

Tobacco Cultivation in Besuki under the Great Depression^(*)

UEMURA Yasuo

I Introduction

The social economy of Indonesia was reorganized into one that was suitable for producing commodities for the world market by the Dutch colonial rule which began to penetrate into the lowest strata of the society from the beginning of the 19th century, with the result that the so-called mono-cultural economy was formed, which in general was vulnerable to the fluctuations in the world market. And this fragility appeared most markedly during the Depression in the 1930s.

It is, however, also true that this effect on the regional economy varied in nature and intensity, depending on what was produced there. In this essay we examine how the cultivation of tobacco underwent this variation in the residency of Besuki.

Besuki, situated in the eastern extremes (*Oosthoek*) of Java, was one of the largest centers of tobacco production in Java as is shown in table 1. The cultivation began to flourish from the 1860s, when G.Birnie, after resigning as the controller of the district of Jember (*afdeeling Bondowoso*) to which he was appointed in 1859, started on the planting for the European market there. He established a tobacco enterprise together with C.S.Mathiesen and A.D.van

Table 1 Tobacco Production in Java and Madura from 1932 to 1934

region	harvest in 1932		harvest in 1933		harvest in 1934	
	production (bale)	cent/ 0.5 kg	production (bale)	cent/ 0.5 kg	production (bale)	cent/ 0.5 kg
Principalities	122,476	34	112,452	26	121,528	21
Besuki	138,139	22.75	150,662	20	166,928	17
Lumajan	34,000	18	42,000	21	42,000	15
Kediri	10,000	10	7,000	10	42,000	7
Rembang	28,000	8	35,000	9		
Kedu	10,000	12	14,000	11	5,000	10
Banyumas	7,700	21	9,000	21	11,000	13
Others	1,000	12	6,300	13	2,500	9
Java total	351,306	24.25	374,414	20.25	390,954	16.75
Madura	2,900	17	3,800	17	4,000	14
total	354,206	24.25	378,214	20.25	394,954	16.75

note : one bale contains about 70 kg tobacco leaves
source : Javatabak 1936:1323

Gennep, which came under the management of the Birnies in 1875 and was called Oud Djember. Then followed the founding of the enterprises such as the Soekowono, the Djeboek and the Soekokerto Adjong in the 1860s. All of them developed rapidly from the 1870s due to the better market price caused by the German-French War, and the planted acreage expanded more than tenfold, from 4,869 hectares in 1873 to 52,518 hectares in 1915 [Jaeggi 1949: 487~488, K.V. 1874: bijl.Y, K.V. 1916: bijl.GG].

II Characteristics of the tobacco cultivation in Besuki

1. Spatial distribution of the cultivation in Besuki

Tobacco in Java in the colonial era was generally divided into the estate tobacco, which was cultivated under the control of estates on the rice fields leased from the inhabitants, and the native tobacco (*inlandsche tabak*, or *vrijmanstabak*) grown by the peasants on their own account. In Besuki tobacco was usually harvested from July to January, and divided into the *voorooft* and the *naoogst* according to the harvest season. The former, of which seeding began in February or March, was harvested in the dry season from May to October. It was mostly the native tobacco and planted mainly on the dry lands. The latter was sown from the beginning of July and harvested from December to January (see table 2a and 2b). It was generally planted on the rice fields and all of the estate tobacco belonged to this category. Among the peasants, however, there were many who did not lend their rice fields to the estates but grew the *naoogst* tobacco on their own account [Kuribayashi 1941:81, Jaeggi 1949:495]¹⁾.

In the 1930s tobacco cultivation in Besuki was concentrated in the southern regencies, Jember and Bondowoso. Most of the estate tobacco was cultivated at the western foot of Mt. Raung in Jember [Kuribayashi 1941:70], where eight estates, that is, the largest Oud Djember, the second largest B.T.M. (Besoeki Tabak Maatschappij), the Soekowono, the Djelboek, the Soekokerto Adjoeng, the Soekosari, the Manggisan, and the Fraser Eaton had their planting [Onderzoek Djember 1932:bijl.no. 4], while in Bondowoso there were the following 10: the Nangkaan managed by the Oud Djember, the Kali-anjar, the Tamanan, the Pengarang and the Boender which belonged to the B.T.M., the Soembersari which was jointly managed by the Oud Djember and the B.T.M., the Kontjir under the management of the Tobacco Company Kontjir, the Bondowoso which belonged to the Fraser Eaton, the Soekowono and the Djelboek [Memori Residen Bondowoso 1929:175]²⁾. On the other hand, the native tobacco cultivation extended further northward from around Bondowoso town to the district of Prajekan [Kuribayashi 1941:70].

Table 2a Harvested acreage of the Native Tobacco in the residency Besuki in the 1930s (bau)

	Jan.	Febr.	March	April	May	June	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	total
1932	rice field					21	12	34	256	331	779	7,317	
	dry land					720	725	1,965	2,429	1,622	1,932	448	
	total					741	737	1,999	2,685	1,953	2,711	7,765	
1933	rice field	2,308	34	2	11	0	0	4	75	207	266	2,163	7,951
	dry land	278	73	148	27	14	16	615	2,541	3,478	3,754	1,564	903
	total	2,586	107	150	38	14	16	619	2,616	3,685	4,020	3,727	8,854
1934	rice field	2,549	37	0	0	0	0	53	231	1,023	4,395	11,513	19,801
	dry land	388	41	37	4	96	354	1,782	2,560	5,053	3,016	1,634	757
	total	2,937	78	37	4	96	354	1,782	2,613	5,284	4,039	6,029	12,270
1935	rice field	176	80	6	6	1	0	9	120	401	1,550	3,269	6,471
	dry land	253	19	38	9	14	434	1,236	2,403	4,807	2,746	1,017	680
	total	429	99	44	15	15	434	1,245	2,523	5,208	4,286	7,151	25,745
1936	rice field	1,824	5	4	13	0	5	50	173	618	1,367	2,432	4,711
	dry land	187	19	3	9	47	98	529	1,794	2,909	2,318	1,255	648
	total	2,011	24	7	22	47	103	579	1,967	3,527	3,685	3,687	5,359
1937	rice field	970	31	0	20	2	51	73	92	583	725	2,745	3,692
	dry land	121	23	94	5	11	418	1,553	2,492	3,981	2,074	1,096	556
	total	1,091	54	94	25	13	469	1,626	2,584	4,564	2,799	3,841	4,248
1938	rice field	2,699	7	13	0	0	0	185	58	992	870	2,793	2,331
	dry land	99	68	6	30	3	127	1,115	2,720	4,028	2,452	1,328	594
	total	2,798	75	19	30	3	127	1,300	2,778	5,020	3,322	4,121	2,925
1939	rice field	880	1	13	0	0	0	1	27	1,063	1,338	1,292	1,987
	dry land	93	24	66	21	307	155	828	2,037	3,824	2,342	432	632
	total	973	25	79	21	307	155	829	2,064	4,887	3,680	1,724	2,619
1940	rice field	794	37	3	0	0	0	0	70	1,070	1,823		
	dry land	230	66	17	34	4	100	290	1,608	2,600	2,670		
	total	1,024	103	20	34	4	100	290	1,678	3,670	4,493		
average of 1933 ~1939	rice field	1,629	28	5	7	0	8	46	85	585	1,020	2,727	5,522
	dry land	203	38	56	15	70	243	1,094	2,364	4,011	2,672	1,189	681
	total	1,832	66	61	22	70	251	1,140	2,449	4,596	3,692	3,916	6,203

Table 2b Planted acreage of the Native Tobacco in the residency Besuki in the 1930s (baus)

	Jan.	Febr.	March	April	May	June	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	total
1932	rice field					325	430	536	7,092	3,194	597	25	
	dry land					1,258	1,033	723	248	143	137	129	
	total					1,583	1,463	1,259	7,340	3,337	734	154	
1933	rice field	4	2	2	5	11	498	610	1,154	7,758	4,341	880	1
	dry land	5	11	58	1,093	3,210	6,469	1,356	542	320	118	193	2
	total	9	13	60	1,098	3,221	6,967	1,966	1,696	8,078	4,459	1,073	3
1934	rice field	0	0	0	0	57	5,149	1,410	2,882	11,663	1,263	32	10
	dry land	13	87	1,268	2,168	4,007	5,105	1,470	807	1,044	217	56	4
	total	13	87	1,268	2,168	4,064	5,654	2,880	3,689	12,707	1,480	88	14
1935	rice field	9	2	0	0	24	1,119	1,461	2,126	8,046	1,075	491	0
	dry land	2	70	788	2,595	2,308	3,920	2,478	669	704	42	116	8
	total	11	72	788	2,595	2,332	5,039	3,939	2,795	8,750	1,117	607	8
1936	rice field	7	4	0	40	194	1,038	1,723	1,800	2,510	2,691	53	0
	dry land	45	118	216	863	2,861	2,587	1,601	862	228	165	226	8
	total	52	122	216	903	3,055	3,625	3,324	2,662	2,738	2,856	279	8
1937	rice field	0	3	0	49	95	677	1,591	1,118	4,187	2,051	917	0
	dry land	0	233	623	1,939	3,174	2,860	1,492	1,458	432	130	16	34
	total	0	236	623	1,988	3,269	3,537	3,083	2,576	4,619	2,181	933	34
1938	rice field	0	0	0	14	827	900	1,803	1,565	2,166	796	182	1
	dry land	7	4	287	2,151	4,379	3,727	1,121	468	335	332	25	32
	total	7	4	287	2,165	5,206	4,627	2,924	2,033	2,501	1,128	207	33
1939	rice field	0	10	1	8	221	1,193	1,731	1,063	1,456	887	69	1
	dry land	335	31	375	1,317	2,668	3,082	1,686	768	601	383	55	8
	total	335	41	376	1,325	2,889	4,275	3,417	1,831	2,057	1,270	124	9
1940	rice field	0	0	0	0	92	1,421	2,685	2,310	693	401		
	dry land	32	44	80	890	2,517	2,755	1,972	1,045	452	206		
	total	32	44	80	890	2,609	4,176	4,657	3,355	1,145	607		
average of 1933 ~1939	rice field	3	3	0	17	204	853	1,476	1,673	5,398	1,872	375	2
	dry land	58	79	516	1,732	3,230	3,964	1,601	796	523	198	98	14
	total	61	82	516	1,749	3,434	4,817	3,077	2,769	5,921	2,070	473	16

source: "Overzicht landbouwgewassen", in *E.W.* 1932:155, 343, 539, 747, 883, 1029, *E.W.* 1933:1253, 1475, 1593, 1831, 2007, 2199, *E.W.* 1933 II:147, 385, 561, 725, 893, 1087, *E.W.* 1934:133, 343, 501, 731, 877, 1073, 1211, 1403, 1597, 1705, 1903, 2051, *E.W.* 1935:139, 307, 447, 681, 871, 1015, 1193, 1375, 1537, 1748, 1912, *E.W.* 1936:40, 200, 372, 554, 872, 1054, 1260, 1478, 1676, 1854, 2092, 2316, 2530, *E.W.* 1937:222, 418, 620, 994, 1228, 1410, 1668, 1876, 2094, 2352, 2574, *E.W.* 1938:40, 198, 446, 590, 948, 1100, 1314, 1528, 1690, 1908, 2030, 2218, 2356, *E.W.* 1939:114, 300, 468, 760, 896, 1108, 1260, 1456, 1604, 1792, 1966, *E.W.* 1940:36, 150, 294, 534, 882, 1044, 1206, 1368, 1620, 1796, 1998, 2222.

