

## **The Sugar Estates in Besuki and the Depression**

**UEMURA Yasuo**

### **Introduction**

Besuki, a residency in East Java, was one of the centers of sugar production in Java in the Dutch colonial period. This paper examines the characteristics of the sugar estates in this residency, and describes how they coped with the Depression in the 1930s and how the people reacted to it. To begin with I describe the origin of this industry and the spatial distribution of the estates in this residency as well as their relation to the regional economy.

### **I, Distribution of the Sugar Estates in the Residency Besuki**

In the residency Besuki the full scale development of sugar cane cultivation began relatively late, that is, after the introduction of the so-called "liberal policy" in 1870, though the cultivation itself already existed under the Cultivation System. The cultivation, however, quickly expanded after that as is shown in table 1, and the area in the peak years at the end of the 1920s was ten times larger than that under the Cultivation System<sup>1)</sup>.

In this residency the cultivation was concentrated in Panarukan regency from the beginning, and in the 1930s there were 6 estates in Panarukan, 2 in Bondowoso, 3 in Jember and 1 in Banyuwangi. These estates usually planted sugar cane within the regency where the factory was located, but the estates Asembagus, Panji and Olean, all located in Panarukan, planted also in Bondowoso respectively 79, 125 and 65 hectares in a normal year before the Depression, and Prajekan in Bondowoso planted 11 hectares in Panarukan [Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1935]. In addition, Jatiroto, which was located in the neighboring residency Malang, cultivated sugar cane on a large scale in Jember.

The normal planting amounted to 817 hectares in Banyuwangi, 5,786 hectares in Panarukan, 2,467 hectares in Bondowoso and 6,449 hectares in Jember [Economische Zaken 1936]. In order to gain a better understanding of the importance of the sugar estate for the peasants' economy it is useful to calculate the percentage of the above area to that of the rice-field and the total arable land in each regency.

In Panarukan rice fields amounted to 22,641 hectares and the total arable land to 67,489

table 1 Planting Area of the Sugar Cane of Each Estate in Besuki (bau)

regency	estate	1920/21	1925/26	1926/27	1927/28	1928/29	1929/30	1930/31	1931/32	1932/33	1933/34	1934/35	1935/36	1936/37	1937/38	
Pananakan	De Maas	600	600	603	670	770	718	800	728	810	-	800	-	-	-	
	Buduan	848	856	851	851	855	900	899	927	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Olean	925	950	927	994	972	963	975	951	966	1,020	1,024	117	944	944	
	Wringinanom	1,304	1,290	1,402	1,431	1,400	1,393	1,400	1,085	59	-	-	-	1,277	1,197	1,262
	Panji	1,966	2,159	2,249	2,298	2,299	2,313	2,287	2,070	2,076	2,120	1,987	1,897	1,504	1,507	
	Asembagus	968	1,296	1,322	1,534	1,637	1,670	1,756	1,770	1,734	1,734	3	-	1,411	1,480	1,475
	sub-total	6,468	6,979	7,158	7,344	7,403	7,957	8,117	7,531	5,645	3,143	3,811	4,702	5,125	5,125	5,188
	Prajeakan	999	1,226	1,364	1,499	1,568	1,672	1,782	1,659	1,659	-	714	668	887	962	1,175
	Tangarang	995	1,198	1,370	1,359	1,377	1,627	1,627	1,693	1,524	-	342	37	30	292	292
	sub-total	1,994	2,424	2,734	2,858	2,945	3,299	3,299	3,475	3,183	-	1,056	705	917	1,254	1,175
Jember	Bedadung	-	-	-	-	2,649	2,958	3,137	2,627	-	-	-	-	-	-	141
	Semboro	-	-	-	3,334	2,794	3,020	2,863	2,770	13	13	-	-	-	1,685	852
	Gunungsari	-	-	907	3,524	2,946	3,010	2,800	2,597	256	44	-	-	-	-	-
sub-total	-	-	907	6,858	7,906	8,988	8,800	8,800	7,994	269	57	-	-	1,685	993	
Banyuwangi	Sukowidi	642	650	827	851	1,151	1,151	1,151	1,023	-	6	-	-	-	-	
total		9,104	10,053	11,266	17,911	19,405	21,395	21,543	19,731	5,914	4,262	4,516	5,619	8,064	7,356	

Note : The figures of the estate Wringinanom, Panji, Asembagus and Bedadung include the planting area on their own lands.

Source: K.V. 1922:Bij.Z (1921/22), K.V.1927:Bij.T (1925/26), K.V.1928:Bij.U (1926/27), K.V.1929:Bij.T (1927/28), K.V.1930:Bij.T (1928/29), A.S.1931:189 (1929/30), 1930/31), A.S.1933:349 (1931/32), A.S.1934:480 (1932/33), Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1933~1937 (1933/34~1937/38)

hectares, so the sugar estate occupied respectively 25.6% and 8.6% of them. If every cultivation was carried out by the three years rotation system, the leased land amounted to three times more than the planting area; thus almost 77 % of the rice fields were lent to the sugar estate in this regency. As is clear from table 2 which shows the planting area in each district, 30% of the rice fields were lent in the district Situbondo, 26% in Panarukan and 19% in Besuki in the 1930/31 cultivation; thus the leased area in each district occupied respectively 90%, 78% and 57% of the rice fields. As for the district Sumberwaru for which the data is lacking in this table, sugar cane cultivation amounted to 1,363 hectares, which we can calculate by subtracting 4,423 hectares, the total planting area in the above three districts, from 5,786 hectares, the planting area in the whole regency; thus about 29 % of the rice fields were used for sugar cane cultivation, or almost 90% of them were lent to the sugar estate. This indicates a fairly high dependence of the peasants' economy on the sugar estate in this regency, though not so much as in Sidoarjo (see Uemura 2004).

As for Bondowoso regency, rice fields amounted to 24,639 hectares and the arable land to 143,962 hectares, so the percentage was respectively 9.4% and 4.5%. Thus about 30% of rice fields in this regency were lent to the sugar estate.

table 2 Planting Area of the Estates in Panarukan Regency (except for Sumberwaru District) from the Cultivation of 1930/31 to 1932/33 (bau)

estate		district Situbondo			district Panarukan			district Besuki		
		1930 /31	1931 /32	1932 /33	1930 /31	1931 /32	1932 /33	1930 /31	1931 /32	1932 /33
Prajekan	rice field	19	38	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	dry field	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Panji	rice field	2,150	2,052	2,064	-	-	-	-	-	-
	dry field	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Olean	rice field	510	511	554	436	521	436	-	-	-
	dry field	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wringin- anom	rice field	-	-	-	1,380	1,040	65*	-	-	-
	dry field	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Buduan	rice field	-	-	-	-	-	-	878	817	-
	dry field	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	91	-
De Maas	rice field	-	-	-	-	-	-	800	728	792
	dry field	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	7	11
total	rice field (a)	2,679	2,601	2,618	1,816	1,561	501	1,678	1,545	792
	dry field	-	-	-	-	-	-	57	98	11
grand total (b)		2,679	2,601	2,618	1,816	1,561	501	1,735	1,643	803
percentage of (b) to 1930/31		100%	97%	98%	100%	86%	28%	100%	95%	46%
percentage of (a) to the whole rice field		30%	29%	29%	26%	23%	7%	19%	18%	9%

\* seedling

Source : Onderzoek Panaroekean 1932

In Jember regency sugar cane occupied 9.4% of 68,759 hectares of rice fields and 4.5% of 143,962 hectares of arable land. In this regency, however, sugar cane was planted only in 3 districts, Tanggul, Puger and Wuluhan, where, according to table 3, respectively 1,534 hectares (12.7% of the rice field), 4,758 hectares (36.8%) and 1,043 hectares (10.9%) were used for it. Thus sugar cane cultivation was especially important in the district Puger.

On the other hand sugar cane occupied only 2.2% of the rice fields and 0.8% of the arable land in Banyuwangi regency; thus only 6.6 % of the rice fields were leased by the sugar estate here.

Next we examine the number of laborers working in the sugar estates. It was in the regency Panarukan, according to table 4, that this number was biggest among the four regencies in this residency. Here more than 12 % of the gainfully employed related to the sugar estates and there were no other European estates than these. There were a considerable number of sugar estate laborers also in Jember, but the percentage to the gainfully employed was low and more people worked in "the other non-native cultivation". In Bondowoso the number of sugar estate laborers was not so great but the percentage was higher than in Jember, and in Banyuwangi both the number and the percentage were low.

In short, sugar estates in Besuki had the largest influence in Panarukan regency. This regency can be said to have been a typical sugar region, because it had, as will be mentioned in the next chapter, almost no cultivation of tobacco, another important crop for the world market in this regency. On the other hand Bondowoso had considerable tobacco cultivation, and in Jember sugar estates, originating at a fairly late date, were concentrated in certain districts, and in other districts tobacco cultivation was much more important. And in Banyuwangi sugar cane cultivation had no importance.

## **II, Characteristics of the Cultivation of the Sugar Estates in Besuki**

### **1, Characteristics of the Method of Land Lease**

The sugar estates obtained the land for cultivation by leasing rice fields from the peasants<sup>2)</sup>. They concluded the lease contracts with the individual holders of rice fields, which was in striking contrast to the case in the residency Surabaya where most of the contracts were concluded collectively with the village. The contract in Besuki was usually that of the long term of twenty one and a half years until the beginning of the 1930s, but also the short term one of 18 months was concluded additionally. The amount of rent in the former was fixed

table 3 The Reduction of Planting in the 1932/33 Cultivation in Jember Regency (bau)

estate	district	originally planned planting 1932/1933	rice fields leased for planting, of which the rent was already paid	intended reduction	area reduced by the amicable negotiation with the lessor				rice fields which lessors hoped to accept no arrangement (the contract maintained)	
					by omission of occupa- tion, of which pay- ment of compensation		by breaking the contract			total
1	2	3	4	5	is accepted	is rejected	with compen- sation	without compen- sation	10	
Sembaro	Tanggul	1,480.000	13.000	1,467.000	1,324.000	-	-	113.000	1,437.000	30.000
	Puger	1,391.427	8.010	1,383.417	1,140.010	64.864	-	7.168	1,212.042	171.375
	Wuluhan total	2,871.427	21.010	2,850.417	2,464.010	64.864	-	120.168	2,649.042	201.375
Jatiroto	Tanggul	680.401	-	680.401	507.151	-	-	173.250	680.401	-
	Puger	1,175.056	-	1,175.056	933.443	-	-	122.065	1,056.008	117.048
	Wuluhan total	1,853.457	-	1,853.457	1,441.094	-	-	295.315	1,736.409	117.048
Gunung- sari	Tanggul	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Puger	3,053.112	381.043	2,672.069	1,548.246	597.480	-	207.333	2,353.059	319.010
	Wuluhan total	3,053.112	381.043	2,672.069	1,548.246	597.480	-	207.333	2,353.059	319.010
Beda- dung	Tanggul	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Puger	1,081.493	187.121	894.472	617.059	101.146	-	115.046	833.251	61.121
	Wuluhan total	1,468.460	187.346	1,281.114	960.227	69.540	-	249.257	1,279.024	2.090
grand total	10,329.449	777.020	9,552.429	7,031.136	832.030	-	988.119	8,851.285	701.144	

[original note]

The lands referred to in column 4 were not planted by the H.V.A. They were -for which the payment was already finished- occupied before the means of restriction were known to the Administrator. In the case of omission of one occupation (see column 6) the compensation to be paid is equal to the land rent. According to the information there are a pair of persons, to whom apart from the land rent still another allowance is given by the H.V.A., for example, the ceding of lands on the parcel Nogosari which can be used gratis for cultivation for one year .... or other privileges.

As for the lessors who are not inclined to accept the omission of one occupation but inclined to break the contract, the factory passes on to the latter. In the case of breaking the contract no compensation is generally paid with the approval of the lessors.

According to the reports of the district chiefs concerned, received after making up this table, sugar factories have moved on to other measures with regard to the lessors who still hope to accept no agreements, that is:

For the omission of one occupation or annulling of a contract an amount of f 60 per bau in maximum is paid as the compensation, by which means  $\pm$  70% of the unwilling lessors became agreed in the district Poeger. In the districts Tanggoel and Woelohan there remains still respectively 19 baus and 200 roe lands with the holders of which still no agreement has been reached, whereas with regard to these remainders the factories are still engaged in negotiating in order to come to an agreement also with these.

[note by Uemura]

Among the figures in the above table there are some which seem to be erroneous, which however are left unchanged.

source : Onderzoek Djember 1932:bijl.No.2a

table 4 Number of the People in Various Occupations in the Residency Besuki

regency	(1) those who have the job	(2) agriculture		(3) laborers in the sugar estate		(4) laborers in the non-native estate except for the sugar estate		(5) industry		(6) fishery		(7) com- merce	(8) others	(9) % of (1) to the total popu- lation
		number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	%	%	
Jember	male	263.417	195.314	74.1	9.084	3.4	21.506	8.2						
	female	177.320	102.091	57.6	4.014	2.3	27.616	15.6						
	total	440.737	297.405	67.5	13.098	3.0	49.122	11.1				7.4	1.9	47.9
Banyu- wangi	male	129.681	83.832	64.6	2.325	1.8	18.245	14.1						
	female	60.160	33.800	56.2	530	0.9	13.803	22.9						
	total	189.841	117.632	62.0	2.855	1.5	32.048	16.9				3.7	4.4	40.9
Bondo- woso	male	91.857	71.129	77.4	4.721	5.1	2.644	2.9	106	0.1				
	female	45.961	22.474	48.9	1.713	3.7	2.900	6.3	8.225	17.9				
	total	137.818	93.603	67.9	6.434	4.7	5.544	4.0	8.331	6.0		5.6	3.8	37.6
Panaru- kan	male	83.784	45.872	54.8	15.265	18.2			172	0.2	5.053	6.0		
	female	58.860	14.166	24.1	2.947	5.0			21.096	35.8	112	0.2		
	total	142.644	60.038	42.1	18.212	12.8			21.268	14.9	5.165	3.6	10.8	5.7
res. Besuki	male	568.739	396.147	69.7	31.395	5.5								
	female	342.301	172.531	50.4	9.204	2.7								
	total	911.040	568.678	62.4	40.599	4.5								44.4

Note : The column (2) does not include those who plant fruit trees, vegetables and flowers. Both the column (3) and (4) consist of the laborers in the field, factory and office.

