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COLONIAL TOURISM, POLITICS, RELIGION, AND ETHNICITY: DEVELOPMENT OF DENPASAR CITY, BALI, THE NETHERLANDS INDIES, 1906 – 1924

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ABSTRACT

The socio-economic excesses of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 have shown that so many Balinese and Denpasar [South Bali] people, in particular, have lost their source of life from the tourism sector. While waiting for tourism to recover, those who still have vacant land try to survive from the agricultural sector, but only on a small scale. Whereas as part of an agricultural area, Denpasar [Badung] in the kingdom era had the potential in the port-trade sector. Why did that potential just disappear? The study will move backward, downwards to see if there are duplications or similar incidents in Dutch times. Although it has such potential, previous researchers agreed to say that in the first decade of the Dutch colonial period [1914], the embryo of a tourist city had grown in Denpasar, developed in 1924, and bloomed in 1928 when the Bali Hotel was founded. So there was a space-time that was empty for eight years because Badung was controlled by the Dutch East Indies in 1906. What happened during that time span? This study will answer this question in terms of colonialism, politics, religion, ethnicity, tourism. By using the theory of imperialism-colonialism as a basis for thinking, this study can produce a conclusion that tourism is an unexpected child born several years later after the failure of the development of the port-trade sector in Denpasar.

INTRODUCTION

When talking about imperialism and colonialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Indonesia, usually previous researchers referred to the exploitation of the colony to obtain economic benefits sent to the parent country. This is found in the literature on colonialism in Indonesia. Fasseur [1984], for example, talks about agricultural development from 1840 to 1860. He provides an overview of Dutch colonial government politics and decision-making and considers how this policy influenced the evolution of the agricultural system and how it changed the Dutch view of governance in Java.

Elson focuses on the impact of the industry on the Javanese peasants, especially the economy of the people. In the XIX century, Java emerged as the second-largest producer-exporter of cane sugar in the world after Cuba. Fernando [1982] talks about the economy of farmers and plantations: the socio-economic impact of European plantations in the Cirebon Residency from the cultivation system to the end of the first decades of the twentieth century. Breman [1980] shows the elite position that exists in rural Java by highlighting the rural system in Asia. Referring to Schrieke, Breman examines how village heads functioned as peasants with royal administration. In colonial times, the village head served the power over it by providing agricultural products and labor. In general, it can be concluded that the dependence of the Dutch colonial government on agriculture, plantations, mining, and so on was determined by the natural potential of the respective colonies. Whatever was at stake to support this exploitation, be it the recruitment of the workforce of the colonies (among others, Boomgaard, 2014; Geertz, 1963) and the foreigners who were brought in (such as the Chinese who were employed in plantation areas in Sumatra (Wijaya, 1994). exploited either as ordinary laborers or even as contract coolies, or perhaps slavery in various parts of the world (Damir, et al., Eds., 2016). The development of a political system to support economic exploitation is also discussed, and this also depends on local conditions that may differ between Holland, England, and France. The dependence of colonial exploitation on local conditions outside Indonesia can be seen, among others, in the work of Kumar Thakurm (2013), which departs from the theory that globalization is an instrument for continuing economic exploitation in developing and poor countries and maintaining colonial legacies from plunder and plunder; China (1996), talks about foreign immigrants entering the Hispanic Caribbean in search of freedom, greener pastures, and economic opportunities starting around the mid-1700s.

Stead and Altman (2020) speak of Australian colonialism and postcolonialism, with the contemporary labor migration of Pacific Islanders through the Seasonal Worker Program, which is specifically oriented towards agriculture and horticulture - has echoes of a dark history in 'blackbirding' (the practice of abducting Pacific Islanders and use it as forced labor) inhabitants of the South Sea Islands. Smith (1996), among other things, attempted to define and explore some of the problems in Vietnam's evolution as a country over the last hundred years, with a focus on sustainability and institutional and economic change rather than political conflict and war. It emphasizes an internal perspective rather than international relations. Tagliacozzo (2003) discusses the concept of the progressive 'kidnapped peasants' in the Malay world in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He argues for the incorporation of farmers into regional and global modes of production, as well as into changing political and cultural environments. Cerepak (2020) examines the role of colonial science institutions in envisioning and developing the Coconut Zone, an area of intense coconut production, stretching from the small Pacific island chain that includes the Caroline Islands and the Marshall Islands to northern Papua, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, and South India. His study builds on Sydney Mintz's theoretical articulation of sugar production to put copra, the dried meat of a coconut, in conversation with other global colonial commodities.

Based on the level of knowledge of previous researchers above, it can be said that the exploitation of the colonial economy through the tourism sector was something new and strange at the beginning of the 20th century. This can be read in the work of previous Balinese cultural and historical experts. Vickers [1989: 91-92] says that in 1914 the first group of tourists to Bali was brought by steamship Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij [KPM]. Previously, ships owned by KPM had sailed to North Bali since the end of the 19th century, but to transport copra, coffee, and pork which were Bali's main exports to Singapore. It was only in 1914 that the KPM ship began transporting tourists. They were captivated by KPM's first advertisement featuring pictures of Bali, whoever has visited Bali will get an unforgettable impression in his life. One thing that is interesting about the KPM pamphlet is the presence of various photos of forest views, palm trees, and rice fields, all of which can attract tourists traveling to Java. The pamphlet was written by a British woman, Helen Eva Yates, who called Bali "The Island of Enchantment." He promised simplicity and artistry, indigenous people who were still determined to live simply as in Europe in the Simple Ages. But Bali is very artistic, devoted to a legacy of classic beliefs that fascinate insincerity. Apart from being untouched by modernism, the most important thing about Bali is "the land of women." These last aphorisms give rise to many pictures of half-naked women.