Table 3 Harvested acreage in the regency Bondowoso and Jember (bau)

	Bondowoso		Jember	
	estate tobacco	native tobacco	estate tobacco	native tobacco
1930	3,528	5,624	30,568	23,268
1931	4,210	7,283	32,579	28,664
1932	2,636	3,605	23,999	14,208
1933	3,377	3,955	24,225	19,027

source : Onderzoek achterstand 1935:482

Table 4 Estate tobacco in the regency Jember

district	a, total acreage of rice field	b, usual acreage of tobacco planting		c, usual acreage of leased rice field	
	ha	ha	b/a x 100	ha	c/a x 100
Tanggul	12,039	1,586	13.2%	4,398	36.5%
Puger	12,918	31	0.2%	43	0.3%
Wuluhan	9,577	939	9.8%	2,682	28.0%
Rambipuji	9,978	3,532	35.4%	7,583	76.0%
Jember	9,339	4,878	52.2%	8,637	92.5%
Mayang	4,422	1,877	42.2%	4,038	91.3%
Kalisat	10,486	7,127	68.0%	10,277	98.0%
reg. Jember	68,759	19,969	29.0%	38,840	56.5%

source: a=Volkstelling 1930, b, c=Onderzoek Djember 1932, bijl. no 4

Table 3 shows the harvested acreage in both regencies. As the total arable land at the time amounted to 106,763 baus (1 bau is about 0.71 hectares) in Bondowoso [Volkstelling 1930, vol.3:141], tobacco in 1930 and 1931, when the planting was still done in normal acreage, occupied respectively 8.6% and 10.8% of it. In Jember arable land amounted to 202,726 baus [Volkstelling 1930, vol.3:141], so the percentage was 26.3 and 30.2 respectively; thus the cultivation of tobacco was much more important than in Bondowoso.

With regard to Jember we can get figures of the acreage of tobacco planting and of the rice fields leased by the estates in each district before the Depression, which are shown in table 4. Obviously the cultivation was concentrated in the districts of Jember, Mayang, Kalisat and Rambipuji. In contrast, Tanggul and Wuluhan had only a little and Puger almost nothing. This can be attributed to the cultivation of sugar cane on a large scale by the sugar factories in these three districts, especially in Puger³⁾.

And in this regency some 60,000 peasants were said to engage in cultivating the estate tobacco [L.E.V. 3e kwrt.1932 (mailrapport 16/33, Verbaal 16-2-33-6):11]. As this regency had a population of about 930,000 in 1930, so that the number of the families might be between 180,000 and 230,000, roughly 1/4 to 1/3 of the whole family derived their income from this cultivation. This ratio might be much higher in the four tobacco districts.

Though we can not know exactly the spatial distribution of the native tobacco cultivation in this regency, it is at least sure that the planting on the dry lands was largest in Wuluhan and there was also a considerable cultivation in Tanggul [Onderzoek Djember 1932: bijl. No.7], which thus did not fully correspond with that of the estate tobacco. But as the native tobacco was planted in this regency much more widely on the rice fields than in the dry lands⁴⁾ and much of its product was bought up by the estates, its distribution as a whole seems to have been not so different from that of the estate tobacco.

In any case cultivation of tobacco can be considered as a quite important part of the peasants' economy in Jember at that time, and the livelihood of the inhabitants depended largely on its result, especially in the four tobacco districts.

So what were the characteristics of the tobacco cultivation in Besuki? Next we examine this in the case of the estate tobacco.

2. Characteristics of the estate tobacco cultivation

Tobacco estates in Besuki usually took rice fields on a lease of five years from the inhabitants at a low rent, which was equal to the land rent and collectively paid to village chiefs in the middle of the year. If the land rent was raised in this period, the estates had to meet the difference. The cultivation was done by those who rented out on their own rice fields, with whom the estates concluded the cultivation contract [Rijke 1934:31].

The acreage which the tobacco actually took up was about a half of the rice fields leased as illustrated by the ratio of the "usual acreage planted" to the "acreage leased" in table 5. And the period in which tobacco occupied them was limited to six months, from July to December. Accordingly the peasants could use the other half for themselves also in this period, and from January 1 to June 30 all of them⁵⁾, where they usually planted rainy season paddy. Thus they did not need to sacrifice the whole of the paddy harvest as in the case of the land rental to the sugar estates.

After being ploughed up, these rice fields were handed over to the estates on July 1 and left alone for about a month to acidify the soil. Then the soil was finely broken and ditches of

30 Tobacco Cultivation in Besuki

Table 5 Curtailment of the Estate Tobacco Cultivation in the regency Djember

sub district	name of the concern	usual planted acreage (bau)	leased acreage (bau)	planted acreage in 1932 (bau)	curtailment	average landrente per bau (guilder)	reduction of the land rent	accepted rent (guilder)	applied reduction of the rent (guilder)
Jember	Oud-Djember	923	2,497	563	40 %	14.30	20%	35,707.10	7,141.42
	B. T. M.	55	85	39	30 %	14.30		1,215.50	243.10
	Soekowono	63	79	31	51 %	14.30		1,129.70	225.94
	sub total	1,041	2,661	635	40 %	14.30		38,052.30	7,610.46
Wirolegi	Oud-Djember	1,244	2,453	611	51 %	13.40		32,870.20	6,574.04
	B. T. M.	576	937	257	56 %	13.40		12,555.80	2,511.16
	Djelboek	412	550	206	50 %	13.40		7,370.-	1,474.-
	sub total	2,232	3,940	1,074	52 %	13.40		52,796.-	10,559.20
Arjasa	Oud-Djember	403	1,018	271	33 %	10.20		10,383.60	2,076.72
	B. T. M.	405	707	230	43 %	10.20		7,211.40	1,442.28
	Djelboek	1,460	1,948	730	50 %	10.20		19,869.60	3,073.92
	sub total	2,268	3,673	1,231	46 %	10.20		37,464.60	7,492.92
Jelbuk	B. T. M.	201	379	116	42 %	9.50		3,600.50	720.10
	Djelboek	1,128	1,512	564	50 %	9.50		14,364.-	2,872.80
	sub total	1,329	1,891	680	49.-%	9.50		17,964.50	3,592.90
district Jember total		6,870	12,165	3,618	47.4 %			146,277.40	29,255.48
Mayang	Oud-Djember	540	1,151	157	71 %	12.10	20%	13,927.10	2,785.42
	B. T. M.	318	478	114	64 %	12.10		5,783.80	1,156.76
	sub total	858	1,629	271	69 %	12.10		19,710.90	3,942.18
Mumbulsari	Oud-Djember	809	2,162	305	63 %	11.15		24,106.30	4,821.26
Silo	Soekokerto Adjoeng	749	1,508	375	50 %	9.70		14,627.60	2,925.52
	Soekosari	228	389	73	68 %	9.70		3,773.30	754.66
	sub total	977	1,897	448	54 %	9.70		18,400.90	3,680.18
district Mayang total		2,644	5,688	1,004	62 %			62,218.10	12,443.62
Kalisat	B. T. M.	997	1,478	468	53 %	16.20	20%	23,943.60	4,788.72
	Soekowono	541	678	281	48 %	16.20		10,983.60	2,196.72
	Djelboek	514	680	257	50 %	16.20		11,026.-	2,205.20
	Soekokerto Adjoeng	2,259	3,007	1,266	44 %	16.20		48,713.40	9,742.68
	sub total	4,311	5,843	2,272	47 %	16.20		94,676.60	18,933.32
Sukowono	B. T. M.	682	1,064	403	41 %	16.20		17,236.80	3,447.36
	Soekowono	1,776	2,225	888	50 %	16.20		36,045.-	7,209
	Soekokerto Adjoeng	40	52	20	50 %	16.20		842.40	168.48
	Soekosari	92	122	51	45 %	16.20		1,976.40	395.28
	sub total	2,590	3,463	1,362	47.5 %	16.20		56,100.60	11,220.12
Sumberjambe	B. T. M.	700	1,149	443	37 %	13.-		14,937.-	2,987.40
	Soekowono	432	541	247	43 %	13.-		7,033.-	1,406.60
	Soekokerto Adjoeng	672	1,514	249	63 %	13.-		20,059.-	4,011.80
	Soekosari	165	312	86	48 %	13.-		4,056.-	811.20
	sub total	1,969	3,545	1,025	48 %	13.-		46,085.-	9,217.-
Ledokombo	B. T. M.	684	1,027	372	46 %	14.-		14,378.-	2,875.60
	Soekowono	229	287	114	50 %	14.-		4,018.-	803.60
	Soekosari	255	310	116	62 %	14.-		4,340.-	868.-
	sub total	1,168	1,624	602	49 %	14.-		22,736.-	4,547.20
district Kalisat total		10,038	14,475	5,261	47.6 %			219,588.20	43,917.64
Rambipuji	B. T. M.	405	833	41	90 %	15.-	10%	12,495.-	1,249.50
	Oud-Djember	739	1,667	329	56 %	15.-		25,005.-	2,500.50
	sub total	1,144	2,500	370	68 %	15.-		37,500.-	3,750.-
Panti	Oud-Djember	917	2,399	401	57 %	10.10		24,229.90	2,422.99
	B. T. M.	175	444	182	-	10.10		4,484.40	448.44
	sub total	1,092	2,843	583	43 %	10.10		28,714.30	2,871.43
Mangli	B. T. M.	210	536	35	83 %	11.70		6,271.20	627.12
	Oud-Djember	1,147	2,206	307	74 %	11.70		25,810.20	2,581.02
	sub total	1,357	2,742	342	75 %	11.70		32,081.40	3,208.14
Jenggawah	Oud-Djember	1,382	2,595	21	98 %	12.75		33,086.25	3,308.625
district Rambipuji total		4,975	10,680	1,316	73.5 %			131,381.95	13,138.195
Tanggul	Manggisan	143	450	75	47.6 %	9.05	10%	4,072.50	407.25
	Oud-Djember	496	1,764	160	68 %	9.05		15,964.20	1,596.42
	B. T. M.	61	162	35	42.5 %	9.05		1,466.10	146.61
	sub total	700	2,376	270	62 %	9.05		21,502.80	2,150.28
Jatiroto	Oud-Djember	116	362	81	30 %	4.90		1,773.80	177.38
Bangsalsari	Oud-Djember	810	2,115	262	67.7 %	10.20		21,573.-	2,157.30
	B. T. M.	608	1,265	60	90.1 %	10.20		12,903.-	1,290.30
	sub total	1,418	3,380	322	77 %	10.20		34,476.-	3,447.60
district Tanggul total		2,234	6,118	675	70 %	10.20		57,752.60	5,775.26
district Puger total (Oud-Djember)		43	60	-	100 %	7.25	20%	435.-	87.-
Wuluhah	Oud-Djember	52	78	-	100 %	11.40	10%	889.20	88.92
Balung	Oud-Djember	249	809	-	100 %	11.10		8,979.90	897.99
	B. T. M.	353	796	-	100 %	11.10		8,835.60	883.56
	sub total	602	1,605	-	100 %	11.10		17,815.50	1,781.55
Ambulu	Oud-Djember	75	209	-	100 %	11.40		2,382.60	238.26
	Fraser Eaton	593	1,186	300	49.41 %	11.40		13,520.40	1,352.04
	sub total	668	1,395	300	55.-%	11.40		15,903.-	1,590.30
district Wuluhah total		1,322	3,778	300	77.3 %			34,607.70	3,460.77
regency Jember grand total		28,126	54,704	12,172	57 %			652,260.95	107,990.865