Source : Volkstelling 1930 III : 84-92, tabel 132

according to the minimum standard of the rent valid at the time, and in the latter the rent, though dependent on the fertility of land, amounted to a maximum of f 100 for 18 months [MvO Bondowoso 1931:33~34].

The above mentioned method of land lease led to a different role for the village from that in Surabaya when the sugar estate got the lands. In the transition period from the Cultivation System to the "Liberal Policy" those utilized as the mediators for land leases included not only village chiefs who got a commission for it but also the district chiefs, whose authority was often made use of. Their intermediation, however, gradually went out of use after the twelve-year contract began to be concluded in accordance with the revision of the land-lease ordinance in 1895, and afterwards the village chiefs generally did not concern themselves with the land lease contract [Uemura 1983a:29~40]. Such a difference from Surabaya resulted from the fact that here rice fields were occupied in the hereditary individual property and so the social position of the village chief was not so high as in Surabaya<sup>3)</sup>.

## **2, Characteristics of the Method of Sugar Cane Cultivation - Example of the 1936/37 Cultivation in the Estate Wringinanom**

Here the crop rotation system of the sugar estate, though that of two years or four years was also used until the beginning of the 20th century besides that of three years which was most usual in Java, seems to have become almost standardized to the latter by the beginning of the 1930s<sup>4)</sup>. The introduction of the Reynoso system was fairly late<sup>5)</sup>, and planting of the early-ripening paddy in the rice field immediately before lending out, which was always a cause of conflict between the estates and the lessors in Surabaya, was scarcely obligatory here [ibid.:15~17].

Now we examine the 1936/37 cultivation in the estate Wringinanom located in Panarukan regency in order to describe its process in the 1930s in detail. This estate, planting 900 ~ 1,000 hectares of sugar cane in the second half of the 1920s as is shown in table 5, began to restrict the cultivation in 1931 and stopped it completely between 1932 and 1934. It got the lands usually on the long term contract of twenty one and a half years from the second half of the 1920s onwards, and additionally leased the land by the short term contract of 18 months.

table 5 The Leased and the Planting Area in the Estate Wringinanom

culti- vation	area leased (hectare)				planting area (hectare)
	in total	by the short term contract	by the 12.5 years contract	by the 21.5 years contract	
1924/25	933.3	170.5	762.8	-	934.2
1925/26	924.2	196.6	727.6	-	928.2
1926/27	986.6	251.0	121.3	614.3	983.6
1927/28	1,015.9	283.0	105.1	627.8	1,011.6
1928/29	1,014.5	285.6	725.5	3.4	994.0
1929/30	1,014.6	150.9	-	863.7	1,014.6
1930/31	1,039.4	313.6	-	725.8	994.0
1931/32	788.7	69.4	-	719.3	746.0
1932/33	890.1	-	-	890.1	-
1933/34	722.4	-	-	722.4	-
1934/35	817.6	-	-	817.6	-
1935/36	956.9	99.3	-	857.6	900.0
1936/37	904.9	201.2	-	703.7	850.0
1937/38	951.2	166.2	-	785.0	896.0
1938/39	950.8	37.6	-	913.2	900.0

Source : Jaarverslag WA 1927:8; 1928:3; 1929:3; 1930:3; 1931:3; 1932:7; 1933:4; 1934:6; 1935:7; 1936:9; 1937:20; 1938:173

### [Obtaining the fields for sugar cane cultivation]

In this cultivation this estate eventually planted 850 hectares, which could not, however, be decided upon by the end of 1935, the deadline prescribed in the contract for informing the lessor of the land, due to the uncertain circumstances surrounding the sugar estates. So this estate tentatively fixed the maximum planting at 700 hectares, but hoped to get more lands prepared for the possible enlargement of cultivation. And as this estate had got only 673.2 hectares on the long term contract, it tried to make up the shortage by concluding a short term contract from October onwards. In this contract the rent per bau was fixed at f 40 for the first and second class land and f 35 for others. Payment was divided into two parts, and in case the peasant was informed of the nonuse of his land for sugar cane by the end of January, the first payment, f 7.5, would be appropriated to the compensation for it, and this amount would increase by f 2.50 a month if the notice was delayed. The estate could notify the peasants of the land nonuse unilaterally and was not obliged to pay the whole rent in this case. If the land was used the compensation which had been advanced would be deducted from the rent paid in the second payment. In short this estate tried to adopt a method which enabled it to cope with both the increase and the decrease of the leased area.

This estate succeeded in leasing about 108.9 hectares by the end of Ramadan (27 December in this year) by this short term contract, but afterwards the negotiations with the peasants stagnated due to their reduced willingness to let the land, with the result that the land

which the estate could obtain amounted to only 110.7 hectares even on 21 January 1936 according to the letter to the head office. Moreover, 63.1 hectares of this were leased not in the above-mentioned way but by lump sum payment, which means that the peasants resisted the land lease under disadvantageous conditions. In the same letter the estate told the head office that the rent would afterwards be paid in a lump sum, which seems to have reflected such a situation. The practice of the short term contract after that period can not be discovered, but anyhow the estate could obtain the necessary lands by the first half of March<sup>6)</sup>.

Next we examine the question of when the estate could get these lands under actual control. According to the column (a) ("land delivered to the estate") in table 6, the first delivery was made in the first half of March, but in addition the estate leased 50 hectares of land by the "fallow lease" (*braak huur*)<sup>7)</sup> in this year (as is described in the notes to the table), which were delivered as early as in February. Though this estate tried to encourage the early delivery of lands also by restoring the premium for it<sup>8)</sup>, it was only in the first half of June - later than in a normal year - that all lands needed for the cultivation in this year were delivered [Jaarverslag WA 1936:71], and it was reported that the delivery was so irregular that it hindered the process of remaking rice fields into fields for sugar cane [Aanplantrapport no.6, 31 Maart~ no.9, 15 Mei]. As for the cause of this delay, the annual report pointed out the fact that whether or not the 1936/37 cultivation would be implemented was uncertain, for which reason the peasants, who could not know whether they would receive the whole rent or the compensation for the non-use of the land, did not plant rice early in the rice fields which they intended to lend later, and also pointed out the continual shortage of the irrigation water for rice cultivation due to the longer dry season in 1935 [Jaarverslag WA 1935:47~48].

#### **[Remaking of rice fields into fields for sugar cane]**

The rice fields obtained in this manner were remade into fields for sugar cane, which had already begun in February in the parcels obtained by the fallow lease, and after the beginning of March also in other parts of the lands where the rice harvest was finished. This work began with the construction of the drainage system consisting of the circular drain around the field, the main drain and the small drain which all had the depth of 70 centimeters. The distance between the main drains was normally 100 meters but was 50 meters in the damp land, and that between the small drains was 10.45 meters. In the damp land the drainage was promoted by digging an additional small drain per 2 or 3 planting furrows in parallel with the latter and further by digging one which met the latter at right angles. Shortly afterwards planting furrows



table 6 The Progress of the Main Works in the Fields in the 1936/37 Cultivation of Wringinanom Estate

	(a) land delivered to the estate (ha)	(b) construction of the drain system (ha)	(c) remaking into fields for sugar cane (ha)	(d) hoeing (ha)	(e) preparation for planting (ha)	(f) number of the laborers engaged in (b)-(e) [average per day]	(g) planting (ha)	(h) supplementary planting (ha)	(i) number of the laborers engaged in (g) and (h) [average per day]	erthing				harvested area of the 1935/36 cultivation (ha)	
										first (ha)	second (ha)	third (ha)	last (ha)		
29 Febr. 1936		0	0												
15 March	116.5	71	35	67	31	11,467 [ 764]	20		4,284 [268]						
31 March	276.9	165	96	147	101	18,855 [1,178]	82	15	8,200 [547]						
15 April	404.1	290	199	278	190	28,060 [1,870]	178	72	7,164 [477]						
30 April	559.5	457	342	424	321	32,670 [2,178]	300	141	9,757 [650]	20					
15 May	694.8	597	493	598	525	34,499 [2,167]	474	229	10,913 [728]	38					
31 May	832.6	773	703	714	641	34,177 [2,278]	623	352	9,877 [658]	45					
15 June	850	837	790	857	768	27,724 [1,848]	754	535	12,269 [818]	200	26	93		108.22	
30 June		900	867	900	830	13,212 [ 880]	808	611	8,417 [561]	270	109	182	34	211.87	
15 July		900	900	900	850		850	709	7,950 [497]	473	206	354	85	336.40	
31 July								790		590	354	468	85	448.60	
15 August								850		681	468	284	189	552.90	
31 August										850	731	640	365	679.50	
15 Sept.										850	805	607	543	787.05	
30 Sept.											829	805	685	901.9	
15 Oct.											850	850	801		
31 Oct.												850	844		
	harvested area (ha)														
15 June 1937	60														
30 June	152.8														
15 July	255.8														
31 July	358.93														
15 August	472														
31 August	570.2														
15 Sept.	669.8														
30 Sept.	765.6														
15 Oct.	850														
31 Oct.															

Note : Besides the land in column (a) 50 hectares fallow rice field was also used for the 1936/37 cultivation, thus the total fields for this cultivation amounted to 900 hectares, but the planting was eventually fixed at 850 hectares. The figures show the total area of the fields where each work was finished until that date. The "number of the laborers" (column f and i) shows the total number of those who actually worked during a half month until that date.

The harvest of sugar cane in the 1935/36 cultivation began on 10 June and finished on 16 October. The area included the nurseries of 16.30 hectares.

The harvest of sugar cane in the 1936/37 cultivation began on 19 June and finished on 29 October.

Source : Aanplant rapport 1936, no. 1-24, 1937, no. 1-24

began to be dug, of which the length, width and depth was respectively 10 meters, 40 centimeters and 25 centimeters. This work was done at the piece-rate of 1.5 cents per furrow. The surface of the furrow was loosened with a hoe and left for about two weeks in order to give enough air to the soil. After that the furrows were buried again with the soil piled on the both sides of them to the depth of 25 centimeters in the normal land, 30 centimeters in the dry one, 15 centimeters in the damp one and almost to the surface of the earth in the very damp one. In this way the preparation of planting was finished in the latter half of July [ibid. 1936:71~73].

### **[Planting]**

Planting began in the second half of March first on the parcel obtained earliest by the fallow lease, and continued until the second half of July. In this year this work went slowly at first, only less than 7 hectares a day in April due to the above-mentioned irregular delivery of lands, but later it exceeded 12 hectares a day. In this work seedlings were planted in the furrow which was watered and weeded on the previous day, and immediately after planting a little water was supplied. The watering was done by the laborers drawing water from the small drain in the early stage of planting, but later the method of direct water supply from the small drain was adopted due to the shortage of laborers. Then followed the supplementary planting in order to exchange the withered seedlings for new ones, and with the end of this work the whole process of planting was finished in August [ibid.:73~74]<sup>9)</sup>.

### **[Care for the growing sugar cane]**

After this the growing period came to the sugar cane, and the main tasks needed in this period were manuring, earthing-up (piling up the soil on both sides of the furrow around the root of the cane in accordance with the growth of the plant), watering and weeding. This estate manured twice, applying usually ammonium sulfate. Immediately after the first manuring a small amount of soil was put on the root of the cane, and the first earthing-up was carried out a few days after the second manuring. This estate usually practiced earthing-up four times, respectively 45~50 days, 60~65 days, 90 days and 120 days after planting, and in this year the final earthing-up was finished by the middle of November.

Sugar cane was watered by the direct water supply from the small drain in this period. As the water was supplied in the district Panarukan in accordance with the so-called "day and night principle (*dag en nacht regeling*)" by which sugar cane got water in the daytime and the people's agriculture in the night, this estate was normally watered from seven o'clock in the morning to three o'clock in the afternoon, but only from eleven to four o'clock after 11

November when the rice cultivation began, and after 10 December the estate could not obtain any water, except for that needed for the nursery, without a special application because almost all water was allotted to the people's agriculture [ibid.:85].

**[Preparation for the harvest]**

The main work of the sugar cane cultivation was almost finished by the middle of November except for the harvest of full-matured cane. As the first preparation for it the height of cane was measured from the latter half of September onwards. This estate planted in this year two kinds of sugar cane, namely, 2878 P.O.J. and 2967 P.O.J., which were, according to the planting report of September 30, both 120 centimeters in height. They grew well and reached 323 centimeters at the end of December, and on March 31, when the final measuring was done, the former was 437 centimeters and the latter 429 centimeters in height. From the beginning of April maturity was measured by the sampling of sugar content and also by observing the color of leaves. In this year the first sign of the complete growth was observed in the first half of February at the fringe of the field where dryness was greatest, and afterwards this phenomenon increased steadily, but considerable delay was observed in comparison with the previous year due to the large amount of rain in April and May [ibid.:21], with the result that it was only at the end of May that the commencement of the harvest was in sight. For these reasons the harvest began on 19 June, considerably later than in the normal year<sup>10)</sup>.