Thus, Vickers has shown a period of rest in the history of Dutch imperialism-colonialism in Denpasar [Badung], namely between the years 1906-1914. What happened during that time? Picard [1996: 23-24], the next writer did not seek an answer to that question, because he was more attracted to the role of foreign settlers in raising the name of Bali and presenting the cultural potential that tourists are interested in. Like Vickers [1989], who said that tourism activities in South Bali only started in 1914. Picard explicitly said that the Dutch colonial government seemed to prefer Denpasar [Badung] to be developed as a tourist area, not anything else. The proof is, since 1908 a systematic tourism design has appeared in Batavia which is marked by the establishment of the Vereeniging Touristenverkeer in Nederlandsch Indie. Its shareholders consist of representatives from various companies: banks, insurance, railways, and shipping airlines, including KPM.

In 1924, when tourism began to develop, KPM, which had a monopoly on inter-island shipping routes, was appointed as the official representative of the OTB in Bali. At that time a weekly voyage was opened between Singapore, Batavia, Semarang, and Surabaya to the port of Buleleng [Picard, 2006: 31]. KPM then serves tourists by renting out English speaking taxis, drivers, and tour guides. This includes renting out rooms in several guest houses of his choice. In South Bali, three guest houses are often used by KPM, the guest houses Denpasar and Kintamani, Bangli [Vickers, 2012: 249-256; Picard, 2002: 31], and Klungkung [Vickers, 2012: 239-247]. In 1928 KPM built a hotel on the land of the Denpasar guest house and repaired the Kintamani guesthouse [Picard, 2002: 31]. Just like Vickers and Picard, the next researcher Howe (2005: 26) also conveyed the same year figures. In 1914, some intrepid tourists landed in Singaraja, and on a three-day visit, they saw several temples, volcanic panoramas of the mountain village of Penelokan [Bangli], and a number of other interesting sites. Tourists arriving in the first ten to fifteen years after 1914 may have been captivated by the ever-increasing image of Bali's beauty. This beauty is presented in two beautiful albums by Nieuwenkamp and Gregor Krause which contain photos, drawings, and paintings. Especially the work of Krause [Vickers: 197-192] which concentrates on the physical attractions of topless Balinese women. But not only physical beauty, but Krause also presents Balinese people who love life filled with joy in ceremonies, devotion to gods, and endless happiness.

Pringle [2004: 128] also conveyed the same information, that in 1914, the first tourist brochures that included pictures of Bali appeared. In 1923, Dutch passenger ships began serving Singaraja, and in 1928 the government guesthouse in Denpasar was upgraded to

the status of the Bali Hotel. Soon thereafter there was a visit in [Packard's] large five-day American touring car. While on the road, sanitation protocols are still low. The previous researchers above agreed that 1914 was chosen as the start of tourism activities because the Dutch East Indies government realized that many illegal tourists visited Bali. They capture this potential by utilizing the KPM ship which is always empty when they return home after delivering the cargo of pigs to Singapore [Vickers, 2012: 239]. On that basis, economic policies were made by building ports for the benefit of European tourists, to revive people from adversity [Vickers, 2012: 239], a kind of political reciprocation to restore the mental condition of the community after the Badung-Klungkung war 1906/1908. Meanwhile, Picard [2006: 31] mentions the election of 1914 as the starting point for tourism activities because at that time Bali was declared safe so that the Dutch East Indies government had the courage to decide by replacing the role of the occupying army with civilian officers [Picard, 2006: 31].

This fact is different from contemporary newspaper reports which state that in September 1907 [a year after the expedition], it could be said that from a military point of view, Badung was well preserved. In occupied places such as Sanur and Denpasar and its surroundings, infantry troops were still on guard, but artillery units were no longer needed and they were respected by the population. The safety conditions were not bad although there were many opiate additives among the population. The prosperity of the population is also maintained and export-import activities are still ongoing [Algemeen Handelsblad, 24/9/1907: 2]. It is very interesting to analyze this, why did tourism start to be developed by the colonial regime in 1914? This means that it would be difficult to understand if the Dutch colonial government just let Denpasar without the grip of economic exploitation, through the agricultural sector, plantations [trade-port], a common thing in Java as already mentioned above. Whereas Denpasar [Bali in general] in the XIX century had potential in this sector as reported by Veth [1869] and Schäubin [2014]. As a merchant nation, the practice of Dutch imperialism-colonialism in Denpasar would not be much different from what it did in other colonies, it would be more directed towards port-trade interests, which was achieved through economic exploitation as mentioned above.