large or small size were dug for drainage. Transplanting generally started in the first week of August. The estates supplied the seedling free to the contractors, who came to the estates and put their names on the cultivation-books (*aanplantboeken*). They were then issued the so-called planters-note (*plantersbriefje*) as the first seedling was pulled out of the nursery, by which the cultivation contract was entered into and they, observing the instructions of the estates, had to transplant and grow the seedling received, and deliver the leaves plucked to the estates contracted.

Transplanting was the men's task, which was done also in the trough to facilitate the later supplementary planting. They usually planted 19,200 pieces per hectare in case of the Kedu breed and 17,600 in the case of the Hybrid one (a crossbreed of the Kedu and the Deli). The seedling just planted was then watered for three days by women [Jaeggi 1949:498~500,502]. In Jember the estates usually limited the maximum cultivation of each contractor to 1/2 a hectare to ensure the high quality of the leaves delivered [Onderzoek Djember 1932], which perhaps explains why the peasants who rented out more rice fields generally used tenant farmers to grow tobacco there [M.W.E.Besoeki:22,40,74]. And so "a large part of the tobacco reward does not come into the hand of the owner of the rented rice field, but into that of the many family members, and also that of the neighbors, who have made themselves available for cultivating and taking care of a part of the field, which was divided in parcels for this aim by the owner. They are the people, who later receive the reward by the delivery of leaves" [Lette 1933 I:118]. The estates bought up the tobacco leaves dried by the peasants themselves or green leaves which were then dried in the drying sheds of the estates at their own expense.

What then were the duties of the two parties in this contract? We examine, as an example, the contract the B.T.M. signed with the cultivators in Jember in 1932.

It first explained the terms which appeared in the planters-note and the cultivation-book, including the detailed description of the grades of the leaves delivered by the peasants. They were, according to the quality, divided into *blad* no.1 and no.2, *krossok* no.1 and no.2, and *kampong-krossok*⁶⁾. For example, the *blad* no.1 was described as the leaves of the best quality, plucked from the whole of the stalks except for the five uppermost leaves (so-called *topbladeren*) at the proper time in accordance with the direction of the estate, with a length of more than 16 Rhineland inches (about 41.9 cm) in the case of the Deli breed and 18 Rhineland inches in the case of the Hybrid one. The *krossok* no.1 contained the following three kinds: (a) the leaves plucked in the same manner as the *blad* with a length of respectively 13 to 16 and 14 to 18 Rhineland inches, (b) those which were unable to be qualified as the *blad* but could be

valued at the *krossok* no.1 according to the standard of the estate, (c) those which were plucked from the five lowest leaves of more than 14 Rhineland inches in length. And the *kampong-krossok* was the leaves dried outside the dry shed (that is, by the peasants) and bundled in accordance with the direction of the estates.

Secondly it described the obligations of the estates. They had to prepare a storehouse of sufficient capacity, furnish the cultivators with the planting materials and chemical fertilizer, and supervise and guide them in tilling, planting and harvesting, etc. It also referred to the amount and the method of payment for the tobacco leaves the contractors brought in as follows.

The *blad* no.1 was paid at a rate of 11 cents per 10 *booms* (one *boom* contained 17 pieces of tobacco leaf stabbed through with a bamboo pole of more than 20 Rhineland inches long) immediately after the sorting. For the *blad* no.2, *krossok* no.1 and no.2 respectively, 7 cents, 4 cents and 2 cents was paid in each week. For the *kampong-krossok* estates paid 1 cent per 0.5 kg when carried in, but that which was of much inferior quality was not purchased.

On the other hand, the cultivators were obliged not to plant tobacco for other estates and to observe the instructions of the estates when they cultivated. With regard to the steps to be taken against a loss caused by the crop failure, it said as follows. "When the planting kept by the cultivator is damaged wholly or partly by the flood (excluding the damages by rain) which is beyond his control, the loss incurred should be made up by the B.T.M. and others according to the estimate of the committee constituted by the experts, that is, a native chief, an old cultivator in the affected village and a European expert in tobacco cultivation appointed by the estate." Thus the peasants had to assume responsibility for compensating the loss incurred by the bad crops except in the case of flood [Onderzoek Djember 1932:bijl. No.5].

As mentioned above, the cultivation of the estate tobacco in Besuki was entrusted to the peasants but on considerably stringent conditions, which can be attributed to the fact that this tobacco was cultivated for export.

This cultivation was a valuable source of income for the peasants concerned, and, according to Jaeggi (1949:496), the following payments came directly into their hands; (1) the cost of materials and firewood supplied by the inhabitants, including that of transport and the wage in case the storage was constructed, repaired and maintained, (2) the wage to the coolies in the nurseries, (3) the rent for the nurseries, (4) the cost of growing, including the maintenance of drainage, and that of protecting crops against diseases, (5) the salary and the bonus for the native employees, (6) the cost of watching, (7) transportation of tobacco leaves and bales, (8) the wage for binding in bundles and sorting, (9) the wage for processing the

tobacco leaves in and outside the unloading houses, (10) the plant loan for the *bladtabak*, *hangkrosok*, *kampongkrossok* [sic] and the *voorooft* tobacco, and (11) the rent for the fields.

These payments for the cultivation of about 30,000 baus in 1928, 1929 and 1930 amounted to, according to the assistant resident of Jember, in total respectively 8.1 million, 7.2 million and 7.2 million guilders [Onderzoek Djember 1932]⁷⁾. As the cash the sugar estates paid to the peasants in this regency was 4.15 million guilders at the time [Economische Zaken 1936], we can say that the estate tobacco was quite an important source of income there.

3. Characteristics of the native tobacco cultivation

Next we examine the characteristics of the native tobacco. There was no notable difference, as appeared from table 2a and 2b, in the average acreage from 1933 to 1939 in this residency between the cultivation on the rice fields (mainly *naoogst*) and that on the dry lands (*voorooft*). If examined year by year, however, the former tended to decrease after the peak year of 1934, while the latter showed a rise and fall. And the latter, though mainly planted on the dry fields (*tegal*), included considerable planting in the farmyards⁸⁾.

The peasants growing the native tobacco were not full-time tobacco cultivators as the following example of the farmer D of P village (desa) in the regency Bondowoso in 1939 shows.

He possesses 1/2 baus *tabak-segelan* (literally sealed tobacco, meaning the estate tobacco), 3/4 baus *vrijman-tabak* (freeman tobacco) and also 1/2 baus dry field, where he does not plant tobacco regularly, but sometimes cultivates other (food) crops.

A talk on his costs revealed, that he spent about 15.50 guilders for the plot of 3/4 baus before the leaves were dried and tacked to sticks (*soejen*). The gross yield could not be given for certain, because he did not sell at the average price, but sorted and disposed of his tobacco in various parts of various qualities. He meant, after calculating long, that he harvested tobacco with the value of 90 guilders from this part of the rice field last year. He called this a high yield and ascribed it to the fact that he plucked and dried with scrupulous care. Also he kept his crop good. It was, according to him, however impossible to cultivate the whole of 3/4 baus all alone, if people want to do it carefully. Consequently he used hired labor corresponding to the work of about 80 men in total, while on each occasion (three times) plucking caused him an expense of 2.50 guilders on the help of others. He had no family members who could assist him. His wife became ill last year and equally could not be a help to him. His tobacco of 3/4 baus

had yielded about 75 guilders net to him, which he called a piece of good luck, for a lower yield than this was normal.

He sold only the inferior tobacco in the auction, in case it could not get a satisfactory price elsewhere, and did not make much use of the auction. The most and best part of his tobacco he sold on his own responsibility and initiative, by offering it in small parcels by way of trial in various places.....[krossok rapport 1939:495~496]

Though he cultivated the estate and the native tobacco simultaneously, and the fact that he employed laborers to maintain the quality of his tobacco means that he relied much upon them for his living, he perhaps switched from tobacco to food crops when the price of the former was bad, and he seems to have planted other crops than tobacco on the dry field of 1/2 baus.

As for the breed the peasants cultivated, that which is suitable for making the *kerf*-tobacco for the domestic market was planted in most regions of Java and Madura. In Besuki, however, since the peasants often obtained seedlings from those who cultivated the estate tobacco [Jaeggi 1949:495], in the neighborhood of the estates they planted the same Kedu or Hybrid sort as in the estate [Broek 1949:541], of which almost all the leaves were fit for the *krossok* [Ontwikkeling krossok 1937:2117; Onderzoek achterstand 1935:485]. The price was, however, much lower than that of the estate tobacco due to the inferior quality as a result of lacking the standards set by the estate and also of the guidance given on the cultivation in the case of the latter. Accordingly the products were usually not treated as the *blad*, but as the *krossok*, or the *kampong krossok* especially in this region. But they sometimes included a small volume which could be classified as the *bladtabak* of superior quality [Kuribayashi 1941:14~15].