The harvest began in the parcel where the planting was first carried out, and then the cane at the fringe of the field (due to early ripening resulting from the dryness) and also that along the rail (to avoid possible burning) was cut in June [Aanplantrapport 1937, no.12]. Those who engaged in this work were 719 harvest laborers who lived around the factory and contracted with the estate with the advance of f 1, as well as 241 workers from the island of Sapudi who came to this estate every year (who were given 25 cents as the traveling expense and 10 cents for the food cost). They worked on a piece-rate and received 1.5 cents per quintal of cane harvested. And in case more than 38 quintals of sugar cane in good condition was loaded in the goods wagon the premium of 5 and 2 cents respectively was paid to the coolies and the headmen, but in contrast when sugar cane was not harvested properly their wages were cut. These wages were paid on the morning of the next day of harvesting by the harvest superintendent after he allotted the works of the day to them [Jaarverslag WA 1937:147].

The average area harvested per day of each half month from the second half of June to the second half of October was respectively 5.0, 6.4, 6.4, 6.9, 7.1, 6.5, 6.6, 6.4 and 6.0 hectares,

thus the harvest first stagnated, then improved to reach a peak in the second half of August and then slowed down again. The reason for the stagnation lay in the worse supply of workers due to the illness prevailing among them. The number of the sick diminished in the first half of July, resulting in a greater labor supply which led to the higher pace of the harvest until the middle of August, but the pace became slower in September because more lying canes should be harvested and also because the parcels harvested became more and more distant from the factory [Aanplantrapport 1937, no.12 ~ no.20]. The harvest in this year, however, could be finished on 29 October yielding 1,565 quintals of cane and 157 quintals of sugar per hectare on the average without any big cane burning<sup>11)</sup> [Jaarverslag WA 1937:147].

#### [Transport of sugar cane to the factory]

Sugar cane harvested in this way was first transported from the field to the permanent tramway (which was 43 km long in total) in the wagons pulled by 56 spans of cattle in total which were contracted by the advance of f 5 per span, and from there to the factory these wagons were pulled by the 6 steam locomotives, while in the factory yard they were pulled to the unloading place by 3 spans of cattle. These rails were inspected by 3 headmen and 15 coolies every day throughout the harvest season, and the laying and withdrawal of the rails were done by 12 headmen.

The number of wagons used in a day depended on the amount of cane to be harvested in that day which was fixed taking into account the factory's processing ability and the amount of cane already harvested but remaining unprocessed in the factory. These wagons were divided into 12 groups, and most of them went to the fields at six o'clock in the morning and were used until one o'clock in the afternoon. The wagons which came later were also loaded fully with cane, but did not go back to the factory in that day but were pulled in the next morning by the locomotive coming to the fields earliest with empty wagons. The wagons used in this manner amounted to 36,978 in total or somewhat less than 307 a day on the average [ibid.:148~149].

### 3, Problem of the Shortage of Laborers

Generally speaking, the sugar estates in Java put unusually large numbers of laborers into a series of works for remaking rice fields into fields for sugar cane, and this estate mobilized, as table 6 shows, for this purpose more than 2,000 laborers a day from the second half of April to the second half of May. Also, planting needed a considerable number of laborers. In contrast to most of the sugar estates in Java which usually supplied themselves with laborers from the

surrounding villages as the example of Surabaya shows [Uemura 2004], it is remarkable that this estate customarily drew its laborers, including those who engaged in the harvest, also from the island of Sapudi. Besides, this estate tried to stabilize the labor supply for the harvest also by giving an advance to the contract coolies from the district to minimize their leaving the work from 1926 onwards [Jaarverslag WA 1926:38]. For this estate it was thus always a serious problem to obtain the sufficient laborers, and the annual report described the situation in this year as follows.

Though the supply of laborers was better than in the previous year, it could not be described as an ample supply. Always much effort must be made to have sufficient laborers, of whom imported people constitute a large part. Around the beginning of March the work for the new planting began. During the months of March and April there were periods when the supply of laborers was unfavorably influenced by the weather conditions as well as by the reclassifying of the village lands then taking place. . . . . In the second half of April it was still rainy weather but from May onwards it was practically dry and sunny weather and the weather conditions were also favorable for the supply of laborers. But afterwards many cases of illness appeared among the laborers (malaria and influenza) by which the supply was reduced; on the other hand, the customary village festivals after the gathering of the paddy harvest and the wedding party also resulted in a remarkable decrease in the supply of laborers. After the second half of July the number of laborers was generally not unsatisfactory, but always by giving much attention to the supply of laborers. [ibid.1936:72~73]

These situations delayed the works of remaking the fields (in the second half of April and the first half of June) [Aanplantrapport 1936, no.8, no.11] and of earthing up (on the A parcel in the first half of August) [ibid., no.15]. And such problems appeared every year, which we can tell from the description under the heading "labor force" in the annual reports<sup>12)</sup>.

From the above we can consider that the shortage of laborers in this estate was of a structural nature. And the same situation prevailed in every sugar estate in Besuki residency. In the regency Panarukan the arrival of the laborers from outside was usual as it was said that "the laborers in the sugar estates are obtained mainly from the local people in the district Besuki. In other districts many people from Sapudi come to work in the fields from April to June. According to Mr. Hartevelt, Administrator of Panji, about 1/4 ~ 1/3 of the coolies in this period consist of the people of Sapudi" [Onderzoek Panaroekan 1932], and that "as there are few

laborers in the regency Panarukan, mechanical land tillage is adopted and the laborers for the works in the field were called from Madura" [MvO Bondowoso 1931].

Also in Jember, "every year thousands of Madura people come from the opposite coast during the sugar season or the coffee picking-season and, as soon as the work is finished, go back again to their home" [ibid.]. Moreover, the dependency on the imported laborers was higher than in Panarukan as it was pointed out that "the sugar industry operating here has not provided employment to the local people yet", and "the work in the factory as well as in the field must be carried out by 'imported people'. Consequently only these imported people have benefitted from this source of money income" [Onderzoek Djember 1932].

Such a situation of the shortage of laborers in the sugar estates in Besuki was already found in the 1910s [Uemura 1983a:17~18], and continued to the end of the 1930s when according to the chairman in the meeting of the local branch of the General Syndicate of Java Sugar-industry, "the Besuki factories imported yearly about 3,000 ~ 4,000 people (from Sapudi and Madura) exclusive of the Jember Factories and the coffee undertakings" [Notulen ASNI 1938].

The main reason for this can be found in the small population in this region which necessitated the import of laborers. At the same time, however, we should note the influence of the Depression which worsened the situation. The annual report of 1935 of Wringinanom pointed out as the reasons for the shortage of laborers in the 1935/36 cultivation the following three points, that is, (1) people limited the money economy to the minimum and did not want to get jobs for money so urgently as was expected, (2) restriction of the cultivation led to an increase in the people's agriculture which absorbed more laborers, and (3) the favorable food situation due to the good paddy harvest led to a reduced demand for labor [Jaarverslag WA 1935:21~22].

As is clear from the above, sugar estates here differed greatly from those in Surabaya mainly in two respects, that is, they leased lands by the individual contract with each landholder which led to a smaller role for the village chief than in Surabaya, and they had to rely on the imported laborers to make up for the shortage of workers recruited from the nearby villages.

In the next chapter we examine how they coped with the Depression considering the influence of these peculiarities, especially that of the former.

### III, Measures of the Sugar Estates against the Depression in Besuki

The serious influence of the Depression was represented in, among other factors, the slump of sugar sales also in this region. As is shown in table 7, the sugar stock in Wringinanom estate gradually increased from about 6,000 sacks in the middle of 1931 to more than 110,000 in the second half of September in consequence of the sugar production from the 1930/31 cultivation. From this sugar about 10,000 sacks could be sold in the first half of 1932, but afterwards almost nothing was sold and it was only at the end of the year that the overstock began to decrease. After the second half of May in 1932, however, new sugar produced from the 1931/32 cultivation was added to the old stock and this sugar scarcely decreased in 1933, and though it could be sold little by little from the beginning of 1934 onwards it took more than one year for the overstock to disappear.

In short, new sugar which joined the stock before the old one had been fully sold produced the overstock. So it was the suspension of the 1932/33, 1933/34 and 1934/35 cultivations that played the great role in lessening the pressure of the overstock in this estate. These circumstances were thought to be more or less the same in every sugar estate in this region. Below, I examine the measures they took to cope with these difficulties in detail by dividing them into two, the curtailment of various expenditures and the reduction of the cultivation.

#### 1, Curtailment of Various Expenditures

The sugar estates here had already begun to cut their expenditures at the end of the 1920s, though these reductions reached a maximum after 1930. A report from the Bondowoso/Jember branch of the Java Sugar Employer Association (*Java Suiker Werkgevend Bond*) to the resident of Bondowoso at the time said that the sugar estates here reduced the cultivation of sugar cane stalks (*cultuur van suikerrietsteken*) in the mountain region on a large scale, and that most estates cut the salaries and the day wages of the factory laborers and some of them cut the salaries of craftsmen, secretaries and staff in the laboratory by 10 % and also the wages of coolies. The construction or the extension of factory equipment was stopped, and many estates reduced the working hours of the day by half and in December stopped all the work on almost every day, with the result that in some estates craftsmen, though being free from the layoff, lost half of their salary. In the fields, the estate tried to cut costs by intensifying the labor, that is, by having the laborers do more work for the same wages. Further, some estates succeeded in reducing the costs per hectare by 20% by simplifying the planting works [Resident Bondowoso 1931; Department BB 1931].

table 7 Stock of Sugar in the Estate Wringinanom (sack)

	total	sugar produced in 1931		sugar produced in 1932			total	sugar produced in 1932		sugar produced in 1933 by Panji estate, in the estate	sugar produced in 1934
		in the estate	in the Panarukan storehouse	in the estate	in the Panarukan storehouse			in the estate	in the Panarukan storehouse		
31 Dec. 1930	80,304					15 June 1933	103,847	91,157	12,690		
15 Jan. 1931	80,204					30 June	103,847	91,157	12,690		
31 Jan.	68,322					15 July	103,847	91,157	12,690		
15 Febr.	50,480					31 July	103,847	91,157	12,690		
28 Febr.	50,480					15 August	103,847	91,157	12,690		
15 March	50,480					31 August	103,847	91,157	12,690		
31 March	50,480					15 Sept.	103,847	91,157	12,690		
15 April	40,872					30 Sept.	103,847	91,157	12,690		
30 April	24,072					15 Oct.	103,847	91,157	12,690		
15 May	7,272					31 Oct.	106,496	91,157	12,690	2,649	
31 May	6,380					15 Nov.	106,496	91,157	12,690	2,649	
15 June	15,176					30 Nov.	106,496	91,157	12,690	2,649	
30 June	37,704					15 Dec.	106,496	91,157	12,690	2,649	
15 July	37,704					31 Dec.	106,496	91,157	12,690	2,649	
31 July	n.a.					15 Jan. 1934	103,396	91,157	9,590	2,649	
15 August	67,026					31 Jan.	103,396	91,157	9,590	2,649	
31 August	84,704					15 Febr.	102,396	91,157	8,590	2,649	
15 Sept.	91,730					28 Febr.	102,296	91,157	8,490	2,649	
30 Sept.	113,095					15 March	100,546	91,157	6,740	2,649	
15 Oct.	112,595					31 March	97,286	88,996	5,641	2,649	
31 Oct.	112,595					15 April	97,286	88,996	5,641	2,649	
15 Nov.	112,595					30 April	97,286	88,996	5,641	2,649	
30 Nov.	112,595					15 May	88,369	84,996	724	2,649	
15 Dec.	112,595					31 May	88,369	84,996	724	2,649	
31 Dec.	112,595					15 June	88,361	84,996	724	2,641	
15 Jan. 1932	112,595					30 June	87,561	84,920	0	2,641	
31 Jan.	112,195					15 July	82,520	79,879		2,641	
15 Febr.	112,195					31 July	68,556	65,915		2,641	
29 Febr.	112,195					15 August	64,786	62,145		2,641	
15 March	112,195					31 August	67,889	61,245		2,641	4,003
31 March	112,195					15 Sept.	62,039	55,395		2,641	4,003
15 April	102,287					30 Sept.	43,121	36,477		2,641	4,003
30 April	102,287	77,377	24,910			15 Oct.	43,121	36,477		2,641	4,003
15 May	102,287	46,137	56,150			31 Oct.	43,121	36,477		2,641	4,003
31 May	119,815	38,665	63,622	17,528		15 Nov.	42,007	34,058		2,641	5,308
15 June	138,885	38,511	63,852	36,522		30 Nov.	41,544	33,595		2,641	5,308
30 June	155,905	19,521	82,842	53,542		15 Dec.	34,609	26,660		2,641	5,308
15 July	172,805	18,839	83,524	70,442		31 Dec.	34,609	26,660		2,641	5,308
31 July	192,425	18,839	83,524	90,062		15 Jan. 1935	28,759	20,810		2,641	5,308
15 August	206,666	18,839	83,524	98,453	5,850	31 Jan.	18,192	10,243		2,641	5,308
31 August	214,481	18,839	83,524	99,428	12,690	15 Febr.	2,641	0		2,641	0
15 Sept.	214,481	18,839	83,524	99,428	12,690	28 Febr.	2,641			2,641	
30 Sept.	214,481	18,839	83,524	99,428	12,690	15 March	2,641			2,641	
15 Oct.	214,481	18,839	83,524	99,428	12,690	31 March	2,641			2,641	
31 Oct.	206,555	18,839	83,524	91,502	12,690	15 April	2,641			2,641	
15 Nov.	206,555	8,309	94,054	91,502	12,690	30 April	2,641			2,641	
30 Nov.	206,157	2,264	100,046	91,157	12,690	15 May	2,641			2,641	
15 Dec.	196,250	2,264	90,139	91,157	12,690	31 May	2,641			2,641	
31 Dec.	192,285	2,264	86,174	91,157	12,690	15 June	2,641			2,641	
15 Jan. 1933	192,285	2,264	86,174	91,157	12,690	30 June	1,650			1,650	
31 Jan.	192,285	2,264	86,174	91,157	12,690	15 July	1,650			1,650	
15 Febr.	182,378	2,264	76,267	91,157	12,690	31 July	1,340			1,340	
28 Febr.	182,378	2,264	76,267	91,157	12,690	15 August	520			520	
15 March	182,378	2,264	76,267	91,157	12,690	31 August	0			0	
31 March	182,378	2,264	76,267	91,157	12,690						
15 April	177,424	2,264	71,313	91,157	12,690						
30 April	157,609	2,264	51,498	91,157	12,690						
15 May	123,049	2,264	16,938	91,157	12,690						
31 May	103,847	0	0	91,157	12,690						

Note : The "sugar produced in 1934" was processed from the sugar cane originally aimed to be utilize for seedling.  
Source : Rapport Algemeene Zaken



So how much expenditure did the estates save by these means? We examine the examples of the estates Gunungsari, Semboro and Bedadung, all operated in Jember. Table 8 shows the amount they paid to the people from the 1930/31 to the 1932/33 cultivation. According to these figures Gunungsari paid for the 1931/32 cultivation f163.8 or 34.8% less wages than in the previous cultivation per hectare of leased land and cut the deliveries by f1.2 or 35.3%, thus expenses were curtailed in total by f165.9 or 27.3%. In Semboro these figures are respectively f95.8 or 21.9%, f2.3 or 32.9%, f165.9 or 27.3% and in Bedadung f138.5 or 31.7%, f14.9 or 93.1%, f97.9 or 16.6%.