Previous researchers also did not mention, how did the Dutch colonial government manage the potential for port-trade, but suddenly they had entered the tourism sector? Even so, they never mentioned their regulations or policies in the field of tourism management in Bali. The problem is why can tourism develop just like that, without starting a policy? The policy in the tourism sector was only seen in the 1930s. At that time, the Bataviaasch journalist Nieuwsblad delivered the news that there was a discourse on the colonial government to impose tickets for tourists visiting Bali for f 2.50. This ticket can replace all tickets that previously had to be purchased when tourists entered several temples, monuments, and so on [Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad, 11/1/1938: 2]. What has happened, why did the Dutch colonial government not issue any policies related to economic exploitation through tourism. Even though Denpasar in the 1930s onwards was known as a tourist city. The answer to this question will be examined in terms of politics, religion, ethnicity.

XIX CENTURY TRADING

In the XIX century, not only in Denpasar [Badung], all kingdoms in Bali had potential in port-trade, although not all of them had ports. One of the kingdoms that had port-trade potential was Buleleng [North Bali] as disclosed by Schäubin [2014: 85]. He stated that the port-trading sector in this kingdom was held by the Chinese, who was given the position of subandar [lord of ports and trade]. This position has been held in the early colonial period and even in the pre-colonial period, around the XVII – XVIII centuries (Salmon & Sidharta, 2000: 87). On the other hand, there is also Badung [South Bali] which is very attractive to foreign traders. Apart from being the most densely populated, this kingdom also has so many export committees. Even though the

land is flat and there is no forest, Badung has plenty of rice fields, gardens, and good fruit yields. The livestock, especially buffalo and cattle are abundant, which are raised for breeding. The merchants were able to buy slaves [Vickers, 2012: 99-110], which were the source of income for the king and his nobles. Therefore Denpasar is known as the main trading city in southern Bali. The trading activity was centered in several seaports, where traders could export various commodities and receive European industrial goods, opium, and Chinese currency [Veth, 1869: 60].

Badung has many ports, one of which is located in Kuta [about 12 kilometers south of Denpasar]. The position of the port of Kuta then moved to Buleleng. Beginning with the fall of the Buleleng Kingdom into the hands of the Dutch East Indies government. In 1908 the Dutch East Indies reactivated the seaport of Benoa, Badung (about 25 kilometers south of Denpasar) to function as a general trading and shipping port. Its work was interrupted by the 1917 earthquake and World War II (Hoekstra 1938: 51-52). This trend began with the procurement of modern infrastructure lands in Denpasar City after first destroying buildings in the centers of the Badung kingdom at the insistence of the Government Commissioner, Liefvink [Nieuwenkamp, 1937: 272].

EARLY INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT IN THE XX CENTURY

The decision to destroy buildings in the centers of the Badung kingdom became the starting point for ecological changes marked by the emergence of modern infrastructure one by one so that Denpasar in 1915 had turned into an office and building area [Darma Putra, 2010]. On the other hand, roads have also been built connecting Denpasar to inland areas on the north side such as Blahkiuh village and the west to the Tabanan area and south to Benoa (Claudine Salmon & Myra Sidharta, 2000: 87-124). The presence of all this infrastructure further emphasized the desire of the Dutch colonial government to earn foreign exchange from the port-trade sector. Theoretically, import-export fluctuations are largely determined by the provision of supporting facilities, such as docks, means of transportation, banking institutions, hotels, warehousing, food and fresh water supplies, and other accommodation. The level of import-export volume is also influenced by the production capacity of the hinterlands and the purchasing power of the people towards the commute from the foreland, across the region [Sulistiyono, 1994: 11].

The tendency for Denpasar to become a port city can also be understood through the practice of Dutch imperialism-colonialism. Both imperialism and colonialism refer to roughly the same phenomena, namely economic exploitation, political domination, and the cultural penetration of one cultural-ethnic group by another. Imperialism focuses on the relationship between the conquered peoples and their foreign rulers, whereas colonialism focuses more on situations that can be seen from below, on the social structures created in colonial societies through imperialist relations (Gail, 1973: 1). The practice of imperialism-colonialism which was manifested through the provision of infrastructure was able to facilitate communication between Denpasar and other areas in Bali to support port movements. On the other hand, it can also make it easier for traders from other areas in the South Bali region to carry out export-import activities to Denpasar. Traders from Karangasem [Vickers, 2012: 233-238. Meanwhile, the committee from Tabanan, usually directly exported via the port of Buleleng [Nieuwsblad, 24/7/1908: 2].

THE PORT-TRADE SECTOR IS THE MAIN SOURCE OF EXPLOITATION

The port-trade sector became the main alternative to colonial exploitation because the socio-political risk was lighter than tourism. If you choose tourism, it means that Bali must be open to various parties. One thing that could not be fulfilled by the residents of Bali and Lombok, because at that time the challenge of nationalism radicalization in Java and the expansion of missionizing to Bali emerged. This missionizing expansion was revealed in 1912 when Bali was included in the Betawi Apostolic

Prefecture besides Sumbawa, Flores, Timor, Sumba, and Lombok. On November 4, 1919, Noyen as the Apostolic Prefecture of Lesser Sunda arrived in Bali to ask permission from the residents of Bali and Lombok to spread the gospel to Bali. Damste, the interim official for the South Bali region did not have the slightest interest in this issue, so the talks were short. When the Balinese know the purpose of the pastor's arrival, their educated circles are restless, worried about the threat of indigenous religions (Damste, 1924: 1 and 4).