The native tobacco produced in this way was, though sometimes brought into the dry sheds of the estates and bought up there in green leaves, usually dried by the peasants themselves⁹⁾, and sold to buying-up firms through the Javanese or Madurese brokers called *borg*¹⁰⁾, or carried into the tobacco market in Kasemek and Nangkaan¹¹⁾ by themselves or the *borg* for auction [Jaeggi 1949:516~517; M.W.E.Besoeki 138].

These *borgs* were engaged mainly in gathering tobacco for buying-up firms, with the capital of 300 guilders which was usually advanced from the latter. In Jember 107 licenses were issued for this business in 1937. But they did not buy up tobacco directly from the cultivators but through the agents called *bandol*. One *borg* employed some 30 *bandols* in average, but in the center of the cultivation there were some who used as many as 100 *bandols*. These *bandols* were usually the inhabitants of the same or a neighboring village to that in which their *borg* resided, and handed over tobacco to the latter in the harvest season after

receiving 10 to 15 guilders beforehand. Each of them had a certain sphere of business, where he usually gathered tobacco grown by his family members or the neighbors by visiting their houses, which he sorted roughly and carried to the buying-up place of his *borg*. No advance was paid to the cultivators [krossok-rapport 1939:439~440,443~446,449~450,453,479].

The sum paid by the *bandols* was naturally smaller than in the case of direct sale to the buying-up firms. Nevertheless, the *bandols* were quite often made use of because (1) the direct sale was more risky for the peasants due to the strict selection done by the firms, and it involved the cost of transport, (2) delivery to the *bandol* was convenient since the peasants, who did not have ample space for stock, could harvest little by little, (3) the *bandol* actually received all the tobacco only with a rough selection, and (4) the *bandol* was generally their acquaintance and kind to them [ibid.1939:480,488].

Whatever the case, the tobacco bought up in this way by the buying-up firms was, after being processed, exported as the *Besuki-krossok* as well as the estate tobacco. Thus most of the tobacco produced in *Besuki* was exported. So how did the world market condition this cultivation? In the next chapter we examine this point.

III The World Market and the *Besuki* Tobacco

1. The characteristics of the export of the *Besuki* tobacco

Most of the tobacco produced in Java, including *Besuki*, was not directly exported to consuming countries but went there via the market of Amsterdam or Rotterdam, where the

Table 6 Transactions of Java tobacco in the Netherlands (ton)

year	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
volume stocked in Netherlands	59,233	52,728	50,013	47,978	50,599	51,956	54,737	30,834	31,751	35,013	30,467
volume sold to Netherlands	11,168	9,016	10,424	10,810	10,406	9,992	12,837	12,020	9,781	10,073	10,988
volume sold to foreign countries	38,084	45,244	44,328	44,147	38,229	25,948	30,235	28,037	28,701	26,590	24,910
Germany	19,437 (51.0)	27,627 (61.1)	29,851 (67.3)	26,409 (59.8)	23,969 (62.7)	14,162 (54.6)	17,817 (58.9)	17,618 (62.8)	18,318 (63.8)	13,433 (50.5)	14,707 (59.0)
Belgium & Luxemburg	5,571 (14.6)	4,319 (9.5)	4,412 (10.0)	5,077 (11.5)	6,214 (16.3)	3,196 (12.3)	5,749 (19.0)	3,521 (12.6)	4,229 (14.7)	4,935 (18.6)	5,397 (21.7)
France	3,447 (9.1)	5,015 (11.1)	990 (2.2)	3,272 (7.4)	3,462 (9.1)	3,170 (12.2)	1,857 (6.1)	1,685 (6.0)	321 (1.1)	378 (1.4)	440 (1.8)
Spain	3,392 (8.9)	1,877 (4.1)	2,116 (4.8)	1,279 (2.9)	24 (0.1)	112 (0.4)	729 (2.4)	- (-)	- (-)	2,667 (10.0)	61 (0.2)
Austria	1,783 (4.7)	1,041 (2.3)	1,449 (3.3)	1,620 (3.7)	947 (2.5)	560 (2.2)	237 (0.8)	789 (2.8)	993 (3.5)	1,524 (5.7)	436 (1.7)
Denmark & Iceland	807 (2.1)	672 (1.5)	679 (1.5)	829 (1.9)	915 (2.4)	1,034 (4.0)	887 (2.9)	1,153 (4.1)	1,431 (5.0)	1,378 (5.2)	1,486 (6.0)
Switzerland	391 (1.0)	632 (1.4)	754 (1.7)	855 (1.9)	1,101 (2.9)	1,010 (3.9)	931 (3.1)	982 (3.5)	891 (3.1)	807 (3.0)	813 (3.3)

note: These figures include the Principalities tobacco. Figures in the parenthesis show the percentage of the export to individual countries to the total foreign export.

source: Ontwikkeling krossok 1937:2170

Table 7 Average bidding price of the Java tobacco in the Netherlands market (cent/0.5 kg)

	product in 1929 sale in 1930	product in 1930 sale in 1931	product in 1931 sale in 1932	product in 1932 sale in 1933	product in 1933 sale in 1934	product in 1934 sale in 1935	product in 1935 sale in 1936	product in 1936 sale in spring 1937	harvest in 1936	harvest in 1937	harvest in 1938
Besuki <i>blad</i>	44	57	32.5	32.5	27.25	27.25	30.75	45.5	43.0	36.0	46.0
Besuki <i>hangkrosok</i>	33	42.5	25	24.5	23	19.5	23.25	28	25.5	18.5	29.5
Besuki <i>krosok</i>	27.5	29	16.5	19.25	17.25	14.25	14.75	16.5	18.0	13.0	15.0
Besuki <i>vooroogst</i> <i>krosok</i>	21.75	19	15	14.25	13.75	12.25	11.75		(4)	(4)	(4)
Lumajang <i>krosok</i>	33	36	22	18	21	15	14	21			
Kederi <i>krosok</i>	16	17	9	10	10	7	7	(1)			
Rembang <i>krosok</i>	14	15	7.5	8	9			(2)			
Kedu <i>krosok</i>	23	20	13	12	11	10	11	(3)			
Banyumas <i>krosok</i>	37	40	23	21	21	13	14				

note : (1) no data, (2) 12 cents/107 bales, (3) 18 cents/867 bales, (4) price of the kampong krosok
source : Ontwikkeling krosok 1937:2170, Groote cultures 1939:730

auctioning was done. In this case, as the *naoogst* tobacco, the main product of the estates, was harvested at the end of the year, it was the product of the previous year which was put up for auction. From table 6, showing the volume of Java tobacco transacted in the Netherlands from 1926 to 1936, we can at first point out the sudden decline in the total volume sold via the Netherlands in 1931. The second point is that more than half of the export from the Netherlands was directed to Germany; thus the export depended largely upon the import, and the decrease of the latter in fact led to a marked decline in the volume of Java tobacco transported to the Netherlands from 1933 onwards.

The marked shrinking of the export to Germany from 1931 was a result of the rise in the import duty for foreign tobacco there from 80 to 180 *rijksmarks* from January 1 of the same year, which was especially unfavorable for the Java tobacco which in general was cheaper than other Indonesian tobacco¹²). Consequently its price, though still kept at a certain level during the first half of the year, slumped after the autumn auction [Ontwikkeling krosok 1937:2169~2171], and went down suddenly in 1932 as table 7 shows. Then, after remaining at a low level for a few years, it showed a sign of recovery in 1936, and reached a considerably high level at the spring auction in 1937, but declined once again in 1938 and recovered in the next year.

2, The measures of the Besuki tobacco estates against the Depression

The financial position of the tobacco estates in Besuki deteriorated considerably under these circumstances. For example, the B.T.M., as shown in table 8, passed a dividend in 1931 and was degraded even to the red from 1932. So how did they cope with this?

They began already in 1931, though they had extended the planting as shown in table 3, to economize on various expenditures, and they particularly intensified these economies after the

Table 8 Financial situation of the B.T.M. from 1925 to 1935

year	amount of the capital (fl, 000)	profit and loss (fl, 000)	% of the dividend	volume of production (bales)
1925	1, 110	583	15%	52, 787
1926	1, 110	491	30%	65, 143
1927	1, 110	1, 267	45%	49, 200
1928	1, 110	864	40%	49, 188
1929	1, 110	- 698	30%	60, 878
1930	1, 110	126	10%	60, 340
1931	1, 110	259	-	50, 768
1932	1, 110	- 267	-	67, 979
1933	1, 110	- 280	-	29, 260
1934	1, 110	- 475	-	32, 155
1935	1, 110	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.

source : Javatabak 1936:1324

Table 9 Export of the Besuki Krossok to the Netherlands market

products of	volume of export* (bales)	market price in Netherlands (cent/0.5kg)
1920	57, 160	23. 25
1921	46, 720	25. 5
1922	38, 918	27. 25
1923	68, 095	45. 5
1924	121, 646	34. 5
1925	122, 519	27. 5
1926	89, 581	40. 75
1927	115, 968	34. 5
1928	148, 437	27. 5
1929	145, 694	26. 25
1930	124, 632	25. 75
1931	154, 232	16
1932	55, 311	16. 5
1933	71, 843	14
1934	81, 224	13. 5
1935	78, 927	13. 5
1936	91, 850	15. 5
1937	85, 788	13. 25
1938	36, 792	16

* including *kampong krosok*, *voorogst* and *losblad*

source:Broek 1949:551, 555

slump at the autumn auction of the same year in the Netherlands, with the result that a severer quality check was introduced [I.V.1932 I : 74]. This went further from the next year, and the tobacco produced in 1932 was said to be "checked most severely" when delivered [ibid.1933 I : 77].