The large decrease in wages was remarkable, and the especially large decrease in the "cultivation and planting" seems, as there was not so much difference in the planting area between the two cultivations, to have been realized not only by reducing the unit price but also by simplifying the works to cut the number of laborers. And it was as a matter of course that in the 1932/33 cultivation, when the restriction reached its maximum, the amount these estates paid to the people decreased much more, to only 1/10 of that in the normal cultivation.

Next we examine the details of the curtailment from the example of Wringinanom estate by analyzing the change in expenditures in the cultivation section from the 1925/26 to the 1938/39 cultivation shown in table 9. If we divide these years into four groups, namely, the normal period (from the 1925/26 to the 1930/31 cultivation), the restriction period (the 1931/32 cultivation), the suspension period (from the 1932/33 to the 1934/35 cultivation) and the resumption period (from the 1935/36 to the 1937/38 cultivation), the average "total" of each group is respectively f 674.96, f 567.94, f 66.01 and f 278.46; thus the percentage of the last three to the normal period is 84%, 10% and 41%, showing the large-scale curtailment carried out in those estates. Before entering into the restriction period, the curtailment had already begun for most items of expenditure, and it went further in the restriction and the resumption period. Here we enter into details about the "land lease" and the "cultivation", which in total amounted to nearly half of the cultivation cost and which particularly influenced to the peasants' economy<sup>13)</sup>.

The "land lease" consisted of the rent, the premium for promoting the earlier delivery of lands, etc. And its increase in the 1926/27 cultivation was attributed to the many short term contracts concluded for this cultivation in which the rent was twice as large as that of the long term one, the higher rent of the newly leased lands needed for the enlargement of the cultivation, and the cost for converting the twelve-and-a-half year contracts to the twenty-one-and-a-half

table 8 Total Amount of the Various Payment in the Estates Gunung Sari, Semboro and Bedadung (guilder)

	Gunungsari			Semboro			Bedadung		
	1930/31	1931/32	1932/33	1930/31	1931/32	1932/33	1930/31	1931/32	1932/33
Area for which rent is paid									
I									
Wages									
a, Cultivation and planting (including nurseries)	2,039ha	1,817ha	185ha	2,093ha	1,938ha	13ha	2,134ha	1,339ha	-
b, Native staff planting (ibid.)	448,000	286,000	30,000	405,900	333,400	1,900	409,608	275,826	1,716
c, Watch-wages of the native staff of estate, as well as rifleman's premium, etc. (excluding the contribution to the cultivation police)	39,000	12,000	5,000	40,500	8,400	-	39,126	9,842	-
d, Harvest wages and cane transport	4,000	2,000	-	2,600	1,900	1,500	2,217	1,199	972
e, Native staffs factory (secretaries, laboratory workers, craftsmen, headmen, coolie wages for maintenance and manufacture)	239,000	108,000	11,000	206,500	132,500	800	257,778	129,237	-
f, Native staffs for factory extension and new construction	102,000	68,000	5,000	90,700	68,500	19,000	125,755	32,916	12,229
g, Transport costs, coolie wages for various transports and for the storage of sugar	10,000	9,000	2,000	10,300	9,500	2,500	18,121	-	-
h, Bonus Native staff	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,269	-	-
i, Sundries (exclusive of pension and support Native staff)	117,000	72,000	20,000	158,200	107,000	8,600	73,648	48,663	78
Total (I. Wages) per hectare	959,000	557,000	73,000	914,700	661,200	34,300	931,773	497,682	14,995
	470.3	306.5	394.6	437.0	341.2	2,638.5	436.6	371.7	-
II									
Deliveries									
a, Buying-up cane	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
b, Yearly returning deliveries (for the sake of Irrigation-works, construction of railways, deliveries of packing of native manufacture, stable-manure, etc.)	7,000	4,000	1,000	14,600	9,100	1,000	34,075	1,862	-
c, Factories extension and new construction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total (II. Deliveries) per hectare	7,000	4,000	1,000	14,600	9,100	1,000	34,075	1,862	-
	3.4	2.2	5.4	7.0	4.7	76.9	16.0	1.4	-
III									
Rent									
a, Properly said rent (for the planting as well as for nurseries)	236,000	207,000	21,000	236,100	220,000	1,500	248,670	200,737	-
b, Various premiums	35,000	29,000	4,000	43,100	37,600	200	42,337	37,140	-
c, Compensation in case nonuse of the leased land	-	4,000	60,000	6,500	400	115,000	-	82,382	-
Total (III. Rent) per hectare	271,000	240,000	85,000	285,700	258,000	116,700	291,007	320,259	-
	132.9	132.1	459.5	136.5	133.1	8976.9	136.4	239.2	-
Total I, II and III per hectare	1,237,000	801,000	159,000	1,215,000	928,300	152,000	1,256,856	819,803	14,995
	606.7	440.8	859.5	580.5	479.0	1,1692.3	589.0	612.3	-

Source : Onderzoek Djember 1932-bijl. No.3a,b, c

table 9 Various Costs per Hectare in the Estate Wringinanom

cultivation	salary of the European staff	salary of the Native staff	watch	land lease	planting	manure	irrigation	seedling	road/bridge	others	total	source
1925/26	50.56	31.75	-	68.37	234.47	102.90	10.58	87.98	1.86	24.00	612.47	Jaarverslag WA 1927: 8
1926/27	54.80	32.78	11.19	86.85	254.69	105.36	11.99	89.45	3.00	16.06	666.17	Jaarverslag WA 1928: 8
1927/28	45.37	34.87	10.50	90.97	256.57	108.12	13.96	134.58	2.66	18.13	715.73	Jaarverslag WA 1929: 10
1928/29	49.44	36.86	11.91	90.15	255.95	105.99	13.47	95.92	2.72	20.17	682.58	Jaarverslag WA 1930: 9
1929/30	53.74	35.10	12.51	145.31	239.64	105.45	11.75	92.12	2.56	20.64	718.82	Jaarverslag WA 1931: 11
1930/31	47.11	34.64	11.07	135.56	221.10	88.33	8.78	83.79	1.14	22.48	654.00	Jaarverslag WA 1932: 15
1931/32	46.87	36.33	18.76	142.54	171.11	64.89	6.58	53.41	0.32	27.13	567.94	Jaarverslag WA 1933: 16
1932/33	16.50	7.61	0.41	35.79	-	8.26	0.17	9.46	-	0.00	78.21	Jaarverslag WA 1933: 16
1933/34	2.68	1.18	0.17	36.88	-	-	-	-	-	0.00	40.91	Jaarverslag WA 1934: 6
1934/35	9.10	0.71	0.15	68.96	-	-	-	-	-	-	78.92	Jaarverslag WA 1935: 7
1935/36	22.73	6.63	3.78	109.71	72.04	52.36	3.54	25.70	0.15	3.88	300.52	Jaarverslag WA 1937:110
1936/37	27.86	10.69	3.54	108.54	71.08	31.50	6.15	16.21	0.07	4.08	279.72	Jaarverslag WA 1938: 37
1937/38	25.95	10.62	3.59	92.37	69.83	31.92	6.13	14.75	0.10	4.34	259.60	Jaarverslag WA 1938: 37

table 10 Number of the Laborers Engaged in the Works in the Field in the Estate Wringinanom (per Hectare)

cultivation	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	total	source
1925/26	-	12.7	52.4	92.7	97.8	82.7	81.2	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	419.3	Jaarverslag WA 1926:20
1926/27	-	22.2	52.2	100.7	109.9	128.2	106.8	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	519.7	
1927/28	13.0	46.4	74.4	127.1	108.0	121.1	87.2	55.4	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	632.6	Jaarverslag WA 1928:27
1928/29	8.5	52.5	114.2	121.0	114.1	109.1	88.7	67.0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	675.1	
1929/30	44.0	84.0	140.6	95.7	102.8	97.0	78.3	60.2	51.9	38.9	27.7	821.1	Jaarverslag WA 1931:41
1930/31	9.3	58.6	130.7	110.3	112.5	99.1	77.2	70.4	63.8	37.7	25.0	794.6	
1931/32	2.0	79.4	137.1	156.3	119.6	96.0	69.0	48.9	38.2	9.0	16.0	771.6	
1935/36	n.a.	21.9	66.7	96.5	74.7	11.0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	280.8	Jaarverslag WA 1935:22
1936/37	n.a.	40.7	89.5	102.8	74.2	19.3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	326.5	Jaarverslag WA 1936:72
1937/38	n.a.	39.0	104.3	93.9	44.5	20.1	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	301.9	Jaarverslag WA 1937:115

Note: (1) the figures after 1935/36 are the total of the digging coolies and the planting coolies, (2) the figure in July 1935/36 is for half a month.

year ones [Jaarverslag WA 1926:34; 1927:9]. The sudden rise in the 1929/30 cultivation was the result of the conversion to the twenty-one-and-a-half year contracts and the increased payment of the premium for the earlier delivery of lands due to the abnormally early beginning of the rainy season [ibid.1930:9]. On the other hand the contents of this item in the suspension period were the compensation for stopping the planting, the expense for the conversion to the new contracts mentioned below, etc. [ibid.1933:16; 1934:7; 1935:8]. The reason for the low level of expenditure in the resumption period is found in the lower rent in the new contracts. This expenditure included the various costs for reducing the production, and if we deduct these from the total "land lease", only f 74.87 remains in the case of the 1935/36 cultivation. The declining tendency of expenditure in this period resulted from the gradual decrease of the spending needed for curtailing the cultivation [ibid.1936:25; 1937:110; 1938:33]. The rent in this period was thus much lower than that in the normal period, which however caused various problems which we will mention later.

The "planting" was the largest part of the cultivation cost in the normal period, so the reduction of it was very important for this estate. The curtailment began in the 1929/30 cultivation and the whole expenditure was strictly controlled [ibid.1930:9]. Also in the resumption period "for the various works in the planting the unit prices could be fixed at a much lower level, so that these expenditures were considerably less than those paid for the cultivation before" [ibid.1936:26]. In other words the piece rates for various works were cut. For example, this estate reduced the wage for digging furrows from 2.5 cents per piece fixed in the budget for the 1933/34 cultivation which was prepared in September 1932 for the possible resumption of the cultivation [Confidentieel 1932, no.84] to 1.5 cents in the 1936/37 cultivation.

Another aspect of the reduction of the "planting" seems to have been the curtailment of the number of laborers who engaged in various works in the field. Table 10 shows the increase in their number between the 1925/26 and the 1926/27 cultivation as well as between the 1927/28 and the 1928/29 cultivation and the decrease between the 1929/30 and the 1931/32 cultivation, from which we can say that their number increased until the 1928/29 or the 1929/30 cultivation and then decreased. As their number in the resumption period was, as described in the note to the table, equal to the total number of the laborers for remaking rice fields and those for planting, we compare it with that of the laborers who worked until the end of planting both in the normal and the restriction period. If we take the cultivation years in which planting ended at

the end of a certain month and examine the total number of the laborers per hectare until this period, it is respectively 419.5, 519.4, 521.0 and 494.4 in the 1925/26 (until the end of August), the 1928/29, the 1930/31 and the 1931/32 cultivation (these three until the end of July). Most of them, though possibly including some laborers engaged in the works for irrigation, manuring and earthing etc., can be considered to have consisted of the laborers for remaking rice fields and planting, because these two works needed the greatest number of laborers as was seen in table 6, so we can say that the number of laborers was reduced greatly in the resumption

Such a reduction could be realized by a change in the method of working, which was most drastic in the remaking of rice fields. According to the annual report of 1931 the furrow was normally 8 meters in length, and 75 % of the furrows were dug at this length in the 1931/32 cultivation. The same report said, however, that "in connection with economy the channel length can be taken at 10 meters on the normal lands for the following years without difficulty or damage for the cultivation, which shall make notable savings in the costs for the drain system" [Jaarverslag WA 1931:40], showing the intention of curtailing the expenditures by decreasing the number of drains. This was the reason for unifying the length of furrows to 10 meters in the resumption period, with the result that the space between the small drains was widened from the previous 8 meters to 10.5 meters and that between the main drains from 83.33 to 100 [ibid.1936:85]. Until the 1931/32 cultivation the digging of them was divided into two, the first digging before planting and the second one after it [ibid.1931:50], but in the resumption period they were dug at one time to the planned depth which was shallower than before [ibid.1936:85], aiming to reduce the labor input. From the 1931/32 cultivation onwards the furrows in the driest parcel were dug in the narrower width of 25 centimeters, which reduced the cost of remaking by half [ibid. 1931:40]. Also in terms of the care taken in planting, "in connection with economy on the cultivation costs keeping clean of the planting was limited to the necessary minimum" [ibid.:42].

