kampung**; Indonesian countryside village, hamlet.
12. **Hadjih**; pilgrim to Mecca.
13. **Padi or padih or rice**. This means a piece of land meant for cultivating rice.
14. **Raden**; member of the royal family of lesser rank than a pangeran.
15. **Pangeran (prince)**; a title in Malay countries only worn by sons or brothers of reigning monarchs.
16. **Adat**; the set of cultural norms, values, customs and practices found among ethnic groups in Indonesia (custom, common law)
7. **Puri**; Balinese Hindu Temple, sometimes a combination of temple/palace

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

1. Portrait Gallery

A survey of some main figures playing a part in the Lombok Expedition in 1894.



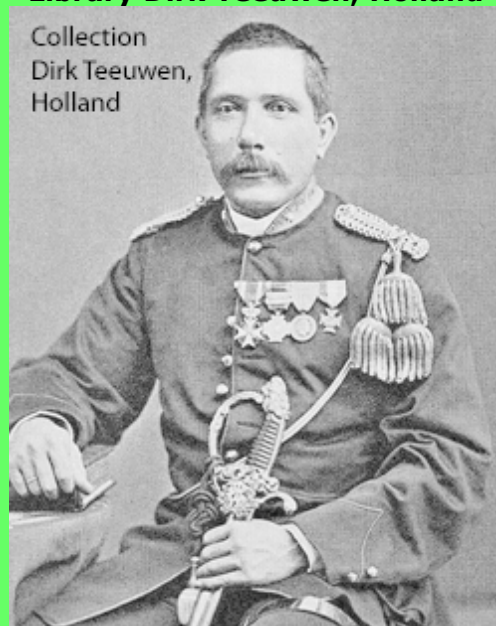
**Major-General J. A. Vetter, the Dutch
Commander-in-Chief**
From> Cool, Capt. W.: De Lombok
Expeditie; Batavia-Jakarta 1896, p. 13
Library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



**Major-general P. P. H. van Ham
Second-in-Command, killed in battle**
From> Cool, Capt. W.: De Lombok
Expeditie; Batavia-Jakarta 1896, p. 48
Library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

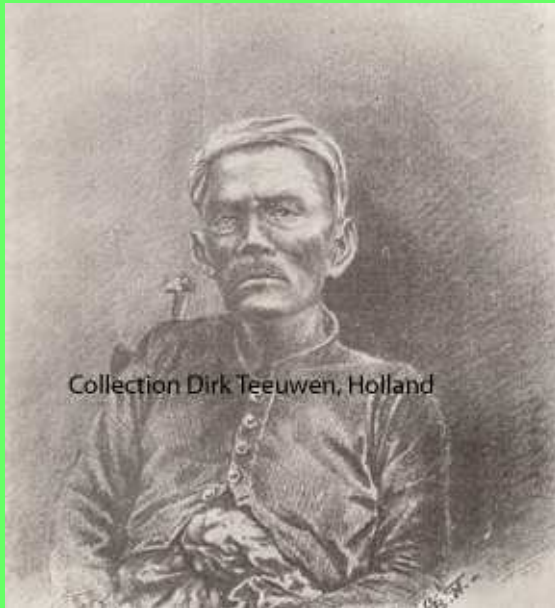


**Lieutenant-Colonel P. van Lawick van
Pabst, Commander 9th Battalion
Infantry, killed in battle**
From> Kepper, G. L.: Wapenfeiten van
het Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger; The
Hague Holland 1902, p. 483
Library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



**Major-General M. Segov
Second-in-Command, took the place of
Van Ham**
From> Kepper, G. L.: Wapenfeiten van
het Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger; The
Hague Holland 1902, p. 486
Library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

Gusti Djilantik, ruler of Karangasem (Bali, 1894) and subordinated to the Balinese Raja of Lombok, cooperated with the Dutch
From> Cool, Capt. W.: De Lombok Expeditie; Batavia-Jakarta 1896, p. 6
Library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



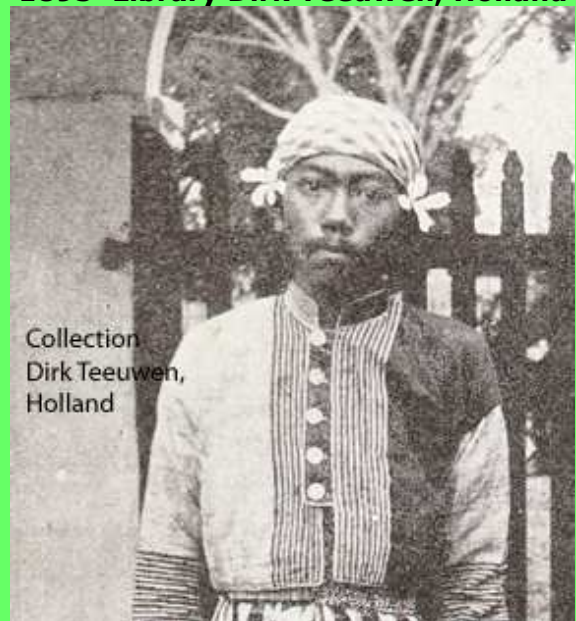
Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

Anak Agung Ngurah Karangasem, Balinese Raja of Lombok (1893), died in Batavia-Jakarta (1896)
From> Cool, Capt. W.: De Lombok Expeditie; Batavia-Jakarta 1896, p. 363, also in "Eigen Haard " magazine 1895
Library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

Anak Agung Petut, (Balinese) son of Raja Ngurah, Crown Prince, Raja of Lombok in 1894, killed in the Battle of Mataram, 1894, fought very bravely
From> magazine "Eigen Haard" 1895
Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

Anak Agung Madé, favourite (Balinese) son of Raja Ngurah (beget by a second wife), very cruel and forced by his father to commit suicide in 1893
From> magazine "Eigen Haard" 1895

Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



**Governor-General of the Dutch East-Indies Jonkheer (Esquire) C. H. A. van der Wijck 1893-1899 From> Cool, Capt. W.: De Lombok Expeditie; Batavia-Jakarta 1896, p. 281
Library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland**

Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



**Navy Captain H. Quispel 1841-1921 (1899 Vice Admiral), commander of the Dutch fleet in the Straits of Lombok 1894
From> Cool, Capt. W.: De Lombok Expeditie; Batavia-Jakarta 1896, p. 156 Library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland**

Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



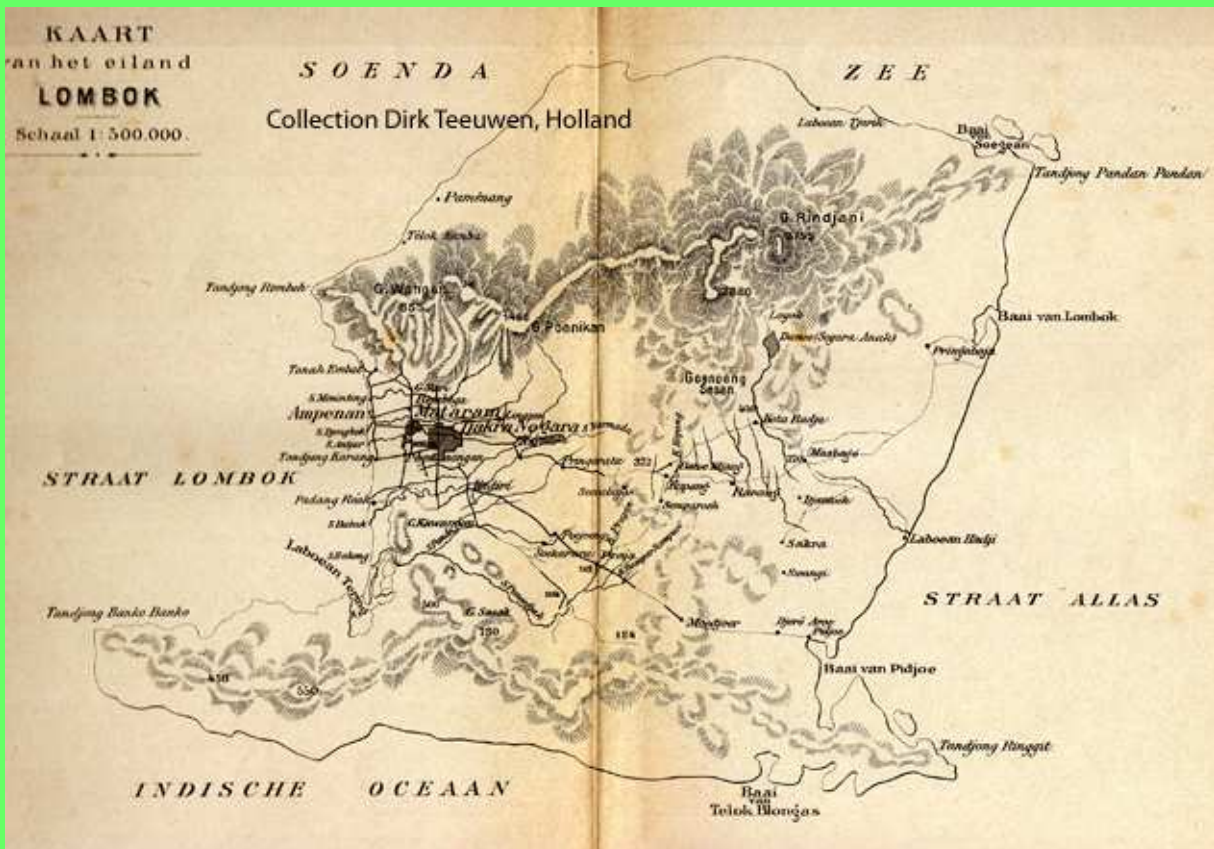
**Punggawas, Balinese rulers of districts in Lombok: subordinated aristocrats, subordinated to the Raja Anak Agung Ngurah Karangasem, the Balinese Raja of Lombok (circa 1890)
From> Cool, Capt. W.: De Lombok Expeditie; Batavia-Jakarta 1896, p. 108
Library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland
Dirk Teeuwen, Holland**