During a government conference in 1922, Damste explicitly made a request to keep Bali free from Javanese influence. Subsequently, in 1923 there was a suggestion that the Resident of Bali-Lombok and Timor be combined into one government. This idea was supported by Couvreur, the former Assistant Resident of South Bali (1917-1920), but was opposed by Damste. For Damste, Bali should be isolated from external, destructive influences, while Couvreur argued that it should be Christianized by Roman Catholic missionaries (Robinson, 1998: 38-39). Damste rejected the idea and argued on the contrary, that what Bali needed was active government intervention. He preferred the existing religious policies, which limited missionary activity in Bali because Christianity would disturb the beautiful relationship between religious beliefs. Moreover, political rules by themselves can guarantee security and order (Robinson, 1998: 40-41).

On July 2 and 4, 1924, Volksraad member Tjokorda Gede Raka Soekawati protested against the permission of Catholic religious propaganda in Bali. On July 10, 12, and 15, 1924 appeared the writings of Korn, Rouffaer, and van Nouhuys. Korn shouted defend Bali. Rouffaer matches Korn. He stated that the Balinese have a beautiful native life without flaw. Then came the statement [Damste 1924: 5], that in Bali there were no railways, Western coffee plantations, let alone sugar factories. There should be no activities to find new converts, no Islam, except for indigenous people. Let the Indies government, supported by the Dutch government, treat Bali and West Lombok as a special part that must be preserved and maintained (Damste, 1924: 1). Damste also agreed with Korn and Rouffaer, therefore he stated that propaganda from missionaries was always a threat to Bali. Here Damste articulates Bali as the land of the gods and the Balinese only borrow from it. For the sake of the gods, the Balinese people devoted energy and money to build a temple complete with carved sculptures and ornaments, which were done by skilled artists. They poured love and care into offerings that were prepared and arranged day and night (Damste, 1924: 2).

Damste hopes that all of this will be maintained because the Balinese have nothing to change. In his view, the Balinese are no worse off than Christians. Therefore he did not agree with the pro-Christianization claim that with the spread of Christianity progress would be made. Can the spread of Christianity proceed without disturbing the gods and not jeopardizing security and order? Fifteen years ago (1909) this question might have been ignored, but now (1924) there have been many changes. "Jong Bali" has been formed, although the development is not as fast and strong as "Jong Java." The facts mentioned above can be used as an entry point to explain why not from the very beginning, the Dutch colonial government issued a policy in the tourism sector. Apparently, they are worried that tourism will accelerate the destruction of Bali, along with the emergence of radical nationalism in Java. The willingness of the Dutch to open Bali for tourism in 1924 was related to the emergence of an educated group, which was considered to function as a cultural filter. Based on these facts, the Dutch colonial government chose the safest exploitation route, namely paying attention to the port-trade sector by rebuilding the port, the legacy of the Badung kingdom.

DEVELOPMENT OF PORTS

Sanur Harbor

Sanur is an important trading city in South Bali. To gain strategic access to the port, as many as 102 Chinese applied to the assistant Resident Schwartz to be allowed to live between Denpasar-Sanur which stretches from West to East. The request was fulfilled, they would be placed in a Chinese village [Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch Indie, 1/3/1907: 1]. In February 1907 several village heads in the Denpasar neighborhood came to apply for the assistant resident not to allow Chinese people to stay in the royal capital of Badung. They want to sell their goods directly to Sanur, so they no longer need to stop in Denpasar, so they can get bigger profits.

On July 20, 1908, the assistant resident reviewed the issue of the Chinese village and at the same time decided that in the southern Bali region, special villages were opened for Chinese and other foreigners, namely in Denpasar, Tanjung Benoa, and in Tabanan [Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch Indie, dated 22/7/1908, 2nd sheet]. Thus the absence of a local petty bourgeoisie, not due to the inability or reluctance of the natives to invest in the trade sector, but because of the discrimination of the colonial authorities and the nature of the economic system which protected the monopoly position of the Dutch entrepreneurs and kept native capital limited to the lending and trading sectors (Gail, 1973: 9), by selecting or giving special rights to the Chinese people.

Even so, the facts above at least show that at that time in Denpasar [Badung] there was a spirit of becoming a bourgeoisie, namely the desire to climb the social ladder so that they could enter the middle class in the social sphere through entrepreneurship or entrepreneur (Bonnewitz, 1998: 47 in Haryatmoko, 2016: 46-47). They were defeated by the Chinese, who from generation to generation, as mentioned above, had power relations with kings. As Schäubin [2014: 87] said by quoting the work of previous researchers, the Chinese continued the social division of labor and social status that had developed since the pre-colonial period. In providing services to the king, Subandar is responsible for supervising and managing ports, warehouses, and trading with all traders from all points in Southeast Asia (Cf. Salmon & Sidharta, 2000: 95). This includes holding a syndicate with foreign traders. In carrying out its duties, Subandar is assisted by a number of staff, agents, and coolies. (Schäubin, 2014: 87) So the practice of symbiotic Chinese-Bali mutualism existed in pre-colonial times. The king, through his political power [domination], used the Chinese to obtain economic benefits. This means that it is not much different from what the Dutch did, because as stated by Loomba [2000/2003: 3] because colonialism is a recurring and widespread sight in human history. Until now, even though it has experienced discontinuities, cracks, thresholds, boundaries, sequences, and transformations (Foucault, 1976: 1), the Chinese and Balinese still borrow from each other and adapt and modify various sites of their cultural elements (Beratha, Ardika, and Dhana: 2010).