And the restriction of planting began in 1932. In Jember initially a reduction of 30% was intended [L.E.V. 1e kwrt.1932:10]. But it was raised to 40~50% in the second quarter of the year [ibid 2e kwrt.1932:10], and eventually amounted to 57% on average as is shown in table 5, leading to the partial suspending of planting. As a result some 16,000 hectares of the leased fields was appropriated for the people's agriculture. In this year, however, the lease of fields itself was not rescinded, so the people could accept the rent [Onderzoek Djember 1932]. The buying-up price also went down by about 30% [L.E.V. 3e kwrt.1932 (mailrapport 16/33, Verbaal 16-2-33-6):11]. On the other hand, the estates in Bondowoso did not take any measures until March [ibid. 1e kwrt. 1932:10], but after that date restriction also started there, with the result that the cultivation in this year became 37.4% less than in the previous year as shown in table 3. Consequently the volume of Besuki tobacco produced in 1932 shipped to the Netherlands decreased markedly (see table 9). These measures, however, could not rescue the estates in Besuki from their worsening financial condition, and most of them went into the red

in 1933, which was said to be attributable to the fact that the restriction itself raised, rather than reduced, the cost of production [Ondernemingscultuur 1933:575].

The curtailment in 1933 initially planned by the VEBTO (*Vereeniging van de Europeesche Besoeki Tabaks Ondernemingen*, Union of the European Besuki Tobacco Estates) was less than in 1933 and reportedly would amount to 35% [L.E.V. 3e kwrt.1933:10]. But it eventually exceeded 50% also in this year [MvO Besoeki 1934; I.V.1934 I :154]. Moreover, as the resident said that "where the restrictive measures lead to the curtailment of acreage, the rescission of the lease contracts and the non-occupation of lands always took place in consultation with the Civil Service (*Binnenlandsch Bestuur*) and wholly in accordance with the land lenders concerned", and that "The compensations paid out can be regarded as fair" [MvO Besoeki 1934], the contracts themselves were, in contrast to the previous year, canceled in this year.

In Jember, accordingly, the BTM closed its estate Rawatantoe and Djoeboeng in this year, and the Fraser Eaton concern restricted its planting to a little in the estate Amboeloe and planned to limit the activity to the purchase of *krossok* in 1934. In Bondowoso the tobacco concern Kontjil also closed its estate of the same name temporarily [ibid.].

Also in 1934 the VEBTO initially planned a 35% reduction [L.E.V. 1e kwrt. 1934 (*E.W.*1934):904], but the actual cultivation amounted to only 50% of that in 1931 and the volume of purchase also decreased to a half [I.V.1935 I :58]. At the same time the lease contracts for 1,800 hectares in total were once again cancelled in the first half of the year [L.E.V. 2e kwrt.1934 (*E.W.*1934):1432]. In this year the tobacco concern Soembersarie was bankrupted [Jaeggi 1949: 515].

It was in 1935 that they began to relax the restriction. In this year the curtailment was reduced to 30% [I.V.1936 I :75; L.E.V. 4e kwrt.1935 (*E.W.*1935):443], and the percentage was the same in the next year [I.V.1937 I :77]. In 1937 this percentage was reduced further as it was reported that "the planted acreage is 16% more than that in 1936" [ibid.1938 I :83], and in Bondowoso even an expansion was observed [MvO Besoeki 1938:29]

In 1937 the division of the fields for tobacco among the estates (*rayoneering*), which had been attempted for many years, was realized in Jember and Bondowoso, with the result that one estate could exclusively lease the fields of one village where the contracts had been made with more than one estate before [MvO Besoeki 1938:30~31]. The estates, though some of them needed to spend more because of this, dared to re-divide the fields of about 50,000 hectares in total in this year, intending to use every means to improve the quality of the tobacco

produced, which could be done under such favorable conditions that the loss from the harvest of 1935/36 and 1936/37 was little and some concerns could run into the black [Jaeggi 1949:516].

This enabled the tobacco estates to plant in blocks, with the result that some estates inserted in their contracts a clause stipulating the right of the lessee to use, if necessary, the whole of the leased fields for tobacco instead of the half, which did not exclude the possibility that the lessor would practically receive only a half of the customary rent per unit of land in future [MvO Besoeki 1938].

Consequently all the estates, except for the Oud Djember, which had been in deficit since 1933 could run into the black in 1937, and the estate Amboel of the Fraser Eaton concern began operating in the district Wuluhan. Also in Bondowoso the estate Kontjir began to lease the fields, and the estate Ceres was newly established [MvO Besoeki 1938].

The price of Besuki tobacco produced in 1937 diminished, however, in the auctions held in the Netherlands in 1938. In this year 142,967 bales were put up for auction, of which the average price per 0.5 kg was a mere 17.5 cents, much lower than the price of 21.75 cents in the previous year when 179,659 bales were sold [I.V.1939 I :205]. Besides there was a bad harvest in a considerable part of the estate tobacco in this year due to the heavy rain, because of which the total product was reportedly less than 60% of that in the previous year. The financial condition of the tobacco estates in Besuki, which was expected to survive the Depression, deteriorated once again, and the cultivation had to be curtailed again on a large scale in 1939 [I.V.1939 I :90; Groote cultures 1939:735].

3. The situation of the native tobacco in Besuki in the 1930s

The situation of the native tobacco in this period was, in contrast to the estate tobacco which was hit directly by the fluctuating market in the Netherlands, somewhat more

Table 10 Harvested acreage of the native tobacco (ha)

year	Java and Madura						Besuki ha
	rice fields		dry lands		total		
	ha	%	ha	%	ha		
1928	83,808	47.4	92,931	52.6	176,739		
1929	65,308	44.6	81,173	55.4	146,481	18,118	
1930	64,274	42.9	85,406	57.1	149,680	28,693	
1931	83,369	48.5	88,450	51.5	171,819	32,107	
1932	57,771	40.8	83,845	59.2	141,616	16,174	
1933	49,841	38.4	79,916	61.6	129,757	19,690	
1934	75,559	45.1	92,054	54.9	167,613	26,187	
1935	61,255	41.6	86,040	58.4	147,295	18,437	
1936	51,290	39.1	80,018	60.9	131,308	14,915	
1937	60,113	40.0	90,067	60.0	150,180	15,192	
1938	53,603	36.5	93,332	63.5	146,935	15,994	
1939	50,150	36.0	89,117	64.0	139,267	12,329	

source : I. L. 1939 (E. W. 1940) : 1866, table 1

Table 11 Local price and harvested acreage of the native tobacco in Besuki

year	market price in guilder per picul (/p.) or quintal (/q.)	purchase price of the estates (guilder per quintal)	harvested acreage
1930	Kasemek naooogst (product 1930): 15/p. ⁽¹⁾		28,693ha
1931	Kasemek naooogst (product 1931): 3.50~4/p. ⁽¹⁾ auction price, Oct.: 3.77/p. ⁽¹⁴⁾ auction price, Nov.: 3.54/p. ⁽¹⁴⁾ voorooogst, Sept.: 10.48/q. ⁽¹⁵⁾ voorooogst, Oct.: 6.03/q. ⁽¹⁵⁾		32,107ha
1932	Kasemek naooogst (product 1932): 8.65/p. ⁽¹⁾ auction price, Dec.: 5.47/q. ⁽¹⁶⁾ auction price, Jan. 33: 12.92/q. ⁽¹⁶⁾ auction price, Febr.: 16.18/q. ⁽¹⁶⁾		16,174ha
1933	voorooogst, Augst: 13.81 ⁽¹⁵⁾ voorooogst, Sept.: 11.30 ⁽¹⁵⁾		19,690ha
1934	Kasemek naooogst (product 1934): 9.32/q. ⁽³⁾	naooogst (product 1933) no. 1: 20.78, no. 2: 15.39, no. 3: 8.72 ⁽²⁾ voorooogst (product 1934) no. 1: 15.69, no. 2: 9.68, no. 3: 6.67 ⁽²⁾	26,187ha
1935	average price, 15 Nov.~31 Dec. ^{(3) (7)} Kasemek naooogst (product 1935): 10.59/q. Nangkaan naooogst (product 1935): 10.08/q.	voorooogst (product 1935): 3~10 ibid., superior sort: 25~30 ⁽³⁾	18,437ha
1936	average prices of each month Kasemek: 5.20~12.35/q. ⁽⁴⁾ Nangkaan: 7.10~11.34/q. ⁽⁴⁾ outside the market: 2~21.30/q. ⁽⁴⁾ average price, 15 Nov.~31 Dec. ^{(7) (10)} Kasemek 8.98/q. (7.10~10) Nangkaan 11.11/q. (5.30~12.35) market price, Jan. 33, krossok: 10.57/q. ⁽⁹⁾		14,915ha
1937	average price, 1st quarter ⁽¹¹⁾ Kasemek 14.77/q. Nangkaan 14.23/q. average price, Kasemek & Nangkaan: 8~14.77/q. ⁽⁵⁾ average price, Kasemek & Nangkaan, 1st quarter: 8~11/q. ⁽¹³⁾	krossok no. 1: 18~50.28/q. ⁽⁸⁾ superior krossok: 40/q., naooogst: 20/q. ⁽⁵⁾ (at the beginning of 1937) tobacco in general: 16.50~26.50/q. (Jan.) 19.66~27.50/q. (March) krossok no. 1 (Jan.): 18/q. ⁽¹¹⁾ krossok no. 1 (3d quarter): 24.82~50.38/q. ⁽¹²⁾ krossok no. 1 (4th quarter): 19.84~34/q. ⁽¹³⁾	15,192ha
1938		kampong krossok: 10~30/q. ⁽⁶⁾	15,994ha

note: Unless described as the "market price" in the sources, all the prices are included to the purchase price.

source: (1) *I. V.* 1933 I : 77, (2) *I. V.* 1934 I : 53~54, (3) *I. V.* 1936 I : 69~70, (4) *I. V.* 1937 I : 71~73, (5) *I. V.* 1938 I : 78~79, (6) *I. V.* 1939 I : 205, (7) *I. L.* 1936 (*E. W.* 1937) : 1952, (8) *I. L.* 1937 (*E. W.* 1938) : 1750, (9) *L. E. V.* 1e kwrt. 1936 (*E. W.* 1936) : 1094, (10) *L. E. V.* 4e kwrt. 1936 (*E. W.* 1937) : 465, (11) *L. E. V.* 1e kwrt. 1937 (*E. W.* 1937) : 1267, (12) *L. E. V.* 3e kwrt. 1937 (*E. W.* 1937) : 2608, (13) *L. E. V.* 4e kwrt. 1937 (*E. W.* 1938) : 476, (14) *Werkloosheid* 2e halfjaar 1931 (mr 348/32, Vb 11-4-32-3), (15) *L. E. V.* 3e kwrt. 1933 (*E. W.* 1933 bijvoegsel) : 10~11, (16) *Verslag Ass.-Resident* 1e kwrt. 1933: 29,

complicated, as illustrated in the shift of harvested acreage in this period shown in table 10.