2. Maps



Map anno 1916, mark: Ampenan, Mataram, Tjakranegara-Cakranegara, Praja, Karangasem (Bali)

From> Gelder, W. van: Schoolatlas van Nederlandsch-Indië; The Hague Holland 1916, nr. 5 (Library Dirk Teeuwen)



Map of Lombok, 1896; see below

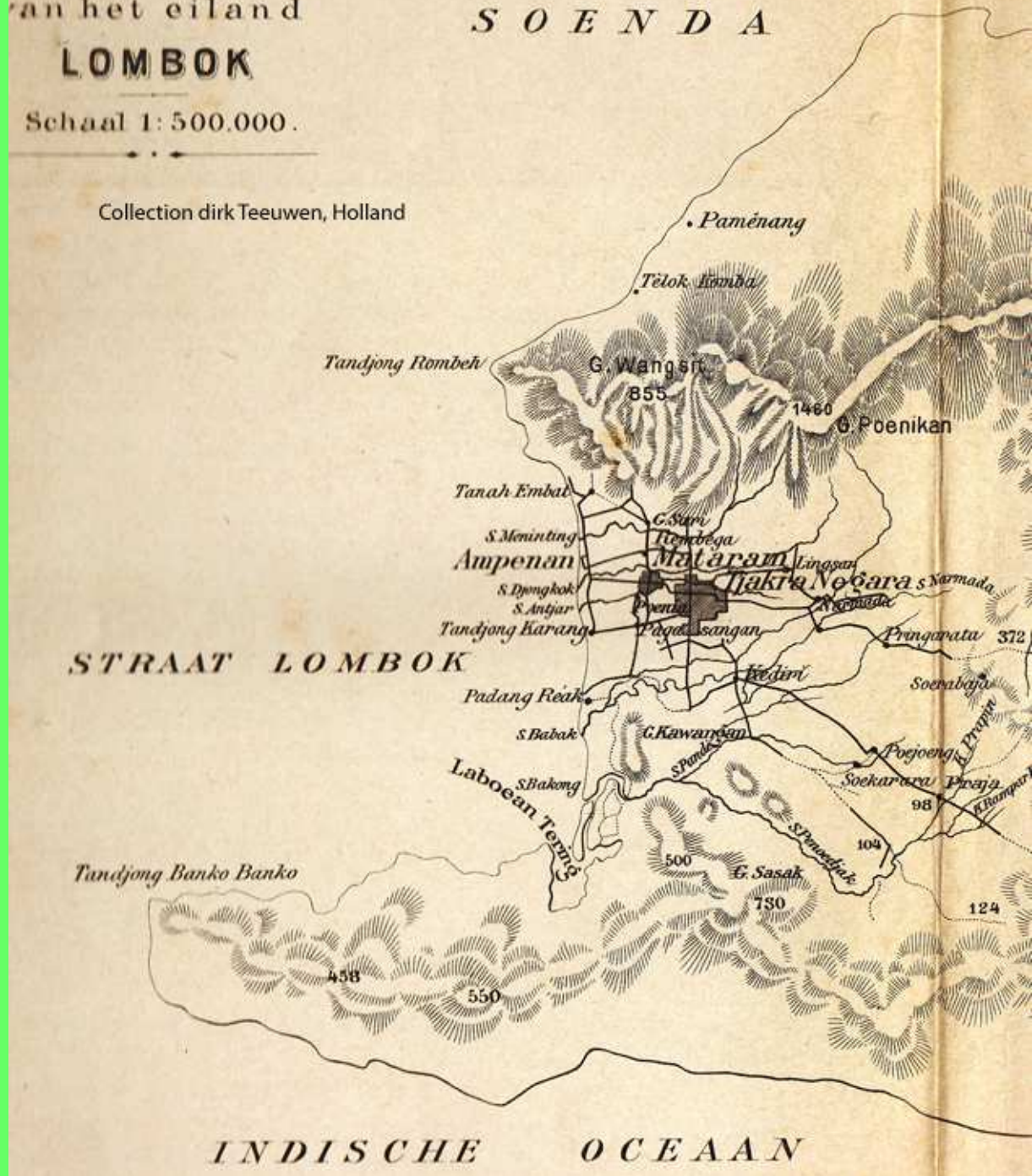
From> Cool, Capt. W.: De Lombok Expeditie; Batavia-Jakarta 1896, appendix

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

KAART
van het eiland
LOMBOK

Schaal 1: 500.000.

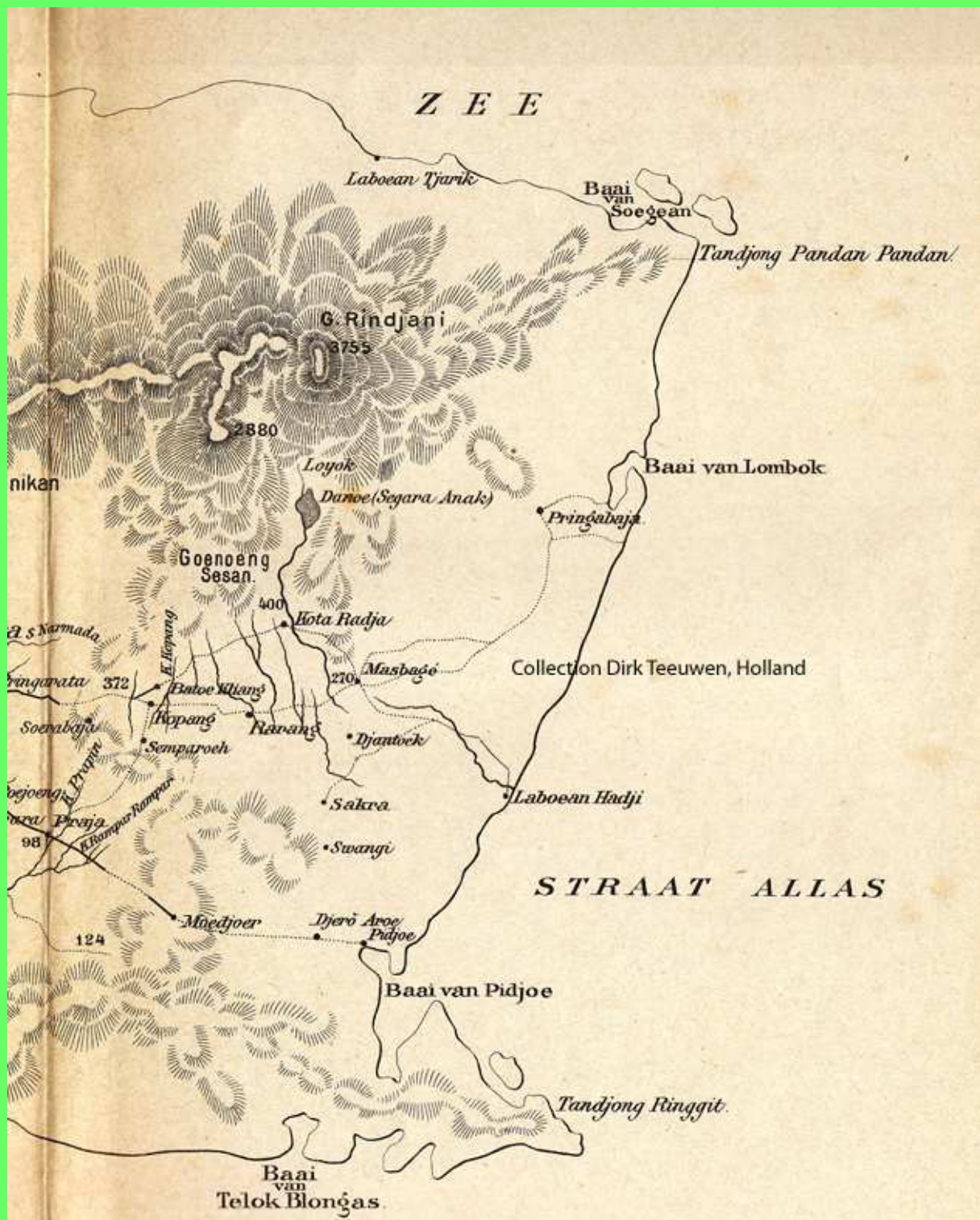
Collection dirk Teeuwen, Holland



Western Lombok, detail from page 4

Important in this article: Ampenan, Mataram, Cagranegara, Pagasangan, Kediri.
From> Cool, Capt. W.: De Lombok Expeditie; Batavia-Jakarta 1896, appendix

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



Eastern Lombok, detail from page 4
 Praja can be found at the left near nr 98.
 From> Cool, Capt. W.: De Lombok Expeditie; Batavia-Jakarta 1896, appendix
 Library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

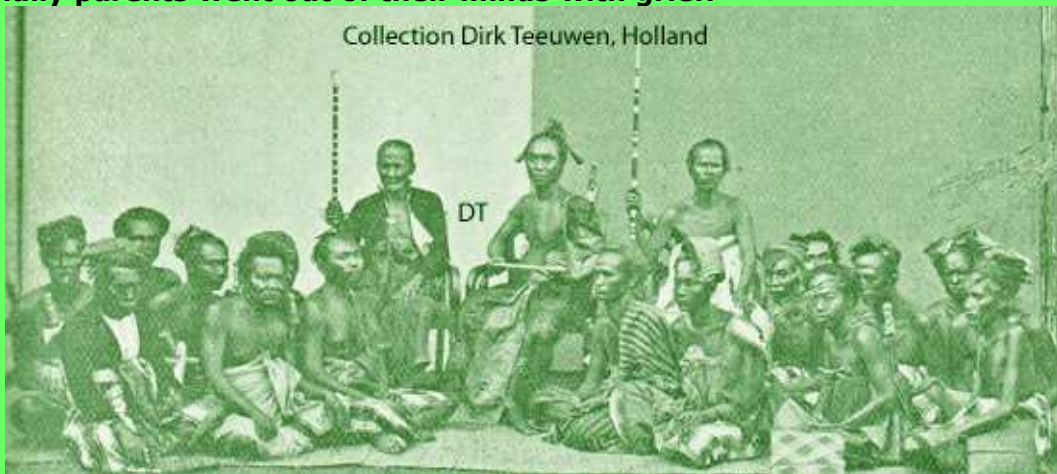
Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

3. The immediate cause of the expedition

Details of a (second!!) letter written by the Sasak Datus (chiefs) of the east coast of Lombok to the Dutch Resident of North-Bali and Lombok, written in the name of all the dессas and kampungs (hamlets) of their country about the position of the Mohammedans and Balinese there. The letter was sent to the Dutch Parliament in The Hague and submitted there by the Dutch Minister of the Colonies; July 7th and 8th, 1894. The letter was written Dec. 1891 (!!.) Maybe the endless difficulties of the campaign in Aceh had shaken Dutch confidence in themselves.