Next we examine how the cost of the harvest and the transport to the factory was curtailed. Table 11 shows the remarkable decrease in the total cost of these items after the restriction began, and it also shows the gradual change from the expensive transport by oxcart to the cheaper one by light rail. The changes in the main items of the cost are shown in table 12. The harvest wages, the largest expenditure among them, decreased by an especially large amount after the curtailment of planting began, which was the result of lower unit harvest price as is shown in the column "per quintal"<sup>14</sup>). The decrease in the number of harvest laborers also

table 11 Cost for the Harvest and the Transport in the Estate Wringinanom

culti- vation	total cost for the harvest and the transport (guilder)			cost of harvest and transport per 1 quintal sugar cane (cent)		
	light rail	oxcart	total	light rail	oxcart	average
1925/26	126,257.97	1,412.95	127,670.92	11.85	18.98	11.90
1926/27	136,842.01	5,159.65	142,001.66	11.98	14.65	12.06
1927/28	165,422.19	4,183.03	169,605.22	11.29	18.29	11.40
1928/29	146,772.67	1,922.81	148,695.48	10.27	17.81	10.32
1929/30	137,565.77	4,804.51	142,370.28	9.88	13.05	9.96
1930/31	117,960.71	2,400.00	120,360.71	8.03	14.16	8.10
1931/32	67,026.46	69.03	67,095.49	6.34	9.00	6.34
1935/36	36,764.57	1,189.18	37,953.75	2.86	4.91	2.90
1936/37	35,000.14	37.16	35,037.30	2.63	4.69	2.63
1937/38	41,959.83	421.49	42,381.32	3.15	5.26	3.16

Note : the figures in the column "light rail" show the expenditure for the sugar cane transported to the factory by the light rail, and those in the column "oxcart" for that transported by the oxcart

Source : Jaarverslag WA 1928:49, 1929:62, 1930:45, 1931:65, 1932:55, 1937:150, 1938:135

table 12 Main Items of the Cost for the Harvest and the Transport in the Estate Wringinanom

cultiva- tion	harvest wages		premium for harvest		transport from the field to the permanent rail (guilder)	maintenance of the permanent rail		construction and decon- struction of the temporary rail (guilder)	maintenance of bridges,etc (guilder)	rent for the road for harvest, construction of the temporary bridge (guilder)
	total (guilder)	per quintal (cent)	total (guilder)	per quintal (cent)		total (guilder)	per km. (cent)			
1925/26	n.a.	5.0, 6.6	9,500 (7.4)	0.94	n.a.	11,152.23 (8.7)	259.35	n.a.	256.86 (0.2)	829.55 (0.6)
1926/27	n.a.	5.0, 6.6	5,564.50 (3.9)	0.47	n.a.	10,670.37 (7.5)	246.71	7144.33 (5.0)	645.98 (0.5)	1,078.84 (0.8)
1927/28	n.a.	6.6, 5.8	8,553.71 (5.0)	0.58	n.a.	9,161.16 (5.4)	213.05	8671.55 (5.1)	296.53 (0.2)	1,039.61 (0.6)
1928/29	79,265.51 (53.3)	5.5	6,447.62 (4.3)	0.45	n.a.	5,267.69 (3.5)	122.49	6933.93 (4.7)	241.80 (0.2)	886.75 (0.6)
1929/30	71,497.45 (50.3)	5.5	5,911.01 (4.2)	0.41	n.a.	7,105.30 (5.0)	165.23	6673.60 (4.7)	895.18 (0.6)	939.64 (0.7)
1930/31	66,899.88 (55.6)	4.5	3,942.88 (3.3)	0.265	n.a.	4,024.39 (3.3)	93.60	5654.00 (4.7)	445.74 (0.4)	686.52 (0.6)
1931/32	31,739.40 (47.3)	3.0	2,327.95 (3.5)	0.22	n.a.	1,558.00 (2.3)	36.23	3360.87 (5.0)	11.29 (0.0)	494.89 (0.7)
1935/36	20,302.75 (53.5)	1.5	1,178.73 (3.1)	0.09	1,533.75 (4.0)	2,913.59 (7.7)	70.21	2436.62 (6.4)	377.19 (1.0)	355.29 (0.9)
1936/37	20,174.75 (57.6)	1.5	1,119.48 (3.2)	0.085	2,150.39 (6.1)	2,091.87 (6.0)	50.41	2064.94 (5.9)	525.92 (1.5)	298.50 (0.9)
1937/38	22,688.32 (53.5)	1.65	1,194.52 (2.8)	0.09	2,129.15 (5.0)	2,493.18 (5.9)	60.08	2789.97 (6.6)	65.91 (0.2)	278.31 (0.7)

Note : figures in the parenthesis show the percentage to the total expenditure for harvest and transport shown in table 11  
Source : Jaarverslag WA 1928:49, 1929:62, 1930:45, 1931:65, 1932:55, 1937:150, 1938:135

table 13 Harvest Laborers in the Estate Wringinanom

culti- vation	number of harvest laborers				harvested sugar cane (quintal) (B)	operating days of the factory (C)	(D) (B) (A) (C)	transported sugar cane per cart (quintal)
	contract- coolies	laborers from Sapudi island	total (A)	total per ha				
1925/26	n.a. <f5>	1,000 <f1+α>			1,081,801	126		26.5
1926/27	940 <f5>	1,200 <f1.30>	2,140	2.18	1,200,936	132	4.25	28.9
1927/28	928 <f5>	1,200 <f1.50>	2,128	2.10	1,496,453	170	4.14	29.6
1928/29	852 <f5>	1,000 <f1.50>	1,852	1.86	1,441,191	135.75	5.73	31.8
1929/30	936 <f5>	800 <f1.50>	1,736	1.76	1,429,949	123	6.70	33.9
1930/31	843 <f5>	850 <f0.60>	1,693	1.70	1,486,664	124.5	7.05	37
1931/32	709 <f2>	400 <f0.25>	1,109	1.49	1,057,980	97	9.83	38
1935/36	720 <f1>	252 <f0.25>	972	1.08	1,307,834	128	10.51	38
1936/37	719 <f1>	214 <f0.35>	933	1.10	1,330,544	130.3	10.94	36
1937/38	741 <f1>	215 <f0.35>	956	1.07	1,332,328			38

Note : figures in < > show the sum of advanced money with regard to the "contract coolies" and the traveling expenses etc. with regard to the "laborers from Sapudi island"

Source : Jaarverslag WA 1928:49, 1929:62, 1930:45, 1931:65, 1932:55, 1937:150, 1938:135

should be mentioned here, which we can see from table 13. As is shown in the column (D) the amount of harvested sugar cane per day per laborer increased from the 1928/29 cultivation onwards and almost doubled in the resumption period, showing intensified harvest labor in spite of the decreased wages.

The premium for the harvest per quintal also declined as is shown in table 12, in spite of the increase in the average transport amount per cart (see table 13), which was attributed to the stricter standard of payment. Though in the 1928/29 cultivation, for example, 20 cents was paid as the premium for the cart loaded with 33~35 quintals cane, 30 cents for 36~40 quintals and 40 cents for 41 quintals and more [ibid.1930:43], the payment decreased year by year and in the 1931/32 cultivation -that is, in the restriction period- it was only 10 cents for 38~45 quintals and 15 cents for 46 quintals and more to the laborers, and in case the cart was loaded with 37 quintals and more 3 cents was awarded to the headmen [ibid.1932:52]. In the resumption period this standard became increasingly strict and as was mentioned above the workers and headmen could receive respectively 5 and 2 cents only when the cart was loaded with 38 quintals and more.

Payment for the items related to transport also decreased much. Though we cannot tell how much was paid to the people involved in each of them, the number of cattle used for "transport from the field to the permanent rail" and the amount of the contracted payment for it are partly known. The former, though there were ups and downs, had basically an upward tendency in the normal period and reached a peak of 78 spans in the 1930/31 cultivation, then dropped to 52 spans in the next cultivation, and in the resumption period it decreased from 64 spans in the 1935/36 cultivation to 56 in the 1936/37 and 48 in the 1937/38 cultivation. Also the payment per span decreased from f25 until the 1928/29 cultivation to f10 in 1931/32, and to only f 5 in the 1935/36 and the 1936/37 cultivations, which was slightly improved in the next cultivation (f 7.5 per span). As for the "construction and deconstruction of the temporary rail", the number of laborers decreased from 15 headmen and 60 coolies in the 1931/32 and the 1935/36 cultivations to 12 and 48 respectively from the 1936/37 cultivation onwards. The very low expenditure in the 1931/32 cultivation was attributed to the fact that in this cultivation payment was limited to weeding twice in the dry and once in the rainy season<sup>15)</sup>.

As mentioned earlier, curtailment of the cost and rationalization of the management began at the end of the 1920s and got into full swing on the introduction of a reduction in cultivation. And these factors brought the peasants wage cuts and lay offs on a large scale, as well as

intensified work.

## 2, Reduction of the Cultivation

### (1) Method of Reduction

It was in the 1931/32 cultivation that the estates in Besuki first reduced the cultivation. But the nature of this reduction was, if we borrow the description from the investigation report on the cultivation curtailment, "to exclude the parcels of low value" [Onderzoek Djember 1932], and thus had the intention of cutting the cost of production by suspending the cultivation on the fields of low productivity. As a result, the estates Prajekan and Tangaran, for example, both located in the regency Bondowoso, stopped planting on the dry fields from respectively the 1931/32 and the 1930/31 cultivation as is shown in table 14, with the result that in both of them the production of sugar cane per hectare increased greatly<sup>16)</sup>.

Thus the influence of this reduction itself on the people's economy is thought to have been not so large. The Agricultural Section of the Department of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce said in a report on the curtailment of this cultivation that "in Bondowoso-Jember the restriction has remained below the average. . . . For the estates Sukowidi, Tangarang, Bedadung, Gunungsari, Jatiroto and Sukodono the people's cultivation of paddy and tobacco can absorb most of the shock. The estate Wringinanom is located in a territory with very bulky sugar cane occupation, and men can expect here an intensive cultivation of the secondary crops" [Afdeeling Landbouw 1931]. So there was no report of the people's opposition to this reduction.

In contrast the reduction from the 1932/33 cultivation onwards was "the reduction in a real sense of the word" [Onderzoek Djember 1932] and carried out on a very large scale. The measures it involved can be divided into two, namely, the postponement of making use of the leased land by the nonuse agreement and the canceling of existing contracts to conclude new ones including the so called "depression clauses" which enabled the estates to notify the owners of the land nonuse or to break the contracts unilaterally. The estates, generally speaking, first applied the former and then gradually shifted to the latter. Below we examine how this was carried out in the case of Wringinanom estate.

As is shown in table 5 this estate curtailed planting from the 1931/32 cultivation onwards, when the leased area amounted to 909.67 hectares at the beginning. Of this area the estate stopped the use of 96.23 hectares by the nonuse agreement with the compensation of f 30 per



table 14 Operation of the Estate Prajejan-Tangarang

	estate	1926/27	1927/28	1928/29	1929/30	1930/31	1931/32	1932/33	1933/34	1934/35	1935/36	1936/37	1937/38
planting area of sugar cane for processing (hectare)	Prajejan	911	955	998	1,121	1,150	1,100	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Tangarang	916	913	927	1,097	1,201	972	-	-	-	-	-	-
	total	1,827	1,868	1,925	2,218	2,351	2,072	-	748 <sup>1)</sup>	496 <sup>2)</sup>	651	888	834
rice-field	Prajejan	57	109	115	66	114	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Tangarang	57	51	50	58	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	total	114	160	165	124	114	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
total	Prajejan	968	1,064	1,113	1,187	1,264	1,100	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Tangarang	973	964	977	1,155	1,201	972	-	-	-	-	-	-
	total	1,941	2,028	2,090	2,342	2,465	2,072	-	748	496	651	888	834
sugar cane harvested (per ha., quintal)	Prajejan	1,287	1,323	1,281	1,246	1,433	1,473	-	1,702	1,638	1,742	1,786	-
	Tangarang	1,162	1,118	1,180	1,192	1,183	1,299	-	-	-	-	-	-
	total	2,449	2,441	2,461	2,438	2,616	2,772	-	1,702	1,638	1,742	1,786	-
percentage of sugar cane transported by	Prajejan	88.84%	86.04%	87.81%	86.28%	89.20%	92.27%	-	97.23%	99.39%	99.20%	100.00%	-
	Tangarang	65.60%	61.50%	63.98%	66.20%	69.60%	68.41%	-	-	-	-	-	-
	total	11.16%	13.96%	12.19%	13.72%	10.80%	7.73%	-	2.77%	0.61%	0.80%	-	-
both of them	Prajejan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Tangarang	18.90%	22.90%	25.98%	22.40%	20.00%	28.16%	-	-	-	-	-	-
	total	5/22 - 10/18	6/4 - 10/26	5/20 - 9/22	5/19 - 9/28	6/1 - 10/3	5/22 - 10/22	-	6/5 -	6/17 -	6/25 -	5/25 -	-
harvesting and processing period	Prajejan	5/21 - 9/28	6/7 - 9/22	6/2 - 9/9	6/7 - 9/29	6/4 - 9/30	6/15 - 9/27	-	9/28	8/20	9/26	9/27	-
	Tangarang	150	146	126	132	155	154	-	116	65	94	125	-
	total	131	108	100	115	119	105	-	109	62	90	119	-
actual operating days of factory	Prajejan	136	128	116	121	144	134	0	109	62	90	119	-
	Tangarang	116	96	91	107	110	101	-	-	-	-	-	-
	total	252	224	207	228	254	235	-	219	122	180	238	-

Note : <sup>1)</sup> about 2/3 was cultivated in Prajejan region and about 1/3 in Tangarang region, <sup>2)</sup> mostly cultivated in Prajejan region.  
Source : Verslag P.T. 1926-1938

bau and diverted 24.7 hectares into the nursery for seedlings for the next year. These means were said to have been carried out by consulting with the senior civil servants and accepted by the people smoothly [Jaarverslag WA 1931:37]. The same measures were taken also in the 1932/33 and the 1932/33 cultivation which were stopped with the lower compensation of f 20 per bau [ibid.1932:44; 1933:18]. Such a nonuse agreement, applied commonly by the 6 estates operating in the regency Panarukan, was generally concluded under the leadership of the district chief who was directed again and again by the resident, the assistant resident or the regent, and by the mediation of the village chief who received the commission for it. In this case the nonuse agreement was not written in the original copy of the lease contract but in the paper containing the tentative agreement, which the lessor sealed with his thumb as the evidence of his approval and of his receiving the compensation, and the two village functionaries including the chief signed as the witnesses. The tentative agreement concluded in this manner was acknowledged after the inspection of the regional administration [Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1933].