Here we examine this year by year to consider its characteristics.

In 1930, the harvested acreage in Besuki greatly increased by about 10,600 hectares, nearly 60% more than in 1929, in contrast to "Java and Madura" which showed only a little increase. Also the price was good. As shown in table 11, *naooogst* tobacco was sold in Kasemek at 15 guilders per picul. This good price of the native tobacco continued to prevail, also throughout Java and Madura until the first half of 1931, resulting in the vast expansion of

the cultivation on both dry and rice fields. In Besuki the expansion amounted to more than 3,400 hectares in total, 12% more than in the favorable year of 1930. But the above-mentioned sudden drop of the bidding price in the autumn auction in the Netherlands forced down the purchase price of the estates, and led them to introduce a strict quality check of the tobacco delivered. It is in the Eastern Extremes regions including Besuki that the fall in price was most dramatic [*I.V.*1932 I :74], which is also shown in table 11.

Consequently there appeared at the beginning of 1932 some peasants who voiced their discontent at the difficulty of selling their tobacco, and the local market prices in Java and Madura fell further from the end of March to the beginning of April when the information was given on the decline at the spring auction in the Netherlands [*L.E.V.*2e kwrt.1932 (*bijvoegsel E.W.*1932):10]. The peasants in Besuki coped with this by reducing their cultivation. The total of the harvested (*voorooft*) and the cultivated (*naooft*) acreage until the end of September, for example, amounted to only 15,300 baus as against 27,800 baus in 1931 [*L.E.V.*3e kwrt.1932 (*mailrapport* 16/33, *Verbaal* 16-2-33-6)]. Accordingly the harvested acreage in the whole year decreased to half of that in the previous year, but the smaller supply made the decline in price in Besuki milder than in other regions, and the *naooft* tobacco of this year even got a better price in Kasemek than in the previous year [*I.V.*1933 I :77; *Statis.landbouwgewassen* December 1932:1224]. Moreover, the bidding price per quintal further rose from 5.47 guilders in December 1932 to 12.93 guilders in January and 16.18 guilders in February of the next year [*Verslag Ass.-Resident* 1e kwrt.1933:29].

The good price which the *naooft* tobacco fetched in 1932 stimulated the peasants' enthusiasm for cultivating tobacco in 1933. In Besuki, according to a report in March they showed more interest in the cultivation of *kerf* and *voorooft krossok* than in 1932 [*Oogst en aanplant* Maart 1933 (*E.W.*1933):1801], and also in April it was reported that they were especially active in planting the *voorooft* tobacco [*Oogst en aanplant* April 1933 (*E.W.*1933):1981], which can be confirmed if we compare the planted acreage in June 1933 with that in the same month of 1932 (see table 2b).

In July the purchase of *voorooft* tobacco began, of which the price was reportedly fairly good [*Oogst en aanplant* Juli 1933 (*E.W.*1933 II):356] and it reached 13.81 guilders per quintal on average in August and 11.30 guilders in September as shown in table 11, even better than its relatively high price in 1931. It is worth mentioning that the cigarette industries in Java bought up in bulk in this period, among which the Faroka concern was the largest buyer in Kasemek where 83,286 kg of the native tobacco was sold in these two months. This had a stabilizing

effect on the native tobacco market [Volkscredietwezen, 3e kwrt.1933 (VCW 1933): 1099~1100; L.E.V.3e kwrt.1933 (Bijvoegsel *E.W.* 8 Dec. 1933):10]. Consequently the peasants were also eager to plant *naoogst* tobacco [Oogst en aanplant Juli 1933 (*E.W.*1933 II):356; *ibid.* Augustus 1933 (*E.W.* 1933 II):540], with the result that its planted acreage became considerably more than in the previous year (see table 2a).

In this year the harvested acreage in Java and Madura as a whole, according to table 10, was considerably less than in 1932, which was largely the result of the severe crop failures which occurred in Central and East Java, amounting to 20,000 baus as against 1,300 baus in 1932 due to the bad weather [I.V.1934 I :66]. Also in Besuki the nurseries for *naoogst* tobacco suffered badly from the heavy rain in August [Oogst en aanplant Augustus 1933 (*E.W.*1933 II):540], and many of them were damaged again by the rain in September [L.E.V. 3e kwrt.1933 (Bijvoegsel *E.W.* 8 Dec.1933):10]. In November heavy rain once again disturbed the normal harvest of the *naoogst* on the rice fields to a large extent [Oogst en aanplant November 1933 (*E.W.*1933 II):1073]. With all this, the harvested acreage since October, when the plucking of the early delivered *naoogst* tobacco began, was much larger than in the previous year as a result of the expanded planting in this year. And though the quality was moderate under the influence of the bad weather, the price was unexpectedly good [I.L.1933 (*E.W.*1934):1339].

In 1934 the cultivation, stimulated by this good price, increased considerably both on the rice and the dry fields in the whole of Java and Madura. The buyers showed interest especially in the high quality tobacco more than before and gave a good price for it¹³). On the other hand, the inferior quality tobacco also could find an outlet in the Chinese buyers, though at a very low price [Ondernemings-cultuur 1934:582].

In Besuki preparation of the nurseries for *vooroogst* and *kerf* was finished in March, and the peasants were said to feel much enthusiasm for the cultivation of the former [Oogst en aanplant Maart 1934 (*E.W.*1934):718]. They thus planted 1,970 baus more than in 1933 until the end of June, but had a poor harvest due to the bad weather in the growing season. Consequently the dealing in Kasemek had to be stopped temporarily in September soon after the opening due to the short supply of tobacco [Oogst en aanplant September 1934 (*E.W.*1934):1690]. However, the quality was fairly good. Accordingly the Faroka concern bought up about 1,400 quintals at the average price of 12.10 guilders per quintal, and the British American Tobacco Company entered into the dealing for the first time, which supported the market also in this year [Ondernemingscultuur 1934:582].

The peasants were, however, prudent in expanding the cultivation of *naoogst* tobacco despite the good price achieved by the *vooroogst*, as a report in July said that "in Besuki the people everywhere hesitate to plant *naoogst krossok* extensively, which is obviously related to the situation that the estates stop planting in various places and so there is a strong possibility of imposing restrictions on the tobacco market" [Oogst en aanplant Juli 1934 (*E.W.*1934): 1384], but eventually they planted much more than in the previous year. The tobacco was in good condition until the end of October, but was hit by the heavy rain in November and the harvest in December was not so good. Moreover the average price was low due to the quite strict quality check made by the estates and the buyers who intended to purchase only the superior sort. This was a reflection of the low auction price in the latter half of the year in the Netherlands¹⁴⁾. Thus, much of the inferior quality *krossok* was purchased by a certain Chinese buyer who came from Paiton (regency Probolinggo) [I. L. 1934 (*E. W.* 1935) : 575, 1221; Ondernemingscultuur 1934: 582~583; L. E. V. 3e kwrt. 1934 (*E. W.* 1934): 1928].

This low price and the strict quality check in the latter half of 1934 shrank the cultivation in 1935 [I.L. 1935 (*E.W.*1936):1504]. Although damaged by the droughts, the harvest of the *vooroogst* tobacco in Besuki was finished by the end of September, with a bad yield of less than half of the average, and the purchasing price was, as is shown in table 11, below that of the previous year. On the other hand, the *naoogst* tobacco, though also hit by the drought from November to the beginning of December, was harvested with an average crop, but the *krossok* produced fetched an unexpectedly high price, better than in the previous year [Ondernemingscultuur 1935:746].

In January 1936 the last part of the *naoogst* tobacco planted in 1935 was harvested. The quality was so good that it achieved a higher price than at the end of the preceding year, amounting to 10.57 guilders per quintal if taking an average in Kasemek and Nangkaan. In February and March Germany purchased most of the remaining *naoogst* tobacco of 1934 in the Rotterdam market [L.E.V. 1e kwrt.1936 (*E.W.*1936):1094]. Under these circumstances the peasants in Besuki, though they continued to plant *vooroogst* tobacco less on the dry fields, expanded the cultivation on the rice fields beyond that in the previous year, intending to sell to the cigarette industries¹⁵⁾, which, however, did not purchase much because of its *naoogst*-tobacco-like nature owing to the large quantity of rain during the cultivation. In spite of this, the sale was generally good. The *naoogst* tobacco also decreased much, but the quality was good thanks to the sufficient rain in the growing season. Consequently the volume sold, though at a lower price than in the preceding year, increased to as much as 328,619 kg

(80,882 kg in the previous year) in Kasemek and 142,997 kg in Nangkaan (43,088 kg) from 15 November to the end of December. It was also purchased much outside the market, and the superior quality tobacco got a favorable price [I. L. 1936 (*E. W.* 1937): 1952; *Ondernemingscultuur* 1936: 852; L.E.V. 3e kwrt. 1936 (*E. W.* 1936): 2356; *ibid.* 4e kwrt. 1936 (*E. W.* 1937): 465].

From the beginning of 1937, reflecting the rising market in the Netherlands, the local price of tobacco showed an upward tendency everywhere in Java and Madura. Also in Besuki it rose from 16.50~26.30 guilders in January to 19.66~27.50 guilders in March [L.E.V. 1e kwrt. 1937 (*E.W.*1937):1267]. This continued until the end of the year, and expanded especially the cultivation on the dry fields [I.V.1938 I :78; L.E.V. 2e kwrt.1937 (*E.W.*1937):1969]. The *voorooogst* tobacco harvested there had a good sale, often with a better price than the *naoogst* [Oogst en aanplant December 1937 (*E.W.*1938):198~199]. The buyers many times gave a better price also for the *naoogst* tobacco than usual despite its *voorooogst*-tobacco-like nature owing to the shortage of rain [MvO Besoeki 1938:68]. The native tobacco in Besuki thus realized a distinctly good price in this year.

This had a favorable influence upon the cultivation in the first half of 1938. According to table 2 planted acreage until July was 917 baus more on the rice fields, 1,726 baus more on the dry fields and in total 2,643 baus more than in the previous year. This was a reflection of the peasants' response to the better price, as described in the following reports. In February a report pointed out that "in the residency of Besuki the interest in the *voorooogst* tobacco was much greater than in the previous year" [Oogst en aanplant Februari 1938 (*E.W.*1938):929], and also in May it was said that "in the residency of Besuki peasants already prepared the nurseries for the *voorooogst* tobacco on the rice fields. Their zest is greater than in the last few years" [Oogst en aanplant Mei 1938 (*E.W.*1938):1293]. On the contrary, however, the *naoogst* planting in this year much decreased, which seems to have been related to the lower price of the tobacco produced in 1937 in the Netherlands auctions as shown in table 7. In 1939 the cultivation was further curtailed.