Details of the Sasak letter

- The Balinese took possession of our Muslim Kingdom of Salaparang. The Balinese took possession of the princely dignity and placed the whole country under their own rule. They are the masters now. We became their subjects. We carried out their commands, yet we have always been cruelly treated and robbed. We paid taxes and we brought in supplies of rice, paddy and money.
- When there has been question of building houses, or raising other edifices, or laying pleasure grounds, we have done the work punctually. While thus employed we had to bring our own food, which was very hard for those living at a distance.
- In addition to having to work like this for the Balinese princes, we had to do the same thing for the smaller Punggawas (Balinese supervising chiefs), and still, notwithstanding this, we have been shamefully treated.
- People have been put to death without trial and have very frequently been drowned in the sea. If the Punggawas were annoyed with a man, he would be found guilty of some crime and condemned, and we dared not to rebel. Often our properties such as gardens, sawahs, buffalo-oxen and cows were stolen from us. Our sons were often made slaves and our daughters, especially girls of good birth, were taken away by force. Some they took for themselves, others were subjected to all sorts of outrages and finally became courtesans. Sometimes grown up girls were taken, but often little girls of about seven. Normally parents went out of their minds with grief.



**Balinese Raja and his Punggawas (subordinated aristocrats), circa 1880
From > Cool p. 197**

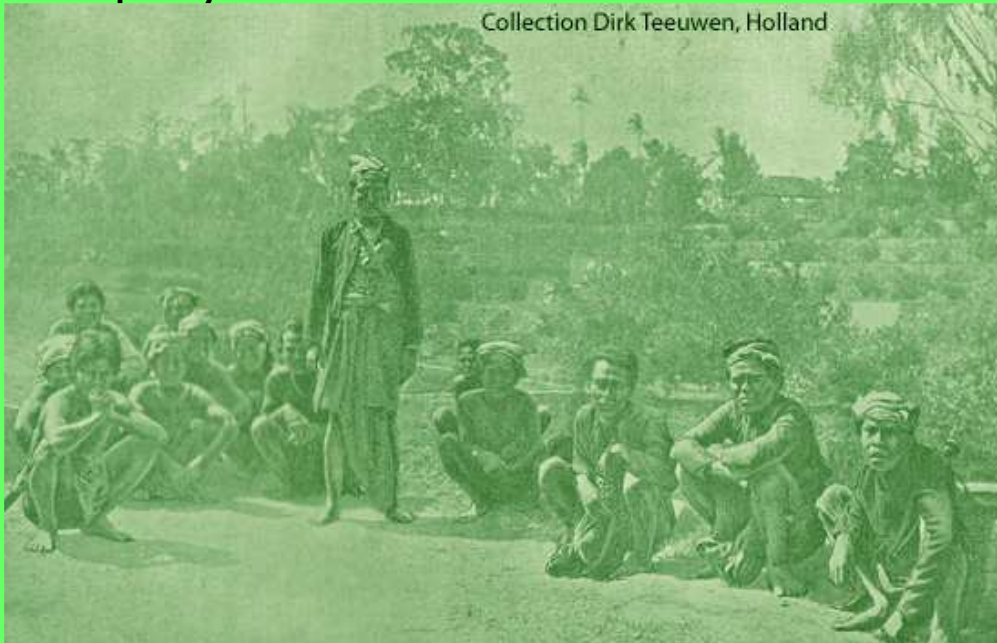
Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

- Every year the taxes were raised in a very unjust manner. After the harvest on our coffee plantations Balinese hirelings came and seized nearly all. They also stole the coffee we received from North-Bali (Buleleng, Dutch territory) and from Sumbawa. If the Balinese princes and others wanted anything, either people or horses or wearing apparel, they simply took them, without any compensation.

- By order of the Balinese Princes cock-fighting and dice-playing were continually kept up; those who owned any thing lost it, whilst others were thriven to theft; the Balinese Princes encouraged this pastime because fines were imposed on the players; as a result the small man became poor and in those derras (countryside municipalities), where the games did not take place regularly, the Datus were punished. It was/is almost impossible to obtain a livelihood. All imports and exports were levied/taxed. All taxes and dues have been exorbitantly increased in the interest of the Balinese aristocracy only. The Balinese Princes put a duty on debts and on paid interests on debts. All goods, people of the interior of this island sell and buy at the coast, are taxed. The originators of such schemes are mostly Arabs from Ampenan, such as Entji Oemar.

- When war broke out on Bali between the states of Karangasem and Klongkong, we were ordered to provide weapons and food. Some of us were immediately summoned up to take part in the war and they did so. They were poor and were very badly cared for. Later many were unable to come home. Are they dead or alive? We don't know.

- We must tell that when a Muslim dies here without leaving male issue, all his female relations, as well as all his real and personal estate are appropriated by the Balinese Princes; as a result of this the girls are mostly converted into prostitutes. If the deceased leaves brothers, they get nothing either. And later, when some Balinese is banished here from Karangasem, the lands are given to him, so that he may crush down the Sasak population to his heart's content. As an example: when a man dies (no sons, one brother), his widow could be converted into a forced prostitute and the brother gets nothing. His heritage goes to the Balinese aristocracy. Tracts of land suitable for "sawahs" (rice fields) are frequently not allowed to be cultivated.



Balinese Punggawa and his men, Lombok circa 1880

From > Cool p. 73
Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

- Our Balinese rulers have also made it known that they heard that some of the Muslims of Tangkah (in Lombok) were going to rebel against them and that owing to the complications connected with the war on Bali, they (Balinese) were unable to do anything. But after the war the rulers made it known that all those who had wanted to rebel, as well as all the notable Muslims, as well as all the "hadjihs" (pilgrims to Mecca), as well as the leaders of that faith should be put to death. The Balinese Punggawa, Ida Bargus Gama Oka, stated this fact at the house of the Arab Hadji Abdurrahman at Ampenan in the presence of several people, some of whom came from Dutch North-Bali (the district/residency of Buleleng).

- For this decision there is absolutely no course whatever, and we are continually hearing that many Muslims are to be put to death, especially at Praja. But in service at the Balinese palaces etc., Sasak people had heard the same thing. Remember: "stealing" only some rice by a Muslim could put him or her to death, guilty or not. In consequence of this a Guru (Bangkol) and some Sasaks went three times to see responsible Punggawas (Balinese chiefs) in Ampenan. But their complaints remained unheeded and Sasaks, fellows of Guru Bangkol or not, were informed of what had occurred in Ampenan.



Balinese Punggawa in Lombok, circa 1880 From > Cool p. 264



Buddhist temple at Lingsar in Lombok, circa 1880 From > Cool p. 283

- The rebellion broke out at Praja, the other Muslims know nothing about it and we were obeyed by the Balinese to march against dessa Praja. Praja was besieged and many of the kampungs (hamlets) belonging to it were burned to the ground. Persons belonging to dessa Praja who surrendered (rebels or not) were nevertheless put to death immediately by command of the Balinese aristocracy. Amongst them, as usual, many old men, women and children.

- We executed the Balinese Prince's orders to fight against Praja and on our side there were some wounded and some killed. No provision was made for us, as we had to find our own food, so that those from great distances suffered

untold privations. Praja was not brought into speedy subjection owing to the fact that the Muslims were secretly in unison with the rebels and did not throw themselves heart and soul into the fight.

- Thereupon the Sasak Datu of Batu Klian, as well as Mami Ardina of Praja, and all their children and followers, thirteen in number, were summoned to come over to Sakra and on their arrival were all put to death. When these murders took place all the Sasak "Radens" and Sasak Datus of the District of Timor were present.

- Mami Noersasi, Datu of Sakra, was ordered to come to Mataram with all his followers and bring a canon with him. But he learned that that they were all to be taken prisoners, so that Noersasi fled back to his dessa. The same day 150 inhabitants of dessa Sakra, 150 of dessa Djero-Arn and 150 from other dessas, 450 in all, were taken prisoners and put in chain. The Muslims decided now to rise in a body against the rulers. They were not longer going to submit to seeing their killed like chickens. The Balinese had expressed their determination that all the Lombok "Hadjis" should be put to death, because these "Hadjis" incited the Sasaks to rebel. But we decided to rebel among ourselves only.

- We have endured all the things above set forth and they are certainly not a tenth part of what we have had to put up with.

- (In the letter courtesies follow and the Sasaks remind the Dutch that in a previous letter they asked for help as well as asked about weapons.)

- "We offer you our most respectful greetings and hope to receive an answer."

Written at Kopang, December 9th 1891 (!)

Djero Moestadi of Kopang

Mami Bangkol of Praja

Mani Noersasi of Sakra

Ginawang of Batu Klian

Raden Ratmawa of Rarang

Raden Wiranom of Pringa Baja

Raden Melajoe Koesoema of Mas Bage



Balinese Punngawas in Lombok, circa 1890. From > Magazine "Eigen Haard" Volume 1897; library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland
Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



**Balinese warriors, Lombok circa 1890
From> Magazine "Eigen Haard" Volume 1895**

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

3. Lombok, its people and its summarized history

The Sasaks were (and are) the original people of the island of Lombok, location east from Bali. In the olden days Lombok consisted of several petty states. Already circa 1550, the Sasaks became Muslims. Such contrary to the Balinese. Balinese remained true to Hinduism until today.