As for the land used for the 1934/35 and later cultivations the estate tried to convert the existing contracts to the new ones which included the above-mentioned clause of unilateral breaking, and the negotiation for this began in September 1932 [Jaarverslag WA 1933:24], in which the lessor accepted the tentative agreement for this change by sealing with his thumb and received the compensation of f 20 per bau in the presence of the district or the assistant district chief. The village chief and the secretary concerned signed as the witnesses also in this case. The text of the agreement was written in Dutch but the contents were explained to the lessor in Madurese, the local language here, and their questions were answered by the district chief, etc. The tentative agreement forced the lessor to agree to the making of the new contract which would be concluded soon. The lessor who did not want to accept this agreement was asked to accept the nonuse agreement as before [ibid.:27~28]<sup>17)</sup>.

This new contract contained another important element besides the clause of unilateral breaking, that is, the clause on the reduction of the rent. Though the amount of rent the sugar estate paid was usually fixed according to the classification of rice fields in terms of land rent, this estate had paid the rent for the best class of rice fields for almost all leased land. But the new contract stipulated that the minimum rent valid at the time for each class of rice fields should be applied, and the standard of the minimum rent itself was revised in Panarukan and Bondowoso regency by the resolution of Besuki resident no.197 on 14 February 1934 after an

interval of 6 years and 7 months<sup>18)</sup>, the result of which is shown in table 15. As the rent in these regencies in 1931, according to the resident of Bondowoso at the time, amounted to f34~f105 [MvO Bondowoso 1931], these new standards are considered to have been much lower. Wringinanom estate also applied the new standard shown in table 16, with the result that it could reduce the payment by 35% compared with that in the former years, and the amount saved exceeded the cost of changing the contracts which amounted to f9,364.55 by the end of 1934 [ibid.1934:22]<sup>19)</sup>.

## **(2) The Actual State of Negotiations for Curtailing the Cultivation**

Now we examine the actual state of the negotiations carried out in the above-mentioned process in each regency between 1933 and 1937.

### **[Regency Panarukan]**

In this regency the curtailment in the 1932/33 cultivation amounted to as much as 72% of the normal planting in the district Panarukan (the estate Wringinanom stopped planting cane for processing) and 54% in the district Besuki (the estate Buduran suspended planting), but in the district Situbondo the area of planting was somewhat larger than that in the 1931/32 cultivation and the reduction in the district Sumberwaru, where the estate Assembagus operated, was on a very small scale. As for the amount of the compensation for postponing the land use and the cancellation of the contract Wringinanom paid f20 per bau and Buduran the same amount as the land rent [Onderzoek Panaroekean 1932].

In the 1933/34 cultivation also the estates Assembagus and de Maas stopped planting, so the planting of sugar cane disappeared in the districts of Sumberwaru and Besuki (see table 1).

The negotiations for cutting this planting was carried out from 1933 to the beginning of 1934, and Wringinanom estate could reach an agreement to postpone the land use for one year until the 1934/35 cultivation for both the long term lease and the short term one by the compensation of f 20 per bau which was the same amount as that in the previous year. On the other hand Buduan estate cancelled the whole lease for this cultivation by breaking the long term contract by the compensation of f10 per bau or by abandoning the rent advanced unlawfully. Assembagus estate and de Maas estate settled this by concluding the nonuse agreement by the compensation of f20 and f 10 per bau respectively, but the latter was said to have paid also the high compensation of f 45 per bau to some lessors [Confidentieel 1933 no.3].

The estates Panji and Olean, also planted mainly in this regency, did not actually curtail

table 15 Standard of the Minimum Rent per Bau in Bondowoso and Panarukan Regency (guilder)

regency Bondowoso	district Bondowoso	<b>class of land</b>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
		minimum price for one west monsoon	36	29	27	24	21	19	19
		minimum price for one east monsoon	10	10	5	5	2.5	2.5	2.5
		cost for recovery of rice fields	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
	minimum rent	59	52	40	37	29	27	27	
	district Tamanan	<b>class of land</b>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
		minimum price for one west monsoon	35	35	32	29	26	21	21
		minimum price for one east monsoon	15	15	10	10	5	5	5
		cost for recovery of rice fields	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
	minimum rent	68	68	55	52	39	34	34	
	district Wonosari	<b>class of land</b>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
		minimum price for one west monsoon	44	44	38	32	29	20	20
		minimum price for one east monsoon	10	10	10	5	5	2.5	2.5
		cost for recovery of rice fields	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
	minimum rent	67	67	61	45	42	28	28	
	district Prajekan	<b>class of land</b>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	
minimum price for one west monsoon		48	47	38	33	30	30		
minimum price for one east monsoon		10	10	5	5	2.5	2.5		
cost for recovery of rice fields		3	3	3	3	3	3		
minimum rent	71	70	51	46	38	38			
regency Panarukan	district Panarukan	<b>class of land</b>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	
		minimum price for one west monsoon	38	38	29	24	21	21	
		minimum price for one east monsoon	10	10	5	5	2.5	2.5	
		cost for recovery of rice fields	3	3	3	3	3	3	
	minimum rent	61	61	42	37	29	29		
	district Situbondo	<b>class of land</b>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
		minimum price for one west monsoon	47	41	36	33	24	23	23
		minimum price for one east monsoon	10	10	10	5	5	2.5	2.5
		cost for recovery of rice fields	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
	minimum rent	70	64	59	46	37	31	31	
	district Besuki	<b>class of land</b>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
		minimum price for one west monsoon	38	38	32	27	20	18	14
		minimum price for one east monsoon	10	10	5	5	2.5	2.5	2.5
		cost for recovery of rice fields	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
	minimum rent	61	61	45	40	28	26	22	
	district Sumber- waru	<b>class of land</b>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	
minimum price for one west monsoon		36	36	29	21	19	19		
minimum price for one east monsoon		10	10	5	5	2.5	2.5		
cost for recovery of rice fields		3	3	3	3	3	3		
minimum rent	59	59	42	34	27	27			

Note : The "cost for recovery of rice fields" was the additional payment of the rent due to the heavy labor which this work needed. The "minimum rent" was the total amount of a "minimum price for one west monsoon" plus twice "minimum price for one east monsoon" and the "cost for recovery of rice fields".

Source : A.S.1934 I:244-245

table 16 Standard of the Minimum Rent per Bau in the Estate Wringinanom (guilder)

leased area (bau)	class of rice field	rice field in the village (bau)	new standard	former standard
45.028	1	55	61	87
962.190	2	1,407	61	87
1,405.417	3	2,420	42	77
739.260	4	1,316	37	72
124.068	5	256	29	57
20.406	6	54	29	57

Source : Jaarverslag WA 1934:23

planting in this year. They planned the curtailment at first and concluded the agreement of land nonuse by the compensation of f 20 per bau but afterwards decided to carry out the normal planting and paid to the lessors the difference between the rent and the compensation. On the other hand the estate Prajekan cancelled the cultivation by the compensation equal to the land rent [Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1933].

In the negotiations for the reduction of the 1934/35 cultivation, the estates Wringinanom, Panji and Asembagus tried to convert in earnest the current long-term contracts into the new ones including the above-mentioned "depression clauses" favorable to the sugar estate. Among these Wringinanom and Asembagus, which stopped planting in this year, concluded the nonuse agreement according to the new contract, but they had to lease some parcels by the previous contract due to the refusal of lessors. The estate Buduan, which had already cancelled all of the long term contracts in the previous year, postponed all of the short term contracts to the 1935/36 cultivation by the compensation equal to the land rent, whereas the estates Olean and de Maas did not practice the curtailment, and the estate Prajekan did not lease land in this regency after this year [ibid. 1934].

It was the estates Asembagus, Panji, Olean and Wringinanom that carried out the planting in the 1935/36 cultivation, and the estates Buduan and de Maas stopped planting. The negotiation went on concerning mainly the conversion into the new contract [ibid. 1935]. The former 4 estates planted also in the 1936/37 and the 1937/38 cultivation, but the estate Buduan was closed in October 1936 [ibid.1936; ibid.1937].

#### [Regency Bondowoso]

The estates Prajekan and Tangarang stopped planting completely in the 1932/33 cultivation by postponing or stopping the land use and also by the negotiation to break the long term contract. Both of them resumed planting on a lesser scale since the next cultivation, the negotiation for which was held from 1933 to the beginning of 1934 to break all of the long term contracts by compensation equal to the land rent, and they obtained the land by the short term lease [ibid. 1933]. In these negotiations the estate and the people negotiated directly and the district chief confirmed the cancellation of the contract afterwards. The standard of the minimum rent was revised in March 1934 as mentioned above [ibid.; Verslag P.T. 1932:8]. This reduction of planting was so large that the processing in the factory of Tangarang estate became needless, so the sugar cane harvested there was also processed in the factory Prajekan from the 1933/34 cultivation onwards [ibid.1932:6; ibid. 1937:7].

According to the report of 1934 these estates negotiated on the cancellation of the long term contract by compensation equal to the land rent, meaning that the above-mentioned negotiation could not achieve sufficient results in the previous year. It also said that they leased land by the new long term contract with the "depression clause", which means that the change to the new contracts was already begun in this period [Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1934].

Both estates negotiated on the reduction of planting in the 1935/36 cultivation by making use of the nonuse clause in the new contract and paid on the average only f 6 per hectare as compensation. But they later decided to plant 150 hectares of sugar cane, and paid to the lessors the difference between the amount of compensation and the rent for this land [ibid. 1935]. They solved the problem by having the same negotiations as this also in the following years. The compensation per hectare amounted to f 6.85 in the 1936/37 [ibid 1936] and f16 in the 1937/38 cultivation [ibid. 1937].

#### [Regency Jember]

The estates operating in this regency were all managed by the H.V.A. (*Handelsvereniging Amsterdam*), and they dealt with the reduction issue in a unified manner [ibid. 1933]. Table 3 shows how the first large scale reduction of planting was carried out in the 1932/33 cultivation. In the negotiation for this the estates Semboro and Jatiroto aimed at a reduction of almost 100 % and the Gunungsari and Bedadung 87.5% and 85.3% respectively. The grand total in column 4 of this table, as much as about 777 baus, was the land used for the nursery prepared for the possible resuming of planting [Rijke 1934:30]. In the negotiation they basically aimed to postpone the land use for one year by compensation equal to the land rent, but with those who did not want this they tried to break the contract as is written in the note of this table. As for the 1933/34 and later cultivations, however, the estates intended to cancel the current contracts, with the result that all of them were rescinded by the end of 1934. In this year no new contract was concluded [Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1934].

In the fourth quarter of 1935 the contract for the 1936/37 cultivation was concluded. The estates Jatiroto and Gunungsari concluded respectively 17 contracts for 515.415 baus and 192 for 1,078.235 baus [ibid. 1935] and resumed the planting. The contract after that date was the short term one for 18 months and the rent amounted to f 40 per bau [MvO Besuki 1938]. This contract contained the depression clause which enabled the estate to break the contract and to postpone the land use unilaterally [Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1936].

**[Regency Banyuwangi]**

The estate Sukowidi, the one estate operating in this regency, cultivated sugar cane by the long term contracts other than that of twenty one and a half years, and negotiated directly with each lessor on the cancelling of the contract as well as the postponement of land use by the compensation of various sums but about f 5 per bau on the average, and succeeded to cancel all of the leases for the 1933/34 cultivation. This estate leased the land for the 1934/35 cultivation to the maximum permitted area of 1,150 baus, but it was reported that the use of this land would be postponed to the 1935/36 cultivation, though it was not actually used because this estate completely stopped the cultivation afterwards. And the new standard of the minimum rent, the substitute for that withdrawn by the resolution of the resident no.798 on 30 September 1933, was not fixed because the estate did not conclude the new long term contract [ibid. 1933].