Unlike the Chinese, the monopoly given to Dutch entrepreneurs such as KPM was far more special. By holding the monopoly rights, KPM is very interested in investing in Sanur. Therefore, in early May 1907, a KPM ship sailed to Sanur but experienced difficulties when it landed high waves that drenched the crew's clothes. However, many Singapore boats that dock in Sanur include steamers belonging to KPM [De Locomotief, date 10/5/1907: 1]. The ships are waiting for merchandise to be exported. Apart from the committees mentioned above, Badung also relies on corporal coconut oil, castor fruit, and tobacco [De Locomotief, 10/5/1907: 1]. The committee is exported via the port of Sanur. This port is also frequently visited by rice traders from other parts of Bali for export. Likewise, forest products and there are also lots of pigs. Opium is often loaded onto ships and smuggled to Surabaya and other places in Java [De Locomotief, 10/5/1907: 1].

Sparring Sanur or Benoa

Even though the port of Sanur is said to be very strategic, there has been little debate among colonial policymakers, which one deserves to be a shipping place in South Bali: Sanur or Benoa? It seems difficult to decide because both have safe ports during the dry season. Within a year on the Sanur coast, there are high waves from the southeast and east that hit the two ports hard. Sometimes the blow was so hard that communication with the mainland was often cut off. The people of South Bali consider this phenomenon to be very frightening, making it difficult to find workers to transport goods, postal goods, and passengers on or off the ship [Handelsblad, 4/8/1908: 2].

The discourse that mentions the port of Sanur as the most suitable export point continues. This port is considered profitable and Assistant Resident Schwartz is very interested in Sanur. Therefore he tried hard to develop it and direct trade to this port. Therefore Sanur was chosen to be the shipping port for the South Bali region. Efforts to develop Sanur as a shipping port appear to be successful [Handelsblad, 4/8/1908: 2]. The development of Sanur is also supported by the continuous improvement of public traffic on land. However, because in the past the ships did not know the depth of Sanur waters, they still anchored far from the pier. This has been carried over so that it does not support the interests of trade as imagined by the assistant resident [Handelsblad, 4/8/1908: 2]. Even though up to a distance of 500 meters, ships can still attain a depth of 5 vadem [9 meters] and the coast is completely flat with open views so that the landing will not experience serious problems [Het vaderland, 12/9/1906: 1].

To solve this problem, in January 1907 the assistant resident asked an officer [Vooren] to unload the waters in Sanur. According to the officer, Sanur was very dirty because of the many hidden stones under its waters. There are also several dangerous places full of rocks [Handelsblad, 4/8/1908: 2]. Some parties agree with this opinion and the steps taken by the resident assistant to show that Sanur is the best export port in South Bali, because of its very strategic location [De Telegraaf, 18/9/1908: 2]. KPM is one of the parties that agreed with the resident assistant. They then opened their representatives and served to ship in Sanur and provided a fleet for export of cattle and pigs that could dock at the pier [Handelsblad, 4/8/1908: 2].

All failed because KPM experienced several obstacles and obstacles. The raft, which was full of cargo, was knocked down by the water, the fleet ran aground on the beach, causing great losses. Then the KPM wanted to move to Beno [Handelsblad, 4/8/1908: 2]. Previously, the Dutch East Indies government had issued a regulation stipulating that the port of Benoa was opened for public trade [Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch Indie, 8/7/1908: 2]. The failure of KPM in Sanur also became an important note for the resident assistant to make Denpasar a port city. It seems that the mention of Sanur as the best port in South Bali inserted a power-knowledge relationship in the colonial bureaucracy in the early twentieth century. The discourse on the features of the port of Sanur is nothing more than nostalgic knowledge about the successful landings of the expeditionary army in 1906 [Kol, 1914: 281-285].

This knowledge is used as the power to function as tactics, techniques, and maneuvers by creating a discourse that is considered the truth, that Sanur is the best port in South Bali (Foucault, 1980). Thus, the discourse contained the knowledge that apart from its more strategic position [near the capital city of South Bali], Sanur was also chosen as the landing place for expedition ships in 1906. Since then the officials suspect that apart from several other aspects, Sanur should still get priority over Benoa. Seen from the aspect of shipping, this assessment is wrong because even though Benoa is further away from Sanur, it was used as a trading center for sailboats. It's just that because the experience in mid-1908 showed that safe demolition was never or very rarely happened

during the dry season in Benoa, the specialty of Sanur became more and more so. (De Telegraaf, 18/9/1908: 2).