In 1723 one of the Lombok Datus (chiefs), asked the Raja of Karangkasem in Bali for help against military threads from Sumbawa, the Sunda Island east from Lombok. This Balinese Raja did so, but he and his men stayed on Lombok in their new residence of Mataram. In 1738 the Lombok Datu of the petty state of Praja, in the south-centre of the island, asked Raja Ratu Gadé Ngurah, the Raja of Karangkasem (Bali), to assist him (the Datu of Praja) to fight the other Lombok Datus. Ratu Gadé Ngurah subjected the Datus and then the Datu of Praja as well.

About 1740 the Balinese founded four principalities on Lombok: Mataram, Singasari-Karangkasem (in the continuation of this article simply Singasari), Pagasangan and Pagutan. Internal controversies were normal. And so was infighting until 1838. In 1838 a real bloody war between Singasari and Mataram burst out. The other two principalities took part in the fighting. The end of the story was that Mataram defeated all its enemies and conquered the whole island of Lombok. Mataram was subordinate to Karangkasem on Bali and so the residence of Mataram became capital of Lombok: the capital of a puppet state.

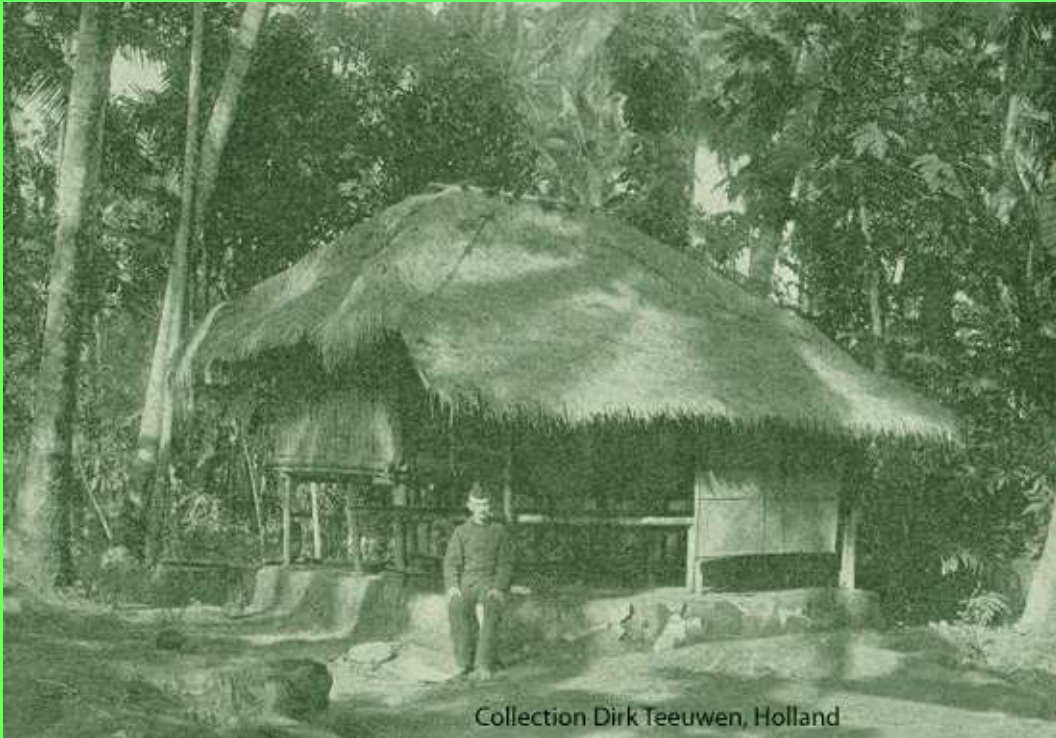
The fact that, from 1738, Balinese Hindus ruled over Lombok was a gruesome reality for the Muslim Sasaks. Atrocities against Muslims became "normal" in Lombok. Which meant abuses like slavery, slave trade, slave hunting, extortion, hunger, trade in women and forced prostitution (mostly prostituting young Sasak girls) and the most horrible punishments for the most silly suspicions.

One has to realize that in the parts of Indonesia in the nineteenth century (and in the centuries before), where the Dutch had no power or command, extreme rude suppression of subjects was common. An Indonesian Sultan or a Raja was surrounded by a court, an aristocracy and an army: a real host of "admirers". Pretending admiration of the ruler and complete submission to him was necessary, because court, aristocracy, army were dependent on him and his royal house. Legacy problems and succession caused wars between heirs very often and forced court etc. to make a choice. Sometimes a wrong choice with bloody consequences. Sultans and Rajas of Indonesian autochthonous principalities had the power of life and death over their subjects.

4. Lombok and Dutch East-India - Indonesia

Lombok had long been a bone of contention between Bali and Gowa-Makassar on Celebes (Sulawesi). In second half of the 17th century Lombok came under the supremacy of the island of Sumbawa, west from Lombok. In a treaty in 1675 between the Datus of Lombok and the Dutch East-India Company, V.O.C., the Datus swore allegiance both to the company and the Sultan of Sumbawa.

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

**Dutch soldier in a Balinese kampong in Lombok, Lombok September 1894. After taking this picture this kampong was razed to the ground by Dutch military. From> Magazine "Eigen Haard" volume 1895
Library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland**

The relations with the V.O.C. were not of a lasting character and Sumbawa's domination over Lombok could not be maintained in the long run. The Raja's of Karangasem on Bali gradually gained influence. An influence which weighed heavy upon the original population, the Sasaks.

In 1843 the Balinese Raja of Mataram – he ruled Lombok from 1838 – concluded a treaty with the Government of Dutch East-India. He ceded the island to the Government and pledged himself to pay honour to the Dutch Governor-General at Batavia-Jakarta every three years. The Raja had the right to self-government so long as the agreement was faithfully observed.

I explained that the Raja of Mataram, ruler of Lombok, was subordinate to Karangasem on Bali. From 1849 this worked the other way around. In 1849 the third colonial expedition to Bali was organized under the Dutch General Michiels and the Balinese Raja of Mataram offered his support to the Dutch. The reason of his support was that by taking part in the Dutch expedition against the rebel princes of Bali, to which the Raja of Karangasem also belonged, there was a chance of gaining Karangasem, in consideration of services. The Raja of Karangasem in Bali and the Balinese Raja of Mataram in Lombok were relatives of each other. No matter, this did not spoil the fun.

After the expedition Karangasem was indeed allotted to Mataram. The acquisition was important because the Sasaks in Lombok were kept under control by military from Karangasem. Now, from 1849, these military were subject to the orders of Mataram.

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

In Lombok all positions of importance except that of Datu, village chief, were filled by Balinese. In each of the Sasak villages several Balinese were settled. Because of that the Raja always was kept acquainted with what was going on. The Raja maintained his authority with utmost tyranny. In 1855 a revolt broke out and in 1882 once more. The most cruel executions took place.

In 1891 the Raja of Lombok made use of 500 Sasak warriors to defend Karangasem on Bali against the principality of Mengwi on the same island (Bali). These Sasak troops were poorly motivated, were ill fed and badly equipped. Revolt (1891) broke out again and the complete Sasak population joined in. The Sasak Datus approached the Dutch Government with complaints against the Balinese (see chapter 3) about the most gruesome realities. The Balinese did not care. They purchased steamers and modern weapons in Singapore. The steamers were partly manned by English and the captains were not allowed to accept examinations by the Dutch navy. The Balinese treated the Dutch with contempt again and again. In March 1894 the Raja wrote that he was willing to receive Dutch officials, but offered no apologies. The Sasaks, in the utmost misery, asked once more for help. One of the Raja's illegal sons Anak Agung Madé (not illegal in the eyes of the Balinese, namely a son from a second wife), his evil genius, had declared his intention having all Sasak Datus, Hadjis and other Sasak officials put to death as soon as the revolt was quelled.

5. Number of inhabitants of Lombok, strength of the expeditionary forces

In 1884 the inhabitants of Lombok would amount to 650.000 souls, of whom 600.000 belonged to the aborigines of Lombok, the Sasaks, and 50.000 to the ruling race, the Hindu-Balinese. And maybe circa 6.000 persons belonging respectively to the Malay (Bugis), Arab or Chinese races. There were only 120.000 men averaging from 15 to 40 years of age, 100.000 – 120.000 men were capable of carrying arms. One fifth of this number, 20.000, were capable of acting in the coolie service in time of war.

The Balinese Raja family had 6.000 military men at their disposal as well as 2.000 auxiliary troops from Karangasem in Bali under their own prince Gusti Djilantik. Their fire arms were modern.

The total strength of the Dutch expeditionary forces. July 1894, were: 107 officers, 1.320 European and 948 native soldiers, 386 horses, 37 mules, 216 servants, 64 "mandoor" (foremen of the convicts) and 1718 convicts, besides the civil staff (military auditor, parson, almoner, panghulu (Indonesian Muslim Priest), twenty clerks).