**(3) The Opposition of the Lessors**

According to the various reports on the above-mentioned negotiations for the reduction of cultivation they went on without any trouble (from the view point of the sugar estate) in the regency Bondowoso and Banyuwanti, but there was opposition from the people to the conditions offered by the estate in the case of the estates Wringinanom, Panji and de Maas and those located in the regency Jember.

The estate Wringinanom had to hold meetings with the people to reach the agreement in the villages of Kilen, Wringinanom, Pauwan and Sumberkolak (all in the sub-district Panarukan), and though the native official explained the method of reduction an agreement could not be reached, which was reported to be the result of the intervention of the nationalist organization like P.I., P.B.I., Rukun Tani or Rukun Kampung [ibid.]. This stance of rejection, however, was said to have "changed in a better direction" in the report of 1934, and according to the same report the "village administration intermediated the negotiations by receiving the commission". As for the change-over to the new contract which began in earnest in this year, some lessors who lent 38 baus in total even refused to conclude the tentative agreement of land nonuse, and these lands were finally leased by the old contract [ibid. 1934], and also in the negotiations in the next year about 3 % of the lessors still refused to accept the proposal of the estate [ibid. 1935].

The estate Panji also needed to hold meetings in some villages to explain the method of restriction in the negotiations carried out from 1933 to the beginning of 1934 due to the delayed

announcement of the land nonuse [ibid. 1933]. The negotiation was difficult at the beginning of January 1933, when the land on which they could not conclude agreement amounted to as much as about 500 baus, one fifth of the land leased [Confidentieel 1933 no.2]. The result of the negotiations from 1934 onwards, aiming to change over to the new contracts, was also not favorable. Three lessors did not consent to cancel the current contracts in spite of concluding the tentative agreement, and the estate brought a suit against them. And of the land for the 1934/35 cultivation 13 baus would be leased by the old contracts due to the refusal of the landholders to conclude the tentative agreement to break them [Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1934]. Also in 1935 this estate negotiated with the people to change over from the former contracts to new ones, and broke the contracts for about 244 baus by the compensation of f 37.84 per bau [ibid. 1935], which means that the negotiations did not proceed smoothly due to the opposition of the lessors also in this year.

As for the estate de Maas, a report said that "also the difficulties, which the sugar factory de Maas experienced, had their origin in the activity of the P.B.I. and the Rukun Tani. Without intervention of the Internal Administration, however, the difficulties were solved after short time, partly by the payment of higher compensation" [ibid. 1933], which shows that this estate raised the compensation from f 10 for those who resisted to change the contract. Though this estate did not reduce planting in the 1934/35 cultivation, "difficulties arose by the activities of small groups who were politically influenced, which were solved by the estate itself" [ibid. 1934]. Consequently the estate asked for the intervention of the Department of Interior Administration in the negotiation in 1935. In this year the estate paid in general f 10 per bau as compensation, but the chiefs of some villages and those who raised objections to the cancelling of contracts received f 20. The Department of Interior Administration thought the difference was too great and directed that the ordinary compensation should be raised to f15, so the estate made additional payment to the ordinary lessors [ibid. 1935].

The estate asked for the intervention of this department also in 1936, intending to show the people that "an unreasonable compensation for cancelling the old contracts is not in the general interest", but it did not have enough success and the estate would raise the compensation greatly as the report wrote that "the people who were at first content with the compensation of f 20 per bau were not inclined to approve the breaking by an amount less than f 60, which was consequently paid by the factory" [ibid. 1936]. This problem seems, however, to have been solved in this year, because the report for the next year said that there was no intervention by



the administration and the estate met no difficulties in cancelling the old contracts or in the compensation [ibid. 1937].

On the other hand it was characteristic of the negotiations of the estates in the regency Jember that the conflicts were concentrated in that for reducing the 1932/33 cultivation and that the breaking of contracts afterwards went on smoothly. Column 11 of table 3 shows the area of land for which the negotiation could not obtain a good result in each estate. If we see these figures in each district, they are respectively 30.00 baus (1.4% of the area of "intended reduction"), 668.554 baus (10.9%) and 2.090 baus (0.2%) in Tanggul, Puger and Wuluhan, showing that the negotiation was difficult especially in Puger where the peasants' economy depended greatly on the sugar estates. In this district the area for which lessors did not agree to postpone the land use was also large, amounting to 763.49 baus or 15.3 % of the area for which this negotiation was made (total of the column 6 and column 7).

So how did the sugar estate cope with such opposition from the lessors? According to the original note to table 3 some lessors were allowed various privileges besides the compensation equal to the land rent paid generally, and further, to those who did not want to agree, additional compensation was proposed for postponing the land use for one year or for breaking the contract to the maximum sum of f60. In short the estate tried to solve the difficulties by substantially increasing the compensations.

But the problem was not solved completely by this. It was reported that "with regard to some contracts for the 1932/33 cultivation a claim was submitted to the local court of Jember", and the estate, fearing civil proceedings, negotiated with their representatives to reach an agreement before the case could begin. They also tried to persuade those who did not want to agree by mobilizing the local government officials in the village meeting [ibid. 1933]. Also in 1934 there were some cases in which the estate even paid the very high compensation of f 200 per bau for cancelling the long term contract "because the lessors concerned continued to reject annulling the contracts under political influence", and "in other cases the mediators were generally used for the annulling. . . . . Though some demands of the lessors came into the local court, these were directly solved privately" [ibid. 1934]. This means that the problem continued up to this year, and it was at the end of this year that all of the contracts were actually cancelled [ibid.].

The above-mentioned opposition of the lessors had the following two characteristics. The first is that these actions, which were taken by the individual lessors, mainly sought a rise in

compensation, in other words economic demands were at the center of them. The second was that the nationalist organizations seem not to have intervened in the negotiations so fully as in the residency Surabaya which I described in an earlier paper[Uemura 2004]. In the next chapter I examine the reasons for these two characteristics by analyzing the process of negotiation in the estate Wringinanom.

#### **IV, The Structure of the Opposition in the Estate Wringinanom**

##### **1, The Negotiation for the Agreement of Land Nonuse and the Opposition of the Lessors**

This estate, as was mentioned earlier, reduced planting by the agreement of land nonuse until the 1933/34 cultivation, and the negotiation for the small scale reduction of the 1931/32 cultivation went on smoothly. It also succeeded in getting the agreement for land nonuse for the 1932/33 cultivation from 98 % of the lessors by the beginning of April 1932, the time the rent would normally be paid[Confidentieel 1932, No.31, 5 April]. But the 17 lessors who possessed lands of 43.8 hectares in total refused to accept the compensation and claimed the whole rent. These lands were eventually used as the plain-nursery for the next cultivation[Jaarversalg W.A. 1933:4]. In this year there occurred an incident in which six lessors, namely haji Muhamat Basir(living in the village Semberkolak), haji Muhamat Mangsur(village Wringinanom), haji Abduljalil(village Sember-kolak), P. Beng Supi(village Wringinanom), P. Beng Bo Man-an(village Wringinanom) and Tawie(village Dawuan), in spite of receiving the compensation earlier, appealed directly to the Governor General for the full payment of the rent in a letter dated 17 May[ibid., no.69, 4 Augustus].

This movement did not, however, develop further, though the influence of the P.B.I. was suspected to be behind it. On the other hand Dullah (retired policeman), Muhamat Amrin (large landholder) and Mukrim (retired civil servant), all of whom lived in the village of Kielen, launched civil proceedings against the estate Wringinanom for the full payment of rent in the local court of Situbondo. The estate, convinced of the legality of the land nonuse agreement, attached great importance to this case and coped with it by employing an attorney. This perhaps related to the information received which stated that "some lessors seem to have allocated some money as the fund to commence the civil proceedings as a test case under the influence of the political leaders". The trial in the local court began on 22 June and ended at the beginning of August, with the result that their claim was turned down. They appealed against the decision to the upper court of Surabaya but the demand was once again rejected and the case was

settled [Jaarverslag WA 1933:4; Confidentieel 1933, No.12, 15 Juni; No.18, 23 Juni; No.23, 9 Augustus].

The estate began the negotiation to conclude the tentative agreement for the 1933/34 cultivation on 20 September after consulting with the regent, resident and assistant resident in the latter half of August and with the approval of the resident [ibid. 1932, no.72, 16 September]. The negotiation at first went on so smoothly that it was reported that the compensation had been paid for about one half of the planned lease of 1,018 baus at the beginning of November [ibid. no.72, 11 October], but after that it encountered difficulties and the compensation could be paid to only 34 baus in this month [ibid.81, 3 December]. The situation was so serious for the estate that even at the beginning of January 1933, when it held a meeting to take steps with the resident, assistant resident, regent, assistant regent (*pati*), related district chiefs and the administrators of the estates Panji and Olean who had the same problems, still 350 baus remained to be settled [ibid.1933, no.2, 13 Januari]. It was in the four villages of Kielen, Wringinanom, Pauwan and Sumberkolak that the negotiation had especially bad going [Verslag grondhuurcontracten 1933]. Those who rejected the proposal of the estate were described as "the people acting as prominent people in the village" and the six lessors with whom the estate negotiated in the second half of January had 100 baus rice fields in total, so we can judge that most of them were large landholders in the village, and their influence also caused the negotiation of others to be delayed [Confidentieel 1933, no.3, 28 Januari].

There was influence from the nationalist organizations like the P.B.I. in this incident as in the case in the previous year. The local leader of this organization here, Marsuto, was an employee of the salt warehouse in Panarukan. He collected the funds for the movement in cooperation with two others named Mohamat Amrin and Mohamat Jen, and persuaded the lessors to claim the whole rent [ibid. 1932, no.78, 10 November], with the result that a considerable number of lessors put off the negotiation until April, the month when the estate had paid the rent in a normal year [ibid. 1933, no.2, 13 Januari].

Faced with such a situation the estate tried to break the deadlock by lending money almost equal to the whole rent to the leading lessors who rejected the negotiation strongly, though the compensation for the land nonuse was left unchanged at f 20, expecting that if these persons changed their attitude others also would comply with the negotiation [ibid. no.3, 28 Januari; no.5, 4 Februari; no.10, 2 Maart]. In this way the negotiation for the land nonuse in this year was eventually finished at the beginning of April 1933, but the estate could not reach

agreement on about 50 hectares for which the holders continued to claim the whole rent to the last. With these landholders it was at last agreed that the estate would stop using these lands in 1933/34 without any compensation, but in 1934/35 would possibly use them as the plain nursery for the next cultivation by paying the full rent [Jaarverslag WA 1933:18].

## **2, The Negotiation for Converting to the New Contract and the Opposition of the Lessors**

The estate began its negotiation to convert the current contracts to the new ones with the 1934/35 cultivation, by concluding a tentative agreement, which went smoothly until about 80% of the leased lands were dealt with, but after that did not progress so well as had been expected [ibid.1933:27]. A letter from the factory to the head office at the end of November said that "we have reached a deadlock", and asked for permission to spend for the time being f 3,000 to raise the premium at its own discretion [Confidentieel 1933, no.32, 29 November], showing that the negotiations almost stopped at this time. And the fact that the "area under the new contract" in table 17, thus the area of land for which the contract was converted, amounted to about 80% of the "leased area" also at the end of 1933, means that the negotiation achieved almost no result also in December. It went somewhat further at the beginning of 1934 and according to a letter to the head office on 15 March the area still to be converted amounted to about 400 baus [ibid. 1934, no.11]. We can not tell how things proceeded after that, but there was a considerable advance by the end of the year as is shown in table 18. At the same time it is remarkable that the unconverted contracts were concentrated in particular villages. Below I will consider the reason for this by examining who were the persons rejecting the conversion and which measures the estate made use of to break the deadlock.

The earliest statement on the former point is found in the year report of 1933, which said that "a group of persons, for the greater part well-to-do lessors with their followers in the village, persist in their refusal of the conversion" [Jaarverslag W.A. 1933:28]. Some of them gradually dropped out due to the below-mentioned measures of the estate, but those who are named in table 19 did not change their attitude to the last. And most of them were large landholders. For example, H. Abudullah let more than 10 baus, Ridwan over 8 baus, Usman over 7 baus and Beng over 5 baus. Further, each of them concluded more than one contract, meaning that they had many rice fields which were dispersed in the village. Ridwan let his rice fields to the estate even in more than one village, showing that he had rice fields in various villages. There seem to have been many such cases at the time because the letter to the head office on 15 December 1934 said that most landholders who rejected the conversion had lands

table 17 The Result of the Conversion of Land Lease Contracts at the End of 1933 (bau)

village	1934/35 cultivation		1935/36 cultivation		1936/37 cultivation		total		
	leased area	area under the new contract	leased area	area under the new contract	leased area	area under the new contract	leased area	area under the new contract	area under the old contract
Semekkan	147	147	197	197	152	149	496	493	3
Kendit	136	129	90	90	48	48	274	267	7
Balung	-	-	2	2	8	8	10	10	-
Bugeman	29	29	-	-	23	23	52	52	-
Semberkolak	21	12	94	85	77	73	192	170	22
Pauwan	190	150	283	255	255	249	728	654	74
Kielen	93	67	42	38	20	13	155	118	37
Wringinanom	193	124	290	219	92	73	575	416	159
Peleyan	302	160	155	99	170	136	627	395	232
Duwet	146	96	101	66	101	80	348	242	106
total	1,257	914	1,254	1,051	946	852	3,457	2,817	640

Source : Jaarverslag WA 1933:28

table 18 The Result of the Conversion of Land Lease Contracts at the End of 1934 (bau)

village	1934/35 cultivation		1935/36 cultivation		1936/37 cultivation		total		
	leased area	area under the new contract	leased area	area under the new contract	leased area	area under the new contract	leased area	area under the new contract	area under the old contract
Semekkan	147	147	197	197	152	152	496	496	-
Kendit	136	136	90	90	48	48	274	274	-
Balung	-	-	2	2	8	8	10	10	-
Bugeman	29	29	-	-	23	23	52	52	-
Semberkolak	19	19	94	93	79	79	192	191	1
Pauwan	172	170	283	282	273	262	728	714	14
Kielen	93	93	42	42	20	20	155	155	-
Wringinanom	189	179	290	279	96	92	575	550	25
Peleyan	267	252	155	154	205	199	627	605	22
Duwet	134	123	101	101	114	100	349	323	26
total	1,186	1,148	1,254	1,239	1,018	983	3,458	3,370	88

Source : Jaarverslag WA 1934:22

also in the village of Olean, where the estate had not succeeded in converting the contracts [Confidentieel 1934 no.33]. In short, most of them were absentee-landlords and so opposed strongly to the conversion of contracts.