Benoa is not a foreign port for KPM. Previously, in 1906 a number of his ships had stopped at this port, but this voyage had to be stopped due to inadequate commercial results. Only after seeing the Dutch East Indies' efforts to develop South Bali, did KPM re-open its voyage to Benoa to be able to operate in the trade route between Bali and Banyuwangi, Penarukan and Surabaya as its node in Java [De Telegraaf, 18/9/1908: 2]. Considering that the representative is at Benoa port, KPM is forced to use small boats to sail it, because big ships cannot do it. The ship will sail the trench that has been mapped to Benoa. The mistake of choosing Benoa began to appear. Moreover, the traders do not live around the Benoa area, but in Denpasar. In order to arrive at Benoa, they must transport their goods from Sanur by boat or by land, but it will cost a lot of time and money. KPM also suffered huge losses which forced it to leave Benoa [Handelsblad, 4/8/1908: 2]. The departure of the KPM and the halting development of the port of Benoa, as mentioned by Hoekstra, made the assistant resident reorganize colonialist practices which had three major objectives, namely economic exploitation, cultural penetration, and political domination. The desire to make Denpasar a port city is still there, as can be seen from the continuing development of the Benoa port and several supporting infrastructure. But where did the Dutch East Indies get a source of foreign exchange Toits government in Bali?

Source of Foreign Exchange for Infrastructure Development

The permanent foreign exchange of the Netherlands Indies comes from taxes. The resident has the authority to determine and decide tax matters. Two kinds of taxes must be paid by the people, namely the *Nederlandsch Bestuur* tax [for the government of the Dutch people] and the *Inheemsch Bestuur* tax [government administered by the natives]. The first category includes personal [income] taxes, property [immovable property] taxes such as land taxes [landrente] and port and exit duties; as well as several excises such as opium, markets, and slaughtering animals [Bakker, 1936: 597]. Most of the revenue comes from the land tax sector, whose payments are based on the mapping of tax areas. There are three economic areas based on the proximity of the taxpayer to the main road. There are also fourth to eighth-grade lands. Each land class has its own value [Kaaften, 1936: 14]. The Dutch East Indies also received income from slave work. Those who did not have time or did not want to carry out the corpse work had to pay a ransom. If you want to explore, there are many more sources of taxes and excise that can be enjoyed by the Dutch East Indies in Bali, as revealed in Kaaften [1936].

Among other things, tax funds are used to build infrastructure. Apart from those already mentioned above, in 1914 a road was successfully built connecting south Bali and North Bali via Tabanan which was already connected with Denpasar in 1914 [Damste, 1926: 581]. Thus, the closest reasons have been answered, why the first group of tourists entered Bali in 1914. But why the next stage of tourism began to develop in 1924. If we refer to the Hoekstra report, of course, it has something to do with the implications of the First World War.

CONTINUE TO THE CITY OF TOURISM

After World War I ended, Denpasar did not immediately turn into a tourist city. Shortly afterward, in 1921 the resident still admitted that he was not ready to receive the arrival of tourist groups to Bali due to lack of funds to build infrastructure [de Preanger Bode, 9/4/1921: 1]. This fact further strengthens the evidence that the infrastructure built in 1908-1917 was not intended to make Denpasar a tourist city, but to facilitate the port-trade business. If then everything is used for tourism purposes, that is another matter which must also be looked for the closest causes. The resident's unpreparedness was revealed in the answer he gave related to the emergence of a plan to build a Colonial

Tourism Bureau in October 1919 in Batavia involving Java, Sumatra, and Bali. Only the Java Tourism Bureau is ready because they have succeeded in improving their ability to transport tourist groups. Meanwhile, Bali still lacked infrastructure, so the residents refused to join [de Preanger Bode, 9/4/1921: 1].

The obstacle lies in the uneven road procurement throughout South Bali [Stenis, 1919: 76-77]. The city of Denpasar has also been connected with the outer city area which includes three eastern routes. The southern part of the western route is connected with Kuta, Tuban, and the airport in South Bali [Moll, 1941: 2-3]. In other areas of South Bali such as Klungkung, transportation infrastructure is built following the northern and southern river flows. This road was only passed smoothly after the suspension bridges at Tukad Bubuh and Tukad Unda were repaired in 1935-1936. To maintain the smooth flow of transportation on this route, the Public Works Agency paved and maintained it by utilizing slave workers [Kaden, 1936: 34-35]. Likewise, the Grogak airfield [36 kilometers west of Singaraja] which was built in 1919 did not function properly, so that a plane skidded twice, namely on 18 April 1920 and 26 May 1921 [Damste, 1926: 578-579].

Thus, the closest reasons for the resident's lack of courage in accepting the visit of a tourist group in 1921, among others, were the suspension bridges at Tukad Bubuh and Tukad Unda, which connected Denpasar [Badung] with Klungkung, were not yet suitable for buses. Even so, the discourse on developing tourism continues. At the end of January 1922, there was a discourse on a planned trip to Bali, which was marked by the publication of the brochure "Travel Guidelines to Bali." [Het nieuws van den dag voor Ned. Indie, 26/1/1922: 2]. At the end of November 1923, there was an opportunity to bring tourist groups to Bali thanks to the assistance of the Batavia Official Tourist Office. Overall the Batavia Official Tourist Office, in the first two days of the fourth week of November 1923, helped bring 40 tourists to Bali [Het nieuws van den dag voor Ned. Indie, dated 11/28/1923: 2]. In this case, there is a meeting point with the facts conveyed by Pringle as already mentioned above, that in 1923 there was already a group of tourists coming to Bali. But only a year later [1924], tourism in South Bali began. What happened at that time?