The increase or decrease of the native tobacco in Besuki was, as was mentioned above, considerably different from that of the estate tobacco. In a word it reacted more quickly to the rise and fall of the purchasing price. The peasants expanded planting as soon as the price rose and curtailed it as soon as the price fell. This was possible because they could shift to other crops if necessary as the above mentioned example of the peasant D in P village shows. Probably they turned to the cultivation of maize¹⁶⁾. And the purchasing price was not so

directly influenced as in the case of the estate tobacco by the volume sold and the price in the Netherlands market, which is attributable to the fact that the native tobacco was sold also to the cigarette industries in Java. This explains why the native tobacco could expand also in 1933 and 1934 when the estates had to cut as much as 50% of their cultivation.

In this way the peasants who cultivated the native tobacco could cope with the less favorable conditions at the time quite flexibly.

IV Peasants' economy and the tobacco in Besuki in the 1930s

Lastly we refer briefly to the meaning of the tobacco cultivation in the 1930s for the peasants' economy in Besuki.

As was described above, the tobacco cultivation brought much money to the peasants particularly in the regency of Jember before the Depression. Then how did their income from the estate tobacco suffer from the Depression? According to Rjike (1934:30~31), the normal rent of 650,000 guilders paid by the estates indeed greatly decreased, but much more serious was the declining profit which their tobacco itself yielded, and he wrote as follows:

"A list of market quotations the administrator made reveals a fall of about 0.50 guilders per 100 *soejen* (sticks). This price fall was not the worst for the inhabitants. Much greater was the disadvantage they found in the examination applied by the estates. The tobacco, which was admitted as the first quality in the former years, was in 1932 rejected as such and the inhabitants secured the price of second or third quality.

In the case of selling the so-called *Vrijmantabak* still more difficulties appeared, for the estates applied herewith still severer examination."

In view of this, the income decrease of the peasants who planted tobacco can be thought to have been considerable, but it seems, at the same time, to have had a different meaning if compared with the case of sugar plantations. Firstly the rent paid by the tobacco estates was only the same amount as the land rent and didn't constitute a large part of the peasants' revenue as in the latter case. Secondly the period in which the land was let out was only a half year in the dry season, and each peasant planted only 1/2 baus estate tobacco, which enabled him to plant other crops simultaneously. Thus we can say that the peasants who planted estate tobacco depended less on the estates than those who let their rice fields to the sugar estates. Thirdly the relatively good price the native tobacco achieved also after 1932 could lessen the decline in their income. Fourthly they might minimize the decline by coping flexibly with the fluctuating market.

So how much was the income of the peasants cultivating tobacco? The above mentioned peasant D in the village P profited 75 guilders net in 1939 from his 3/4 baus free cultivation. Here we add some more examples. In the village S of the same regency it was reported that the earning from the 1/2 baus tobacco amounted to 40~80 guilders, and as all the work was done with the family labor [krossok-rapport 1939:492], this amount can be regarded as almost equal to the net profit. In the case of a village in Jember, the gross income per bau amounted to 80~100 guilders in a good harvest and from 65 to 75 guilders if damaged by the rain etc., and the cost of cultivation was nearly zero because each peasant planted only 1/2 baus [krossok-rapport 1939:485,487]. These sums can be judged fairly high if compared with the peasants' income from the sugar estate in the nearby regency of Panarukan amounting to 61 guilders per bau at the maximum for one and a half years.

We can thus say that unless the harvest was bad, the tobacco cultivation in Besuki was relatively profitable for the peasants even in this period. And this makes us suppose that the the Depression had different effects on the sugar and the tobacco region. How this conditioned the social economy in each of them is the subject which will be examined in the next essay.

Notes

- *) This essay is a translation of the chapter 6 of my book, *Sekai Kyoko to Jawa Nouson Syakai (The Great Depression and the Rural Society in Java)*, published in 1997, but with some modifications.
- 1) Krossok-rapport (1939:435) gave a somewhat different explanation. According to this the *voorooogst* is the tobacco of which the harvest begins in June and peaks in August when the best leaves can be plucked on the dry fields. On the other hand, the *naoogst* is explained as that which the people begin to harvest in November. And there is also the *middenoogst* (i.e. middle crop) on the rice fields between them, of which the harvest begins in August. But here we follow the generally used division.
 - 2) According to Javatabak (1936:1324) the production of the main tobacco concerns in Besuki was as follows (one bale contains 70 kg tobacco leaves).

name of the concern	year	production (bales)
Oud Djember	1934	61,072
B.T.M.	1934/35	32,449
Soekokerto-Adjoeng	1934	10,048
Djelboek	1934	8,989
Soekowono	1934	8,293
Soembersari	1933	3,853
Soekosari	1934	2,407

- 3) In this regency sugar cane was usually planted in 1,534 hectares in Tanggul (12.7% of the total rice fields), 1,043 hectares in Wuluhan (10.9%) and 4,758 hectares in Puger (36.8%) [Onderzoek Djember 1932:bijl.no.2a]. On the contrary, no sugar cane was planted in the remaining 4 districts of Rambipuji, Jember, Mayang and Kalisat.
- 4) According to table 3 the harvested acreage of the native tobacco in this regency in 1930, 1931, and 1932 was respectively 23,268 baus, 28,664 baus and 14,208 baus, and as that on the dry fields was 7,157 baus, 6,687 baus and 4,861 baus, that on the rice fields was respectively 16,111 baus, 21,977 baus and 9,347 baus.

5) The peasants could plant food crops (thus not tobacco) at will except for the crops like beans, paddy or sugar cane, which were thought to have bad effects on tobacco. The crops which they were prohibited to plant by the contract were not always the same in each estate. And when the peasants, violating the contract, dared to plant tobacco there, the estates usually overlooked this if this tobacco was delivered [Onderzoek achterstand. 1935:481].

6) Kuribayashi (1914:14~15) divided the tobacco produced in Java at the time into the following four sorts, (a) *blad*, (b) *hang krossok*, (c) *krossok*, *kampong krossok*, and (d) *kerf*.

The *blad* was a general name for the tobacco leaves of high quality, almost all of which was, according to his explanation, produced by the estate (more correctly, cultivated by the peasants under supervision of the estates), but a part of the tobacco bought up from the inhabitants could also qualify as such, though very little did so. It was mainly used for the wrappers of cigars but some for the intermediary or the filler. Almost all was exported. The *hangkrossok* was also the product of the estates but, due to some damage or being incompletely dried, of inferior quality, because of which it was unable to be graded as the *blad* but had a better quality than the *krossok* or *kampong krossok*. On the other hand, all tobacco cultivated and dried by the inhabitants, that is, the native tobacco, was classified as the *krossok*. It was used for various purposes depending upon the harvest season or the place where it was produced, etc., and its quality was generally so inferior that the price was much lower than that of the estate tobacco. It is not true, however, that all estate tobacco was the *blad* and all native tobacco was the *krossok*. The name *kampong krossok* was especially used in Besuki for distinguishing the native tobacco from the estate variety, and the word "*kampong*" meant village. Elsewhere in Java it was merely named *krossok*. Lastly, *kerf* was the traditional Javanese tobacco, produced by cutting green leaves immediately after the harvest and then drying them for various uses. Most of the native tobacco was used as the raw material for this kind.

In Besuki the estates produced only a small volume of *blad*, much of their product was *krossok* [Javatabak 1936:1322].

7) According to Lette (1933,I:108), however, the total amount was somewhat less. He said that the estates brought into the inhabitants in Besuki, according to the estimate of the local government, in total 6 million guilders in each year for the rent, the nurseries, the construction and the maintenance of drying sheds, delivery of the materials, the wages for planting, cultivating, selection and the salaries of native persons. On the other hand, according to L.E.V. 3e kwrt.1932 (mailrapport 16/33, Verbaal 16-2-33-6), they paid normally some 200 guilders per hectare to the inhabitants during the east monsoon, which means about 5.63 million guilders in total.

8) For example, Krossok-rapport (1939:435~436) said as follows. "The second important point is the fact, that this tobacco is planted mainly on the dry fields, so that the paddy production finds no disadvantage in it. The reporter could observe, in addition, an intensive tobacco planting in the yard. Everywhere around and near the houses men found small parcels of yard planted with tobacco. A quite acceptable reason was given for it. The village people pointed out that tobacco required scrupulous care if they wanted to succeed well. Caterpillars appearing in the plant must be captured piece by piece with the hand, weeds must be weeded and various other smaller maintenance measures are required for a fine product. Tobacco is for the village people in fact a kind of horticulture. What is more understandable than this is that the people run such a small scale horticulture undertaking preferably "in his own garden", that is to say, near the house. On sheltered spots, surrounded by bamboo or tall trees, under the lee of a house or fence, the tobacco is protected against squalls and violent downpours. Moreover the proximity of the house forms a prominent work saving. The above mentioned pieces of work are mostly done by children and women, who thus remain near the house. In many cases the control on the children playing in front of the house was possible from the tobacco field."

9) According to the resident of Bondowoso, the native tobacco had been dried on the roof or the walls of houses or on the ground. By the ceaseless carrying to and fro, bringing into the house and again spreading outside, the leaves were unnecessarily damaged and became dirty. So the Agricultural

Extension Office (*landbouwvoorlichtingsdienst*) encouraged the construction and use of small scale drying sheds, which were said to have gradually become widely used [MvO Bondowoso 1931].

10) In the latter half of the 1920s, the upward tendency in the tobacco market led to the establishment of the some concerns specializing in the purchase and processing of the native tobacco particularly in and around Bondowoso town [Memori Residen Bondowoso 1929:175; MvO Bondowoso 1931], but other concerns also engaged in this quite often, providing the peasants with requisites such as good seed for improving the quality of native tobacco in cooperation with the Agricultural Extension Office. Its cost, amounting to 1,100 guilders in 1930, was born by the estates concerned [MvO Bondowoso 1931]. And according to a report in 1939, it was only those who planted tobacco on a fairly large scale who directly brought it into the large warehouses of buying-up concerns. In this case they carried their tobacco by themselves to the center of the warehouses in Bondowoso and sold a part of it at some warehouses, and the remnants to the *bandols* or the *borgs*. It took 3 to 5 days for them to make this journey including the sale [Krossok-rapport 1939:489].

11) The first tobacco market in Besuki was established at Kasemek (regency of Bondowoso), where the native *naoogst* tobacco was experimentally traded at first, and from 1921 the *voorooogst* tobacco grown widely in this region began to be sold.