Source:

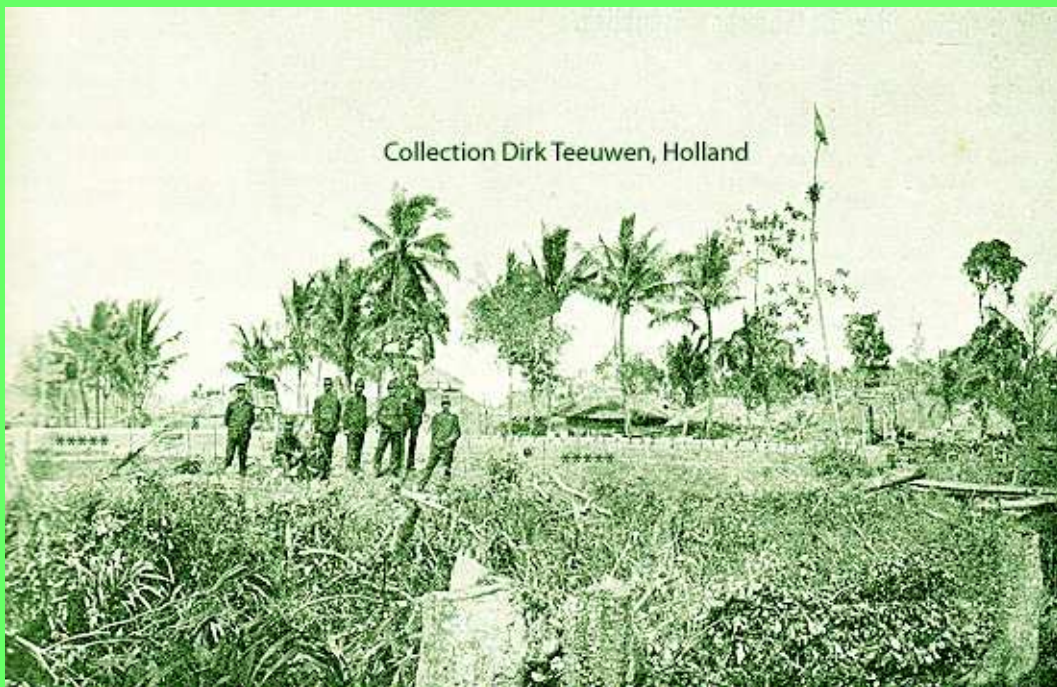
Cool, Capt. W.: With the Dutch in the East, an outline of the Military Operations in Lombok, 1894; London 1934, p. 43 and p. 54

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

**Military officers on Lombok, officers of the infantry column "Van Blommestein", Benteng Kaleh, Lombok September 1894. Major Van Blommestein is the man left on the picture. From> Magazine "Eigen Haard" volume 1895
Library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland**



Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

Our officers of the infantry column "Van Blommestein", again on a picture of saddening quality; Benteng Kaleh, Lombok September 1894. Major Van Blommestein is sitting second from left. Benteng Kaleh is visible. I put some black stars on the defence wall of the Benteng (fortress).

From> Magazine "Eigen Haard" volume 1895

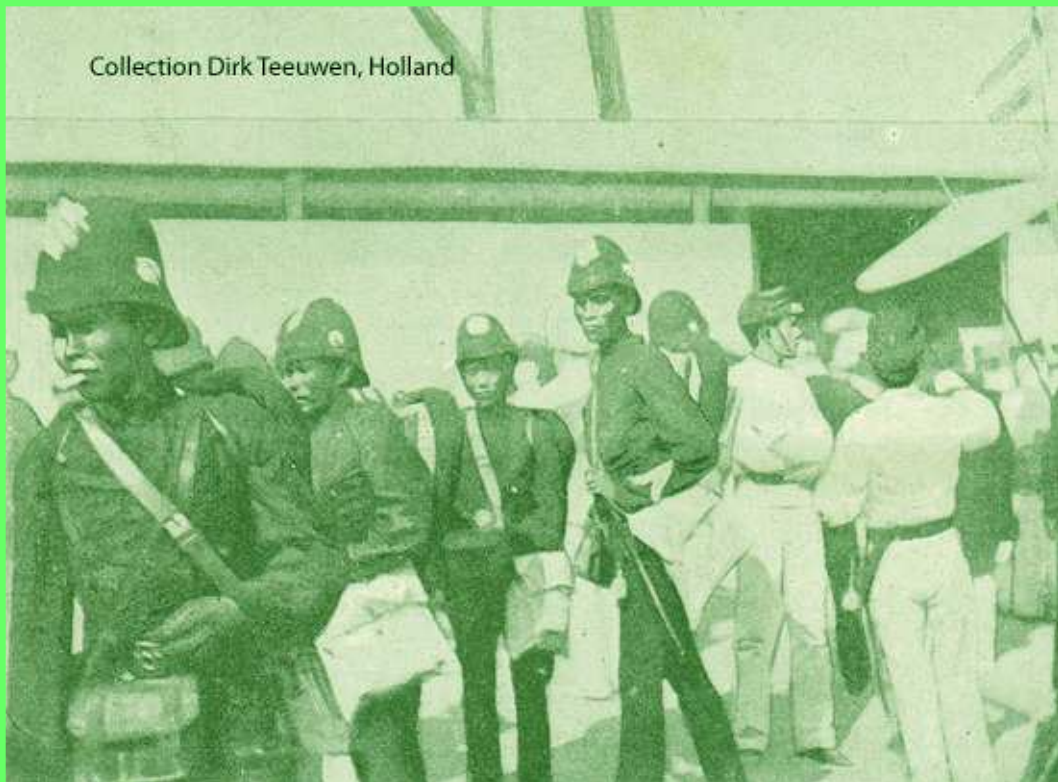
Library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

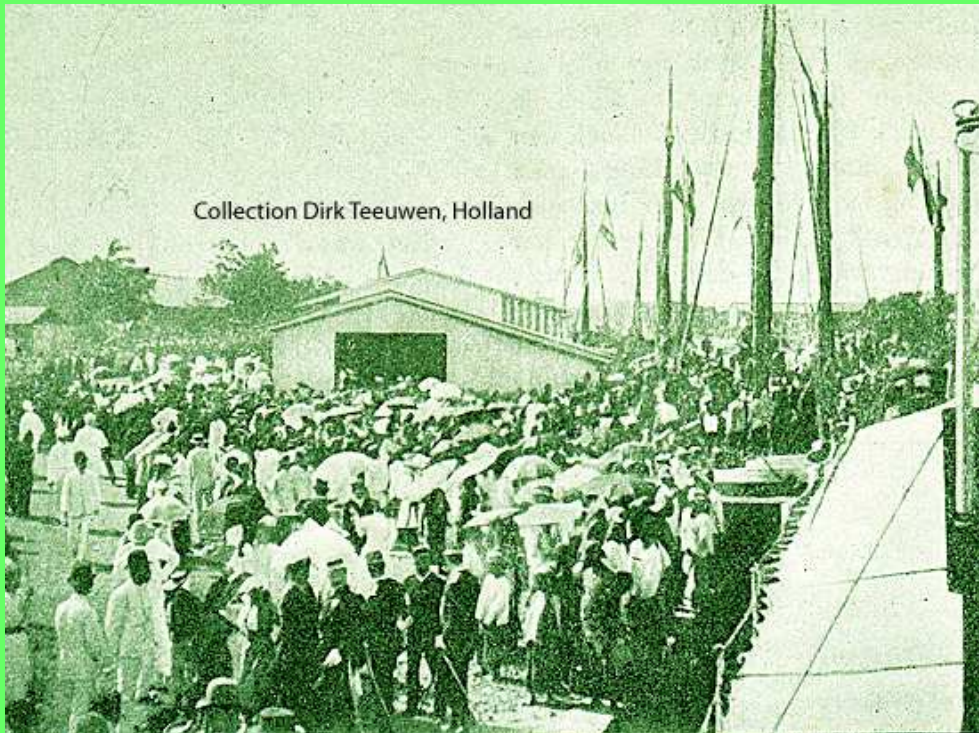
Infantry of the Dutch East-Indian Army embarking, destination Lombok; Semarang Java, June 1894. From> Magazine "Eigen Haard" volume 1895 Library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

Infantry of the Dutch East-Indian Army embarking, destination Lombok, Semarang Java, June 1894. From> Magazine "Eigen Haard" volume 1895 Library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



Infantry of the Dutch East-Indian Army embarking, destination Lombok, Semarang Java, June 1894. From> Magazine "Eigen Haard" volume 1895 Library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



Infantry of the Dutch East-Indian Army embarking, destination Lombok, Semarang Java, June 1894. From> Magazine "Eigen Haard" volume 1895 Library Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

**Man overboard.
Dirk Teeuwen, Holland**

6. The Dutch final ultimatum, the 5th of July 1894

The Lombok Expedition fell into two subsequent expeditions, closely connected with each other:

- June 13 to August 26, 1894;
- September 2 to December 24.

The expeditions had a long previous history, as already stated. Several times, 1892-1893, the Raja of Lombok Anak Agung Ngurah Karangasem, the Balinese ruler of the island of Lombok and its subordinate principality Bali-Karangasem were accused by the Dutch of working against their, Dutch, interests and of violation of the 1843 treaty, such as alliances (by the Raja of Lombok) with other colonial powers, specially the English. Purchasing steamers and manned by English looked like an alliance between Lombok and a foreign power in the eyes of the Dutch. The Raja rejected all the accusations.

Governor-General of the Dutch East-Indies, Van der Wijck, took steps to send a military expedition to conquer Lombok. Widespread famine among the Sasaks was the deciding factor. Van der Wijck installed Major-General J. A. Vetter as commander of the Expedition. Major-General Vetter was first in command, second in command was Major-General P. P. H van Ham and Captain H. Quispel was in command of the expeditionary navy.