In May 1924 a new tourist office was opened providing trips to Java, Sumatra, and Bali. They published a series of "guides," on travel large and small in the Indies [De Indische Courant, 2/5/1924: 2]. KPM benefits from the existence of this travel agency. At that time, KPM's Rumphius ship left for Bali to transport tourists who wanted to watch the Ngaben ceremony [Vickers, 2012: 111-123], the burning of a large corpse in Gianyar [De Indische Courant, 14/8/1924: 2]. Besides, the ship also functioned as a hotel because at that time Bali lacked spacious and good accommodation, but the group of tourists ignored it [De Indische Courant, 14/8/1924: 2].

Simbol-simbol Modernitas

Even though South Bali is not ready to accept tourist groups due to limited infrastructure, from a psychological point of view they seem ready for the symbols of modernity attached to tourists. In 1918, not only Denpasar, in other areas of South Bali, symbols of modernity were increasingly being found, such as in Karangasem. In the Karangasem palace, there are many additional buildings and ornate examples shown by the Dutch East Indies government. There is a large concrete tower which shows that they were able to make a large relief with cement and stone (Nieuwenkamp, 1937: 274). Thus, long before the development of Denpasar as a tourist city [1924], socio-psychological conditions had emerged, in the form of mental readiness for several Balinese people to adapt to the symbols of modernity that tourists would bring. Besides, the readiness of South Bali to receive a visit from a tourist group in 1924 was also

supported by the socio-cultural effects of the arrival of the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies to Bali in 1918.

Socio-Cultural Readiness

To welcome the Governor-General, in the Karangasem-Klungkung border area, along the south coast highway, a gate was built. This is a custom when great guests are visiting the Karangasem kingdom. Furthermore, the great guest will get an honor guard until he arrives at the Karangasem palace (Nieuwenkamp, 1937: 274). Not only in Karangasem, in all the areas he visited, but the governor-general was also always greeted with various kinds of excitement. On July 17, 1918, while visiting the Ongngan dam [Denpasar] and the Kesiman temple [Denpasar] which were destroyed by the 1917 Mount Batur earthquake [Jacobs, 2012: 177], a group of umbrella carriers waited outside the temple, while armed police formed an honor force. Along the way full of decorations. When visiting Bangli a similar reception also occurred. In the village of Batur, the Governor-General was greeted by a spear and shield dance. In Klungkung he was invited to visit various goldsmiths, copper craftsmen, and woodcarvers [Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad, 19/7/1918: 2].

Along the road leading to Sangsit Village [about 6 kilometers east of Singaraja City], it is also decorated with flags, flowers, and green colors, and residents watch it on the side of the road. Here he is greeted by a group of girls dressed in classic Balinese styles, who are assigned to give offerings of betel following old habits. Bugis people, wearing their traditional clothes, also welcomed him. Similar remarks also occurred when arriving at Pura Beji [Sangit], a shrine for the [Subak] community, the shrine of Dewi Sri. The arrival of the Governor-General also became an important event and could be said to be the proximate reasons for the readiness of the Balinese to receive tourists in the future, in 1924. Even though the presence of the Governor-General was not a starting point, it could also be said to have accelerated the process of socio-cultural transformation of interests. spiritual [the gods] to the worldly.

IMPLICATIONS

The implications for the presence of tourists can be seen from the economic [livelihood] side. The tourists generally like to buy souvenirs. One of them is woven cloth. However, in general, they only buy Balinese woven fabrics as jewelry and eye charms. Therefore, Surya Kanta, a progressive organization against conservative groups in North Bali [Bagus, 1979; 1974; 1975], trying to improve this condition by introducing the way of working of the weaving craftsmen from Silungkang, Minangkabau, West Sumatra [Surya Kanta, No. February 2, 1926, Tahoen II: 29-30]. The wider implications, including in the arts and culture, were increasingly felt after the establishment of the Bali Hotel in 1928 [Covarrubias, 2013]. In 1929 the number of tourist visits to Bali was 1428 people (Picard, 2006: 33), whose influence was felt in Klungkung. In line with the development of tourism, in the early 1930s, this cloth was also sold to tourists, so that it could revive production [tenun ikat] in Klungkung which is spread over a number of villages [Kaaden, 1936: 10].