According to J.A.Banck, the controller of Central Cash-Office (*Controleur der Centrale Kas*), who visited there on 28 January 1930, this market was established intending to protect the peasants from too cheap a purchase of their tobacco. This was possible through the free competition in the market, where everyone who had the pass issued by the regent of Bondowoso could join in the business. In this case all the tobacco the peasants carried in was the object of purchase except for the wet or the green leaves. The sale of the *voorooogst* usually began in August and that of the *naoogst* in November. In this way it played an important role in the transactions of the native tobacco by its brisk business in accordance with the intention, until at least the beginning of 1930 as he remarked that "on the market everything goes very smoothly. Also very good sale is made there. It even happens that the peasants come from very far to dispose of their tobacco on the market.....Generally speaking the peasants are quite satisfied with the market, which can be noticed from the sale." [Banck 1930:217~218]

But in the following period the conditions changed. The resident of Besuki said in 1934 that: "The tobacco market at Kasemek lost the greater part of its importance for the tobacco planting inhabitants in the last few years. The auctions draw the interest of the buyers less and less. It often occurred that only one buyer was present, while the auction of the *voorooogst* this September had to be stopped after being prepared to receive tenders for two weeks, due to no or insufficient supply of tobacco, so that the running costs exceeded the incomes considerably. Though the unfavorable result of the *voorooogst* in Bondowoso (the weather in this year was unusually unfavorable for the cultivation) can be given as the direct cause of this, it must still be said that the decline of the tobacco auctions at Kasemek had already been observed since a few years earlier." As the cause of this he pointed out the following three factors: (1) that the speculative nature inherent in the cultivation of and the dealing in tobacco emerged as the effect of market conditions, (2) that the too much increased numbers of the permission for the purchase of the *voorooogst* reduced the need for the auction places, and (3) that this market was placed so far from the most important tobacco center that the transport of the product involved many difficulties [MvO Besoeki 1934]. Though his description alone can not explain the reason for the decline in business in detail, it at least shows us the stagnated transactions during the Depression. Afterwards the second tobacco market was established at Nangkaan (regency of Jember) in 1935, where particularly much tobacco was carried in in the harvest season of the *naoogst*. This market had, however, little importance for the *voorooogst*, for it was not so much planted around here as around Kasemek [Memori Residen Besuki 1922:168; MvO Bondowoso 1931; MvO Besoeki 1938]. It was the *borg* that actually brought the leaves into this market [Jaeggi 1949:516~517].

12) The average market prices (guilders per 0.5 kg) of the Deli tobacco, the Principalities tobacco and the Besuki tobacco are shown in the following table. The relatively low price of Besuki tobacco can be attributed to the fact that it included little *blad* of the highest quality because, in contrast with the

Deli or the Principalities, cultivation was usually left to the peasants. According to Javatabak (1936:1322), while some 11,000 tons of *blad* was produced from the cultivation of 6,639 hectares in the Principalities, only 7,000 tons could be obtained from 19,252 hectares in Besuki, where the inferior sort, the *krossok*, was the main product.

	harvest in 1936	harvest in 1937	harvest in 1938
Deli	1.38	1.30	1.08
the Principalities	0.445	0.37	0.425
Besuki <i>blad</i>	0.43	0.36	0.46
<i>hangkrossok</i>	0.255	0.185	0.295
<i>kampongkrossok</i>	0.18	0.13	0.15

source : Groote cultures 1939:730

- 13) Under these circumstances the colonial government also tried to upgrade the native tobacco in various ways. For example, the agricultural consultant in Bondowoso supplied the inhabitants with the high quality seeds suitable for this purpose, promoted the better way of drying by using drying sheds and led them to plant the high quality *krossok* which could achieve a better market price [MvO Besoeki 1934]. The Agricultural Extension Office had provided the inhabitants with the Kedu and the Hybrid breed before, but in 1938 it enlarged the experiment of planting the Kasturi, the Virginia and other Asian tobacco breeds as the *vooroogst*, which were all suitable for the material for cigarettes [MvO Besoeki 1938:69]. And the tobacco contests were held every year from 1933, with the intention of improving the *naoogst krossok*. For example, at the contest in Bondowoso in 1936 jointly sponsored by the buying-up concerns and the Agricultural Extension Office, the prize was given to the best quality tobacco [I.V.1937 I :87], and that which was held in 1937 was attended by as many as 600 peasants. From this year competitions also began in the field of planting and maintenance of tobacco [MvO Besoeki 1938:70]. And in 1937 by virtue of "*Krosokordonnantie*" (Staatsblad no.604) a center was established, which would have as its task to prepare various measures for improving the production and the business of the *krossok* [MvO Besoeki 1938:37].
- 14) In the latter half of 1934 the increasing difficulty of exporting to Germany put a strong pressure on the market price, which resulted in almost no order for the Java *krossok* at the autumn auction in the Netherlands [L.E.V. 4e kwrt.1934 (E.W.1935):335].
- 15) According to the resident of Besuki such a rising interest in the cultivation of *vooroogst* among the inhabitants had been a typical phenomenon since a few years earlier, and they expanded the planting on the rice fields, for the risk of the *vooroogst* on the dry fields was larger due to more vulnerability to the bad weather [MvO Besoeki 1938:68~69].
- 16) For example, Onderzoek achterstand (1935:483~484) pointed out that almost all the cultivation of the *naoogst* tobacco on the rice fields was converted to that of maize in 1932.

[Bibliography]

- Banck, J.A., 1930: "Uit de dagboeken van de ambtenaren der centrale kas, Controleur J.A.Banck te Bondowoso, Januari 1930" (*Blaadje voor het Volkscredietwezen*, 1930)
- Broek, P.J.van den, 1949: "Bevolkingstabak" (C.J.J. van Hall, *De Landbouw in de Indischen Archipel*, deel IIB, 1949, s'-Gravenhage)
- Economische Zaken 1936: Departement van Economische Zaken aan den Gouverneur-Generaal, no.2060/A.E.A., dd.11 Februari 1936, bijl.A, mailrapport 256/1936
- Groote cultures 1939: "De groote cultures in 1939" (*Economisch Weekblad*, 1940)
- I.L.: "De Inlandsche Landbouw in" (*Economisch Weekblad*)
- I.V. : *Indisch Verslag* 1931~1940
- Jaeggi, A.G., 1949: "De tabakscultuur van de residentie Besoeki" (C.J.J. van Hall, *De Landbouw in de Indischen Archipel*, deel IIB, 1949, s'-Gravenhage)
- Javatabak 1936: "De Javatabak op de wereldmarkt" (*Economisch Weekblad*, 1936)
- krossok rapport 1939: "Verkort rapport omtrent krossokhandel en crediet in de regentschappen

- Djember en Bondowoso" (*Volkscredietwezen*, 1939)
- Kuribayashi Genjuro, 1941: *Ranryo Touindo ni okeru Tabako Saibai Jigyō Tyōsasyō (A Survey on the Tobacco Cultivation in the Netherlands East India)*, 1941, Tokyo
- K.V.: *Koloniaal Verslag 1848~1930*
- L.E.V. : *Landbouweconomische Verslag*
- Lette, J.R., 1933: *Onderzoek naar de werking van het pandcrediet onder de Inlandsche Bevolking*, 2 delen met bijlagen, 1933, n.p.
- M.W.E.Besoeki: *Onderzoek naar de Mindere Welvaart der Inlandsche Bevolking op Java en Madoera, Samentrekking van de Afdeelvingsverslagen over de uitkomsten der onderzoekingen naar de Economie van de desa in de residentie Besoeki*, 1909, Weltevreden
- Memori Residen Besuki 1922: *Memori Residen Besuki (J.P.H. Fessevier)*, 1 Augustus 1922 (*Memori Serah Jabatan 1921~1930 (Jawa Timur dan Tanah Kerajaan)*), Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1978
- Memori Residen Bondowoso 1929: *Memori Resident Bondowoso (A.H.Neys)*, 25 Juli 1929, mailrapport 2527/1929 (*Memori Serah Jabatan 1921~1930 (Jawa Timur dan Tanah Kerajaan)*), Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1978
- MvO: *Memorie van Overgave*
- Ondernemings-cultuur 1934: "De ondernemingscultuur en de teelt van Inlandsche handelsgewassen in 1934" (*Economisch Weekblad*, 1935)
- Onderzoek achterstand 1935: "Vergelijkend onderzoek betreffende den achterstand en de verstrekking van seizoen crediet bij de volkscredietbanken - sedert April 1934 plaatselijke kantoren der A.V.B. - te Bondowoso en Djember" (*Volkscredietwezen*, 1935)
- Onderzoek Djember 1932: *Onderzoek naar de gevolgen van de suiker- (en tabak-) restrictie voor de economischen toestand van de Inlandsche bevolking in het regentschap Djember*, mailrapport 1448/1932
- Ontwikkeling krosok 1937: "De ontwikkeling van de productie van krosok-tabak door de bevolking op Java en de tegenwoordige marktpositie van dat product" (*Economisch Weekblad*, 1937)
- Oogst en aanplant: "Oogst en aanplant der voornaamste Inlandsche landbouwgewassen op Java en Madoera" (*Economisch Weekblad*, 1932~1940)
- Overzicht landbouwgewassen: "Overzicht van oogst, bijplant en aanplant der voornaamste Inlandsche landbouwgewassen op Java en Madoera" (*Economisch Weekblad*, 1932~1940)
- Rijke, J.J., 1934: "Bedrijfstechnisch rapport betreffende de Djemberse afdeelingbank" (*Volkscredietwezen*, 1934)
- Statis.landbouwgewassen December 1932: "Statistische gegevens van de Inlandsche landbouwgewassen op Java en Madoera over December 1932" (*Economisch Weekblad*, 1932)
- Volkstelling 1930: *Volkstelling 1930, Deel 3, Inheemsche Bevolking van Oost Java*, 1934, Batavia
- Verslag Ass.-Resident: *Verslag van den Assistent-Resident ter beschikking van den Directeur van Landbouw, Nijverheid en Handel voor Welvaartsonderzoek*, 1933~1938
- Volkscredietwezen: "Het volkscredietwezen in het kwrt....." (*Volkscredietwezen*)
- Werkloosheid 2e halfjaar 1931: *Verslag van het Hoofd van het kantoor van arbeid. De werkloosheid in Nederlandsch-Indië in het 2e halfjaar 1931*, mailrapport 348/1932, Vb 11-4-32-3