Raja Anak Agung Ngurah Karangasem was presented an ultimatum with the command to hand over his power to his son, Crown Prince Anak Agung Petut. This crown prince could become an ideal puppet ruler. Well, the Dutch thought so. The Raja preferred an other son, Anak Agung Madé, as his successor. But the Dutch foresaw more problems with him than with Ketut. Madé, even more than his father, was against the transfer of political independence to the Dutch. The Dutch asked exile of Madé. Other demands by the Dutch in their ultimatum:

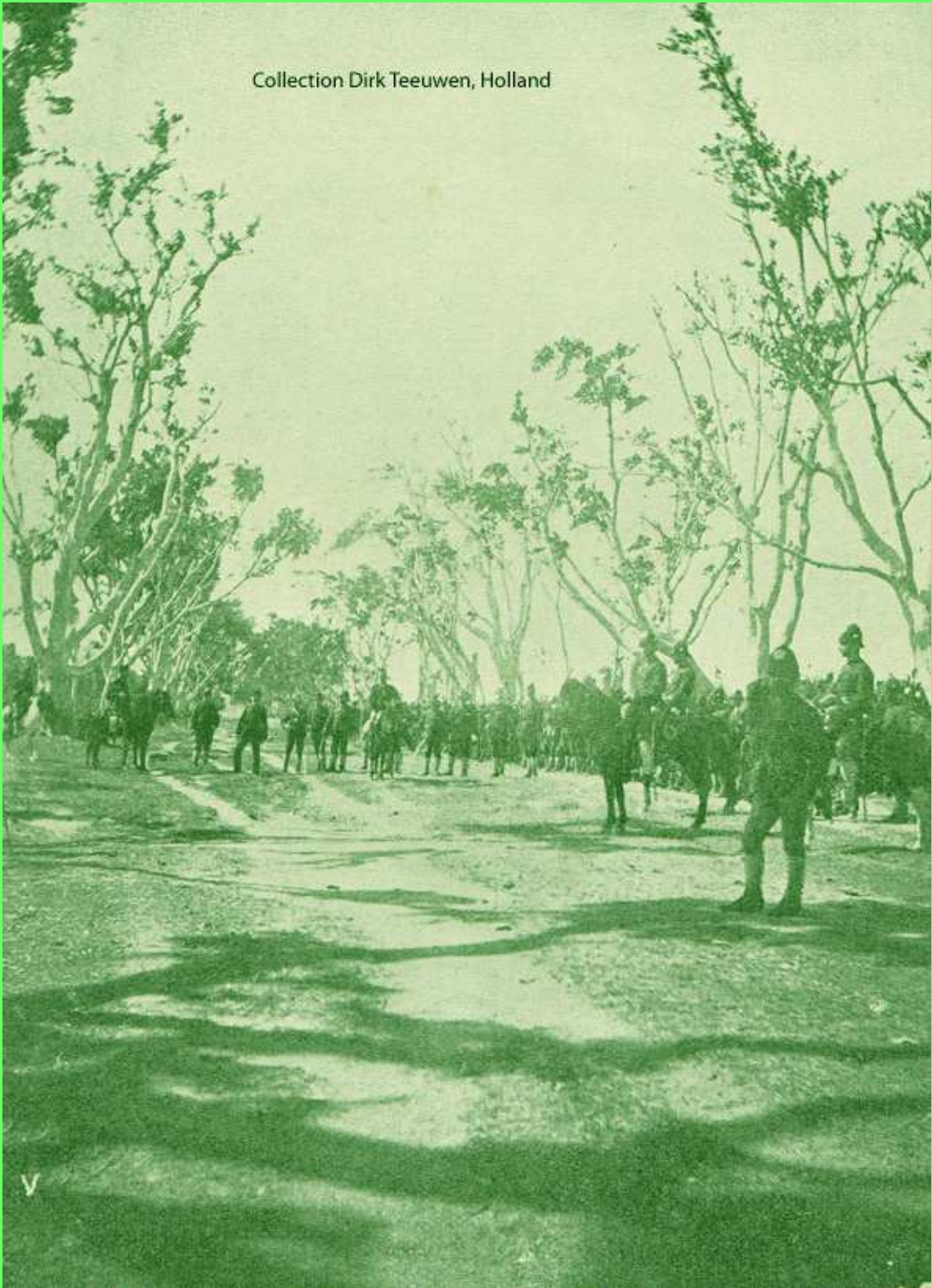
- sending of an delegation to the Dutch Governor-General to offer apologies and ask for pardon;
- the concluding of a new treaty to be framed and dictated by the Governor-General;
- the reparation of war indemnities by the Raja. The Raja was a very wealthy man.

The expedition started from Batavia-Jakarta and from Semarang on June 30 1894 and appeared in the roads of Ampenan July 5. It was composed of six warships, twelve transport vessels, three infantry battalions and artillery – 107 officers and 2268 men amongst whom 1320 Europeans - and a cavalry squadron.

The Dutch received no answer regarding their ultimatum up to July 7. So, the troops were disembarked south from Ampenan without any resistance by the enemy. The nephew of Raja Anak Agung Ngurah Karangasem, Gusti Djilantik the subordinate ruler of Bali-Karangasem, joined the Dutch forces and swore loyalty to the colonial government. Gusti Djilantik (together with Anak Agung Madé) was the man who tried to suppress the Sasak revolt in 1891 very cruelly. Two days later the Raja accepted all the conditions, except for the clause concerning the extradition of his son Anak Agung Madé. Later it became clear that Anak Agung Madé had been forced by the Raja to commit suicide after a false accusation of incest. The legal Crown Prince Anak Agung Petut had replaced his father and pledged to carry into effect all the measures desired. Soon reality showed to be very different.

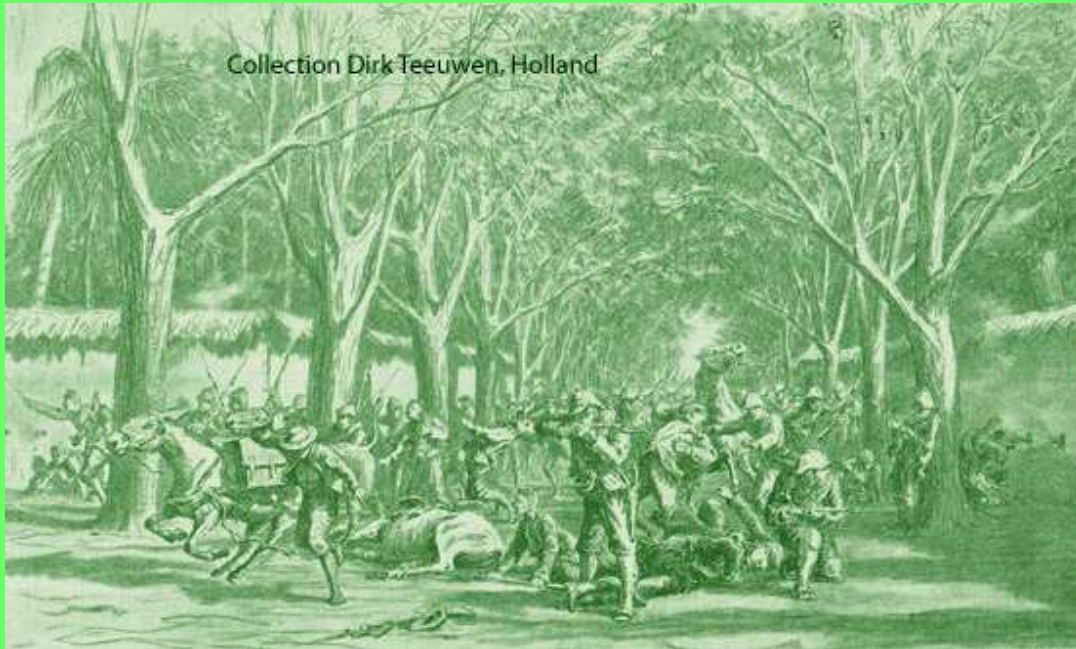
Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



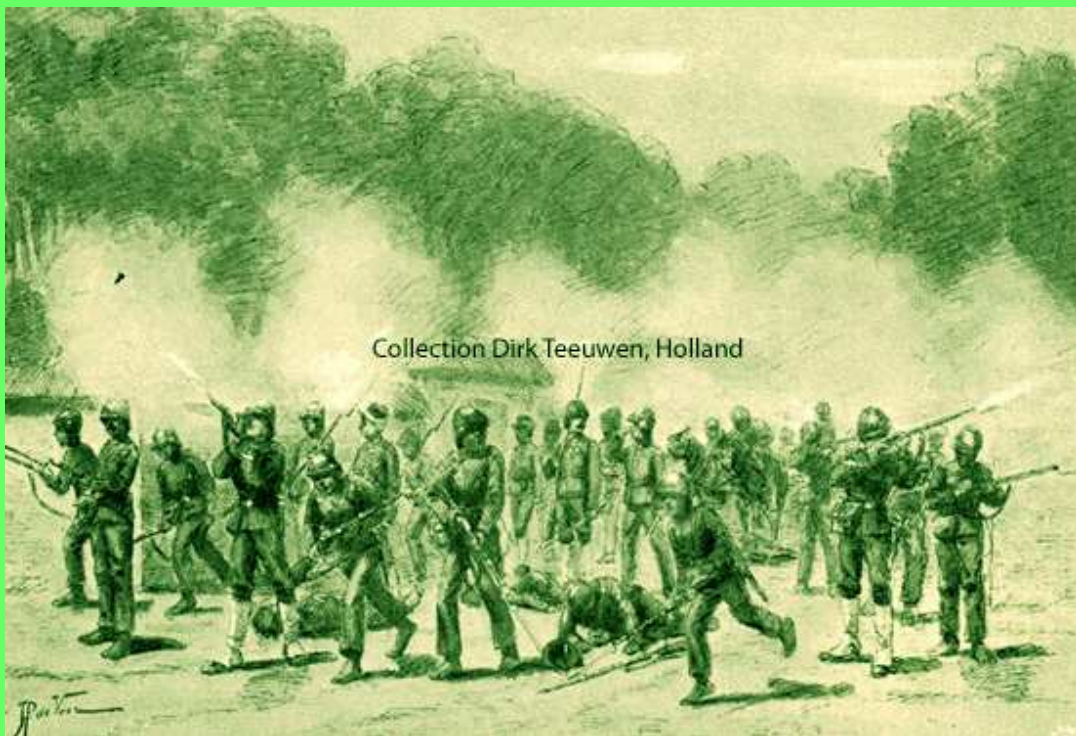
**Column Van Lawick van Pabst on its way to Batu Klian, Lombok August 1894
From> Cool, page 215**