The resurrection was an important moment in the history of the textile because entering the 1930s, the interest of local people to buy [Tenun Ikat] for clothing had started to decline, even though it had not completely disappeared. The broader implication of the increase in the number of tourist visits is also evident from the emergence of the petty bourgeoisie in Klungkung, known as "Putri" [Patimah], a Balinese woman who claims to be the former wife of the King of Klungkung [Picard, 2006: 31]. Meanwhile, in Denpasar, the rapid growth of tourism has given birth to business diversification here and there, one of which is Sanur. In stark contrast to before, when the Dutch East Indies government designed it as a port-trade center, Sanur in the 1930s had already become a tourist village, along with many foreign visits. An Impressionist painter Andrien Jean

Le Mayeur de Merpres built a painting studio on the beach. Still in the 1930s came to Sanur, the author of the classic novel *A Tale of Bali*, Vicki Baum. Anthropologist Jane Belo also arrived, who wrote the book *Trance in Bali*. Also followed by photographers Jack and Katharine Mershon. Katharine Mershon is an anthropologist and ethnographer who discovered [Kecak Dance] [Vickers, 2012: 313-310]. In their house, the Mershon husband and wife also opened a simple clinic for the treatment of residents [Carlisle, et al. 2005: 24-26]. Two German brothers Hans and Rolf Neuhaus also came to build an art shop, which was the first art shop in the place. The art shop also features a saltwater aquarium to attract the attention of mostly European visitors [Carlisle, et al. 2005: 24-26].

Even though the village of Sanur has been used as a residence by Western people, the Balinese settlement pattern is still maintained. Pigs, dogs, and chickens roam the yard of the house and there are still many people who defecate in the backyard called [teba]. In the afternoon before sunset, men and women bathe separately at the times of the road. The habit of bathing at roadside times is not only in Sanur but also in Denpasar. It's just that the city of Denpasar is filled with Chinese people, hotels, offices, banks, and shops of Chinese people [Tantri, 2006: 26-30]. Seeing the condition of Denpasar city like that, tourists who come to this city prefer to stay in Sanur, among them is the painter Theo Meier who came recently [Carlisle, et al. 2005: 24-26]. He is a painter from Switzerland who lived in Bali from 1935 to mid-1955 (Vickers, 2009). If he continues until now, it will be seen that Sanur is the starting point for the development of tourism in Denpasar and even Bali, especially after the establishment of the Bali Beach Hotel in 1966.

CONCLUSION

The closest reason for the shift of economic exploitation in Denpasar City from trade-port to tourist city lies in the failure of the resident assistant to make Denpasar a trading-port city. Therefore, tourism can be called an 'illegitimate' child in South Bali. The economic and political energy of the Dutch East Indies in Denpasar in the period 1906-1908 was used to reform the port-trade sector but failed due to natural disturbances. In the following period from 1908 to 1914, KPM, which received a monopoly in shipping-trade, did not intend to enter the tourism sector, while the Indies government still relied on the port-trade sector as a source of regional income including taxes and excise. The funds were used, among other things, to finance infrastructure development by utilizing corrosive workers. Therefore, in the period 1908-1917, it was seen that the Indies government in Denpasar built a lot of infrastructures, but not to support the tourism sector, but to port-trade. Hidden facts that can be revealed, although since 1908 in Batavia there has been a Vereeniging Touristenverkeer in Nederlandsch Indie, the Resident of Bali and Lombok have not yet paid attention to it. Likewise with KPM. In 1914 the KPM had just explored the tourism business, the closest reasons were not only because Bali could be reached from Surabaya by ship, but also because there was already a road connecting Tabanan [South Bali] with Buleleng [North Bali], thereby streamlining traffic. group of tourists.

In 1924, when tourism began to develop, KPM, which had a monopoly on inter-island shipping routes, was appointed as the official representative of the OTB in Bali. The existence of a relatively long time span [for 10 years], not because KPM does not want to develop a tourism business in Bali, but also related to infrastructure issues. The existing infrastructure is not sufficient for bringing in tourist groups. This was evident when in 1921 the Resident of Bali and Lombok refused to join the Colonial Tourism Bureau in Batavia. Even so, several external conditions made up the decision of KPM to start a tourism business in Bali in 1924. The closest cause is the psychological readiness of the Balinese people to accept modernity and socially and culturally on the other hand. The second factor was seen when the visit of Governor-General van Stirum went safely. Likewise, the journey by car from the city of Singaraja to the South Bali region to the easternmost area can also be carried out smoothly. Another external condition was the

successful visit of a group of tourists from the United States to Bali in 1923. They turned out to be able to accept Bali's condition as it was, even though they only stayed on a ship and traveled overland with poor road conditions. Therefore, when there were so many European enthusiasts to watch the funeral pyre at Puri Gianyar in 1924, KKM decided to bring a group of tourists.

Only after the incident did the OTB operate in Bali by appointing KPM as its representative. In 1928 KPM built a Bali hotel. Since then, tourist visits to Bali have increased. By providing taxi services and English speaking tour guides, KPM and its hotels can take tourists to visit almost all areas of Bali. Tourism services in South Bali increased after the important bridge connecting Gianyar and Klungkung was built in 1935-1936. At that time Denpasar had changed, the impression as a port-trading city was no longer visible. Sanur has turned into a residential area for foreign artists. So the most important thing related to the present. The lack of enthusiasm for the Balinese in the port-trade sector, because Dutch imperialism-colonialism emphasized the role of the Chinese as intermediary traders. In contrast to tourism, the diversification of business that arose in it made possible the birth of the local petty bourgeoisie. The bottom line is that the development of Denpasar in the early colonial period was not intended to become a tourist city. Tourism is an 'illegitimate' child born several years later after the failure of economic exploitation through trade-ports in Sanur and Benoa.

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