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

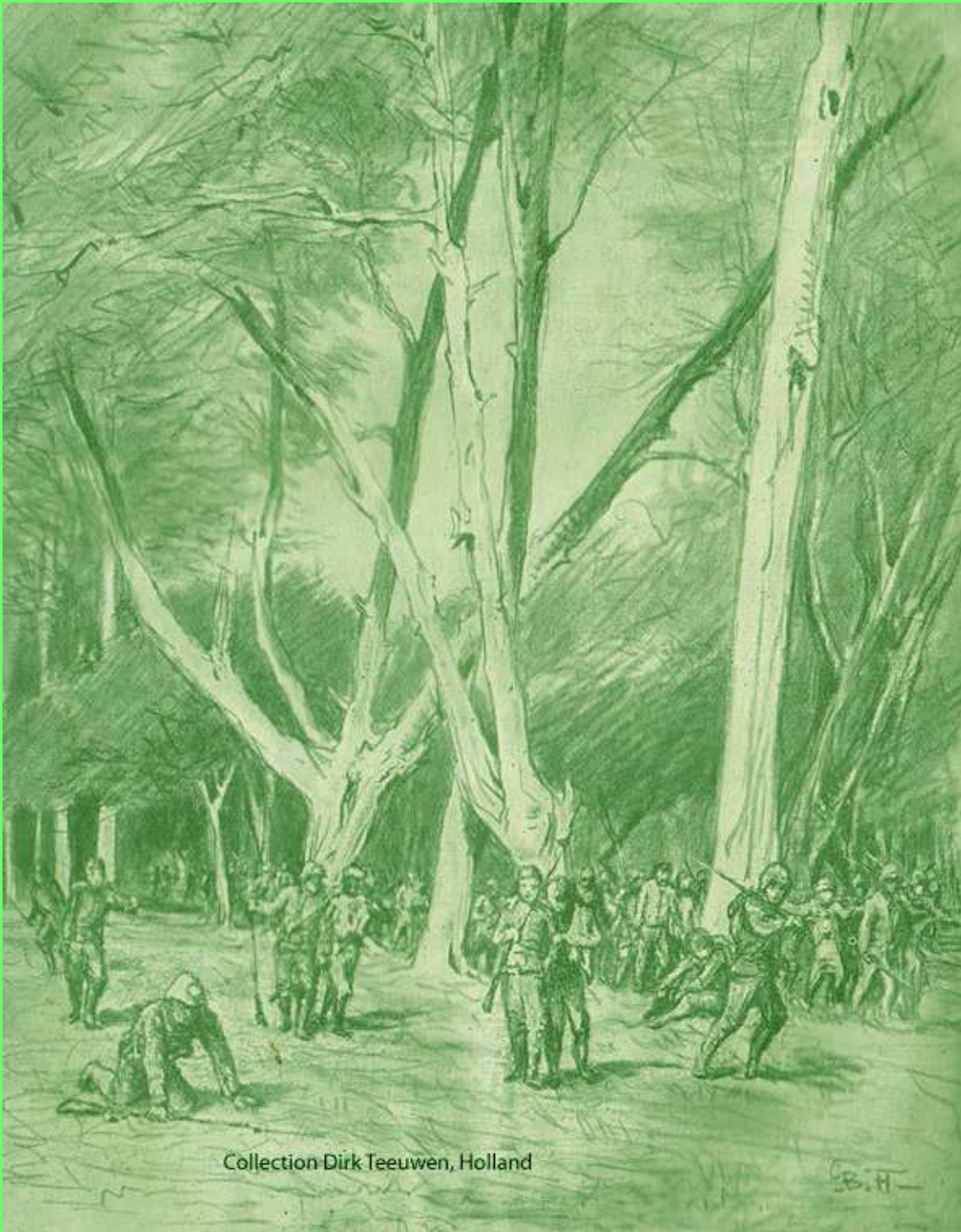
**The column of Lieutenant-Colonel Van Lawick van Pabst in Cagranegara, Lombok August 1894
From> Cool, page 242**



Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

**August 1894, Vetter's retreat from Cagranegara, Lombok
From> Klepper, page 478**

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

**August 1894, Vetter's retreat from Cagranegara, Lombok
From> Klepper, page 479**

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

7. The Lombok Expedition directly after July 11th 1894

The military forces marched to Cakranegara on July 11th after the landing. Headquarters were established near Mataram. After the suicide of Anak Agung Madé the principal difficulty had been removed and the expedition seemed to come soon to an end, because negotiations seemed possible.

On the evening of the 11th of July the two Generals, Vetter and Van Ham, paid the old (former) Raja, Anak Agung Ngurah Karangasem, a visit at his Puri (temple-palace) at Cagranegara, a formality only. The Raja appeared to be rather deaf and much too stupid (Vetter thought so) to bear the strain of the conversation. On July 12th the Generals requested the former Crown Prince, the new Raja Anak Agung Ketut, to be present at the headquarters to discuss future plans. He arrived four days later and was accompanied by his nephew Gusti Djilantik. The Generals received him with the greatest honour. The Generals found that Ketut had been kept completely in the dark by his brother Anak Agung Madé as well as by the Raja and Gusti Djilantik. Ketut was ill-informed of the ultimatum and current events on the island

The former Crown Prince Ketut, the Lombok Raja now, trembled with nervousness and big drops of perspiration dropped from his forehead. He accepted the articles of the ultimatum and he stated that he would comply with the Dutch demands. Later it became true (a terrible truth!) that he, Ketut, had not understand anything about the articles, printed in the Malay Javanese language, and he had not understand about everything, even anything, else. Ketut could only speak Balinese. However, Ketut was the new Raja now. Shortly after this meeting at the Dutch headquarters Ketut realized the meaning of the ultimatum and he was not amused.

Situation August 1894.

- The Dutch were not aware of the fact that Ketut was furious. He realized that Lombok lost its independence, that he lost his absolute power over the East- and West-Sasaks. The Dutch experienced that, against the expectation of the colonial government, the rule of Ketut as a new Raja guaranteed no peace.
- The Dutch realized too late that the Sasaks would never submit themselves to Balinese again. The Sasaks were afraid that this could happen again under Dutch supervision (the Dutch acting as a watchdog on Ketut) when the ultimatum was accepted. No Sasak submission to Ketut: puppet monarch or not.
- So, the political situation on Lombok was very uncertain. The Dutch ought to be alert, but they were not. Carelessness with all its sad consequences.

On August 25th, between 5 and 6 pm, a Dutch officer arrived in the camp near Cakranegara with information Balinese contemplating attacking the Dutch bivouac at Cakranegara. Gusti Djilantik was enjoying opium and was not able to give his opinion. He was super stoned. Some field artillery arrived. Evacuation could make the Dutch ridiculous in the eyes of the Balinese.

On August 25th, at 11 o'clock in the evening, the camp at Cakranegara was nevertheless surprised by a Balinese attack from the west side. The Balinese were armed with modern Winchester repeating rifles. The enemy receded after Dutch gun fire.

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

But then a turmoil of martial music reached the Dutch from kampungs and Puris, drums were beaten vigorously with intervals. These intervals were filled up with the most hideous war cries. The noise drew nearer and nearer. The Balinese no longer attacked in the open but continued their fire on the Dutch unprotected troops from behind walls.

Though the enemies of the Dutch were repulsed in the first place, the Dutch casualties became now such that the Dutch troops were forced to withdraw into a walled enclosure. The enemy tried to bore loop-holes in the walls through which they could fire their guns. The results were terrible.

There came no help from the encampment near Ampenan. So the Dutch troops (many casualties, lack of ammunition) had to withdraw further to Mataram (to the west, along the road to Mataram-Ampenan). While retreating, the Dutch were under fire. Major-General Van Ham was killed. He was hit in the chest and abdomen. He died shortly after arrival in Mataram. The troops sustained severe rebuffs while marching to the shore. The total Dutch casualties amounted to 9 officers and 90 men killed and 17 officers and 255 men wounded, whilst 14 men were missing.

It was even worse. Major van Lawick van Pabst, commander of the ninth battalion of infantry, was sent with his men to conquer Kota Radja north east from Rarang and Batu Klijan in the eastern part of Lombok. Van Pabst returned in Cakranegara shortly after the retreat of the Dutch. The Major and his men, unaware of the Dutch retreat were killed or taken prisoner. The prisoners were murdered in a gruesome way.

To make fools of the Dutch the Balinese paraded around in Dutch uniforms taken from the fallen military.



**Ampenan, Lombok June 5th 1894
The landing of the Dutch**

8. The capture of Mataram, attack of Cakranegara

Governor-General Van der Wijck ordered the expedition to be reconstructed as soon as possible. On the 1st of September 1894 the reinforcements arrived.

1. On the 29th of September 1894 Mataram was attacked by the Dutch by surprise. Incidental fighting went on until October 5th. The victory was Dutch. Dutch casualties: killed 1 officer, 13 soldiers, 3 convicts; wounded 4 officers, 58 soldiers. These serious losses show us how heavy the fighting was: surprise or not. The number of dead enemies were computed at 300. Amongst them women and children, victims to Dutch bullets. Some women and children received death at the hands of their own people. Mataram was conquered without complete destruction.

Raja Ketut was dead also: he had fallen while defending the Puri very bravely. He died together with his soldiers. Some of his faithful followers had carried the corpse of Ketut to Cakranegara. The old Raja desired once more to look upon the features of his son. But he was persuaded not to do so. The body was too shockingly mutilated. The Prince died in the honourable fashion as demanded by his adat and the conceptions regarding the honour of a Raja.

2. The siege and bombardments of Cakranegara lasted from October 19th until November 17th 1894. The actual attack on Cakranegara (after siege and bombardments) took place on November 18th. The enemy had been driven from the west front by the Dutch artillery and was now defending the interior of the town with the greatest pertinacity and it was necessary to fight for it inch by inch. The homesteads had to be captured one by one and before the Dutch could do a step forward, fresh walls had to be thrown down again and again.

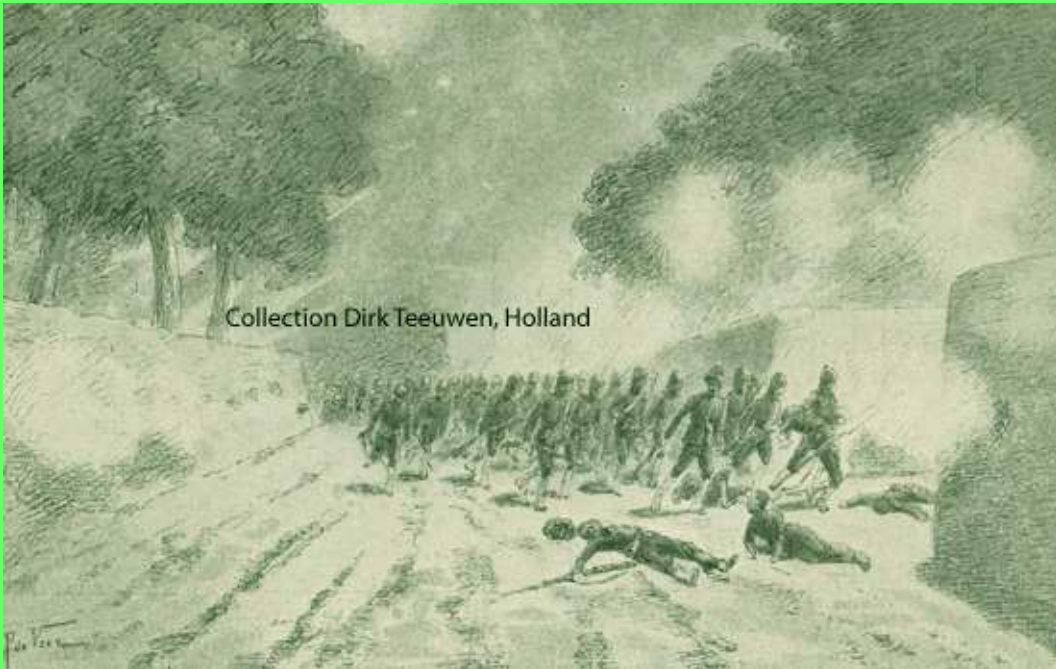
Time after time small bodies of Balinese troops advanced, lance or spear in hand, and flung themselves on the Dutch soldiers. They met their own death in this desperate struggle. But at a terrible cost of men to Dutch colonial side. Balinese were shooting with modern repeating rifles from trees and walls.

At one of the last side roads before the Dutch could reach the main road (Cagranegara-Mataram, right through the centre of the town until today) four Balinese rushed forward with their lances from a group of old men, women and children. Three of them were immediately killed by the Dutch; whilst the fourth, although wounded, rushed onwards and thrust his spear into Captain W. Scheib, who succumbed. This fourth man was soon killed. But the European and Indonesian colonial soldiers were infuriated. As a consequence it became really more frightful. The European and Indonesian soldiers showed no mercy any more. Balinese men were killed even amongst their wives and children, who asked mercy (ampon, ampon tuan) for them, for their men.

Women, magnificently dressed and belonging to the highest Brahmin caste, threw themselves blindly amongst the Dutch troops trying to defend themselves with spears, but they met their death as their husbands had done. They sought death in preference to dishonour. For these Balinese women it was (in their Balinese culture) normal that they were handed over to the conquering military as concubines and because of that they preferred death to the shame of being treated as a despised caste.

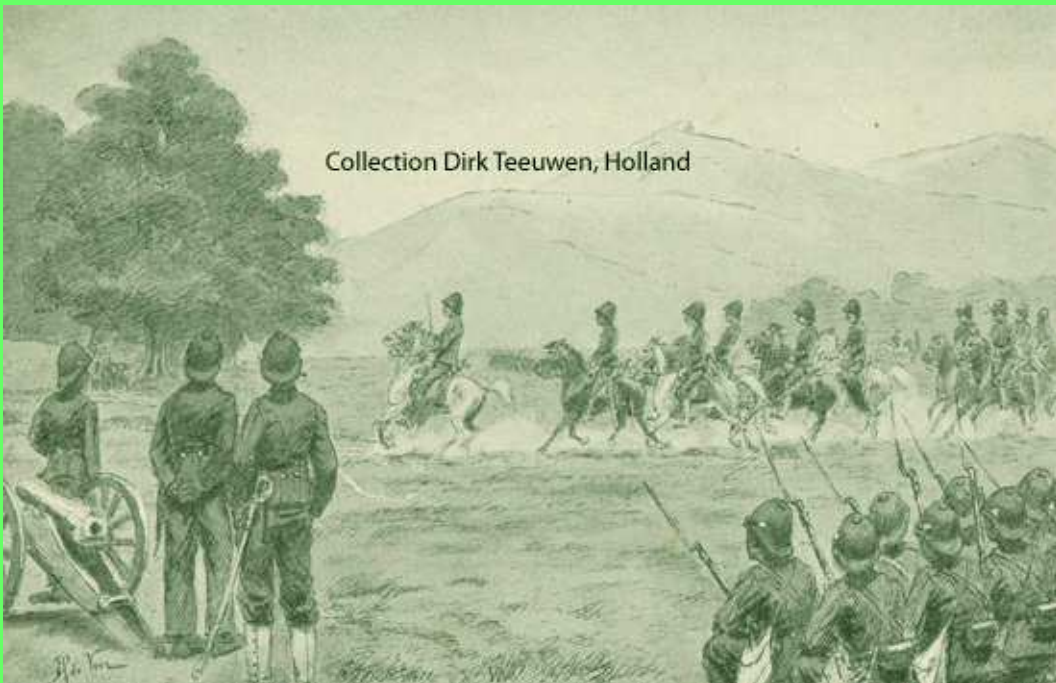
Cagranegara was taken by the Dutch. The Dutch overthrew Balinese power in Lombok. Their (Dutch) losses were severe again. Now 5 officers and 44 soldiers were killed, 3 officers and 103 soldiers were wounded. The Balinese lost almost 800 men and women. The Balinese losses were great. It was impossible to determine their losses accurate. There were dead bodies everywhere: on the streets, in the Puris, in the houses, really everywhere, anywhere.

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

**Cakranegara, Lombok November 1894
Major-General Segov in action. Column Segov storming in Cagranegara,
following its commander Segov.
From> Magazine "Eigen Haard" 1895**



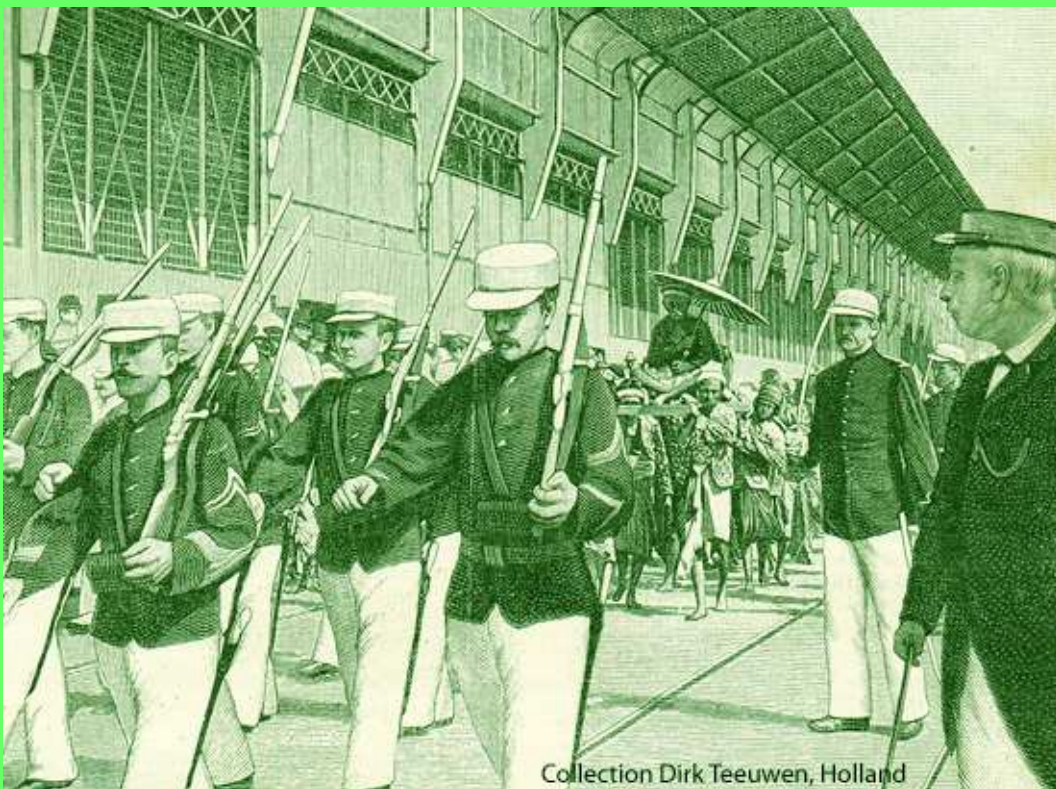
Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

**Cakranegara, Lombok November 1894
The Raja family surrenders.**

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

Epilogue

1. Grievances of the Lombok Sasaks against their Balinese rulers as well as imperialism were the reasons of the the Dutch Lombok Expdition 1894.
2. The Dutch took over power in Lombok and exiled the Balinese Lombok Raja family to Batavia-Jakarta and forced them to live in a large villa. The old Raja died in May 1895.
3. Nephew Gusti Djilantik was no subordinate Raja anymore. He ruled Karangkasem on Bali, he was an independent monarch now.
4. Dutch victory went together with great losses. Twelve percent of their soldiers died in battle as well as fifteen percent of their officers. The Dutch underestimated the enemy, like they did in Aceh 1873 and in Java 1825. They were not the only ones. The English and French had the same problems from tim to time.
5. It is a mistake to see the Balinese (as well as the Acehnese, people in Aceh) as simple men and women fighting with selfmade bows and arrows. The Balinese fought with modern rifles, bought in Singapore.
6. The Dutch transported the Lombok Raja treasury for the greater part to Holland. There it became a part of collections of several Dutch museums. In 1977 the so-called Lombok Treasure, seventy percent, returned to Indonesia. Thirty percent stayed in Holland. By accepting this transfer, Indonesia had agreed officially that the rest of the treasure could remain in Dutch hands.



Batavia-Jakarta 1894, arrival of the Raja family and a number of its followers at Tanjung Priok Harbour.

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

End