Furthermore, they had much influence in the village. A letter of 25 February 1934, for example, pointed out that about 20% of the lessors who had not agreed with the conversion of contracts one week before when the suspension of cultivation was announced consisted mainly of a few large landholders, a group of retired functionaries and the *priyais* who had some followers, and that they guided the people not to accept the conversion saying that the whole rent for the 1934/35 cultivation would be paid on 1 April [ibid. no.9]. This means that those who took a leading part in rejecting the conversion of contracts were the same people who rejected the land nonuse in return for compensation<sup>20)</sup>.

table 19 Name of the Lessors Rejected the Contract Conversion and the Area of Them (bau)

name of the lessor	1935/36 cultivation	1936/37 cultivation	1937/38 cultivation
H.Ridwan	1.058 (Pauwan)	0.222 (Pauwan) 0.220 (Pauwan) 0.246 (Pauwan) 0.262 (Pauwan) 2.082 (Pauwan)	2.006 (Peleyan) 2.142 (Pauwan)
P.Asis		0.432 (Pauwan)	
P.Samona		0.092 (Pauwan) <sup>(1)</sup>	
P.Saunia		0.070 (Pauwan) <sup>(2)</sup>	
Trunoatomojo		1.098 (Pauwan)	
B.Kasima		1.086 (Pauwan)	
Asbiya			1.076 (Wringinanom) 1.160 (Wringinanom)
P.Asbiya-Budin	0.274 (Semberkolak)		
P.Sumarjo		0.288 (Semberkolak)	
Mohammad		2.212 (Kielen)	
P.Malia-Achmad	0.389 (Wringinanom)		
Rokyan		1.058 (Wringinanom)	1.178 (Wringinanom) 0.062 (Wringinanom)
P.Rakimo-Rokyan	1.124 (Wringinanom)		
H.Usman		2.078 (Peleyan) 2.027 (Peleyan)	1.084 (Peleyan) 2.092 (Peleyan)
H.Ali - H.Usman	1.010 (Wringinanom)		
P.Katyung	1.058 (Wringinanom)		
Masuna	2.130 (Wringinanom)		
P.Arjuno	1.068 (Wringinanom)		
Munaim	0.210 (Wringinanom) 0.166 (Wringinanom)		
P.Beng Supie	1.058 (Wringinanom)		
P.Mena-Diamena	0.177 (Wringinanom)		
P.Hurati-Asbia	1.072 (Wringinanom)		
P.Sapik Suhaina	1.048 (Wringinanom)		
Halima		1.068 (Wringinanom)	
Moharin		1.037 (Wringinanom)	
Munasir		1.029 (Wringinanom)	
Asnamin			1.034 (Wringinanom) 0.040 (Wringinanom)
Surakmi			0.468 (Wringinanom) 0.492 (Wringinanom)
Saena			1.050 (Wringinanom)
Surakmi-Saena			1.050 (Wringinanom) 0.450 (Wringinanom)
Prawirodijoyo	1.038 (Duwet)		
P.Rubani		2.046 (Duwet)	
H.Abdullah		4.352 (Duwet)	2.078 (Duwet) 4.174 (Duwet)
Gd.Salama		2.428 (Duwet)	
Gd.Jura		2.128 (Duwet)	
Gd.Juni		2.118 (Duwet)	
Bia			2.144 (Duwet)
Rubami			1.442 (Duwet)
P.Asdur Masutra	1.087 (Peleyan)		
Munabija-Masutra			2.166 (Peleyan)
P.Beng			1.094 (Peleyan) 1.000 (Peleyan) 1.012 (Peleyan)
P.Beng-Masutra			0.444 (Peleyan)
Saludin	0.146 (Peleyan) <sup>(1)</sup>		
Kusumodipuro		1.086 (Peleyan)	
Ismail		1.000 (Peleyan) <sup>(2)</sup>	
Sarik'a-Sapirudin			1.130 (Peleyan)
Marsuha-Sapirudin			1.054 (Peleyan)
B.Jiram			0.266 (Peleyan)
Arbiya			0.266 (Peleyan)

Note : (1) the contract of this land was changed to the new long term one (beginning in 1939) on 0.053 baus in June

(2) the contracts of these lands were changed to the new ones in 1936

\* the name in the parenthesis shows the village where the land located

Source : Jaarverslag WA 1935:10 ~ 12

The estate coped with these movements in various ways. First the estate obtained permission to spend the additional f 3,000 on raising the premium to the above-mentioned rejecters from the head office [ibid.1933, no.29, 5 December] and actually paid f 2,500 by the end of 1934<sup>21)</sup>. Secondly, the estate considered promoting the conversion of contracts, if necessary, by promising the rejecters to pay at least f 40 when the tentative agreement was concluded for the lands for which the rent would become less than f 40 by the new contract. This idea, which was first proposed by the factory to the head office in a letter of 20 December 1933 [ibid. no.36] when it was almost established how the rent would be revised and consent was obtained for the latter after exchanging several letters [ibid. 1934, no.3, 15 Januari], seems, however, not to have been actually implemented.

The estate also asked for the intervention of the authorities, which was practiced as follows. The landholders (*priyais*) claimed as the condition for converting the contract the increasing of the premium by f 10 and also the loan of f 10 per bau in compensation for the land rent in the negotiation at the beginning of March 1934 [ibid. no.11, 15 Maart]. Due to the estate's request for intervention the rejecters were summoned to the office of Panarukan district and the *pati* and the district chief persuaded them. Though it had not been expected that good results would be achieved soon because those who came were all lessors with the strongest attitude of rejection, the result was that two persons inclined to cancel the old contract and further one lessor approved of the contract conversion, by which the contracts covering 12.5 baus in total were converted [ibid. no.12, 21 Maart]. It is notable that the *pati*, a high-ranking native official of the Internal Administration, played an important roll as the intermediary, and that his status corresponded to the high social position of the rejecters.

Further, a loan equal to the amount of the former rent was given to the lessors in addition to the above-mentioned premium. A letter to the head office of 24 April 1935 [ibid. 1935, no.7] contained a data table on the amount of this loan actually given to them and the amount remaining to be repaid, which are shown in table 20. According to the letter of the administrator of the estate to the resident of Besuki on 2 May a loan related to "the tax in 1932" was given from 1930 to 1931 and that related to "postponing occupation and conversion" from 1933 to 1934 [ibid. no.8]. If we compare this table with tables 17 and 18, we can see that the giving of the latter loan was concentrated in the villages where the conversion stagnated, which means that this loan had an important role as a means of promoting it. Further, the fact that this loan was given to relatively few people shows that it was introduced not for the lessors in

table 20 The Loan Given to the Lessors and the Remainder in the Repayment

## [Land for the 1935/36 Cultivation]

village	long term lease (bau)	loan (guilder) related to			number of the borrowers
		the tax for 1932	postponing occupation and conversion	of which in the name of village chief	
Duwet	100	-	211	64	4
Pelejan	156	50	347	-	5
Wringinanom	278	-	234	-	4
Pauwan	278	460	1,046	-	22
Kielen	41	-	-	-	-
Semberkolak	91	-	300	90	2
Bugeman	-	-	-	-	-
Kendit	90	-	10	-	1
Semekan	193	-	-	-	-
Balung	1	-	-	-	-
total	1,228	510	2,148	154	38

## [Land for the 1936/37 Cultivation]

village	long term lease (bau)	loan (guilder) related to			number of the borrowers	remainder of the repayment	
		the tax for 1932	postponing occupation and conversion	of which in the name of village chief		in June 1936	in September 1936
Duwet	99	200	1,036	65	9	561	585
Pelejan	187	-	3,175	-	13	492	492
Wringinanom	92	-	1,033	-	12	724	724
Pauwan	264	-	1,540	-	16	744	744
Kielen	18	-	210	-	3	110	110
Semberkolak	76	-	245	-	5	418	418
Bugeman	20	6	-	-	2	5	5
Kendit	47	-	-	-	-	1	1
Semekan	146	-	-	-	-	-	-
Balung	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
total	955	206	7,239	65	60	3,055	3,079

## [Land for the 1937/38 Cultivation]

village	long term lease (bau)	loan (guilder) related to			number of the borrowers
		the tax for 1932	postponing occupation and conversion	of which in the name of village chief	
Duwet	118	160	892	110	8
Pelejan	234	-	1,492	-	20
Wringinanom	171	-	1,845	260	23
Pauwan	167	505	1,844	45	28
Kielen	94	93	809	288	7
Semberkolak	20	210	91	-	8
Bugeman	28	1,476	-	-	70
Kendit	136	90	-	41	1
Semekan	146	182	81	-	8
Balung	-	-	-	-	-
total	1,114	2,716	7,054	744	173

Note : the amount in the "postponing occupation and conversion" includes that in the "of which in the name of village chief"

Source : Confidntieel 1935, No.7, ibid.,No.19, ibid.,No.28



general but for the particular ones who would not accept the conversion.

The money lent in this way the estate considered to be offset in the later payment of the rent, and this seems to have been actually practiced judging from the fact that the "remainder of the repayment in June 1936" is much less than the amount of the loan. But after that the repayment was in arrears as is shown by the unchanged amount of the "remainder of the repayment in September 1936". Taking this into account, the estate began to study the possibility of reduction and exemption, and, after exchanging views on this with the head office several times, proposed in a letter to the latter of 23 June [ibid. 1936, no.22] a reduction of 1/3 for the first and second class and 1/2 for the third and fourth class land, almost the same amount as the decrease in the rent. These ratios of reduction were based upon the understanding of the estate that the lessors would not pay back the difference between the loan and the lowered rent, because they would consider the loan as the rent for the first cultivation under the new contract which they received in return for the approval of the conversion [ibid. no.37, 25 Juni]. And this reduction aimed at avoiding further trouble about the lease as the letter on 29 July said that "the factory must take a broad stand in this matter in order to maintain and promote a good understanding with the lessors" [ibid. no.23].

In this way, the estate Wringinanom succeeded in converting the old contracts into the new ones for most of the fields in 1934, which was the reason for the above-mentioned decrease in the "cost of lease". But those who had rejected this to the last did not change their attitude even in 1936 and they also rejected the land nonuse in return for compensation, so the estate eventually leased their lands by the rent of f 84 stipulated in the old contract and had to use them for the 1936/37 cultivation [Jaarverslag WA 1936:93]<sup>22)</sup>.

### **3, The Structure of the Opposition**

The above-mentioned process of the negotiations in the estate Wringinanom had, if compared with the case in Sidoarjo which I explored earlier [Uemura 2004:14~45], the following characteristics.

The first is that the opposition of the lessors, though concentrated in the first stage of the curtailment of the cultivation here as well, continued for a fairly long time in comparison with that in Sidoarjo, where the movement suddenly flared up in the latter half of 1932 and disappeared quickly in the middle of 1933.

The second is the form of the opposition, which relates to the above-mentioned long duration of the movement. Various reports pointed out the intervention of political forces from

outside, which however does not seem to have been so extensive as in Sidoarjo, where the movement was carried out based on the legal unit of the village under the leadership of the village chief and by the influence of the P.B.I., and began to reject the existing local order. Here, in contrast, the village chief basically continued to stand by the estate and it was the large landholders who led the movement as was shown in the case of Wringinanom estate. As most of them were absentee-landlords who had let large areas to the estate, the curtailment of cultivation meant a serious decrease in their rental income. This is the very reason why they undertook a campaign against the cancelling of contracts or demanded an increase in compensation. In short, it was a movement with a purely economic motive.

The reason for such a difference can be found in the difference in the method of lease, namely, the collective village lease in Sidoarjo and the individual one from each landholder here. And this after all originated in the difference in the forms of land ownership, the communal one and the individual one.

### Postscript

Finally I consider briefly how the reduction of sugar cane cultivation directly influenced the peasants' economy around the estate in terms of the decreased money income.

Table 21 shows the payment of the sugar estates to the people in the three regencies of the residency Besuki, from which we know that the annual income from the estates decreased from 1933 to 1936 on average by f 1,345 thousands in Bondowoso (-84.8% of that in the normal years), f 2,267 thousands in Panarukan (-60.9%) and f 4,143 thousands in Jember (-99.8%).

Though this decrease was not so large as that in Surabaya residency (see Uemura 2004), it is considered to have resulted in a shortage of money in the peasants' economy which was especially serious in the regency Panarukan where the sugar estates were concentrated. This shortage of money prevailed among all classes of people, on which Sukasno commented as

table 21 Payment of the Sugar Estates to the People in Besuki Residency

regency	Area of planting (ha)		Payment to the people (f1,000)		Amount of the land rent (f1,000)		(b)/(a) x 100
	normal year	average in the 1933/34 ~ the 1935/36 cultivation	normal year	average in the 1933/34~ the 1935/36 cultivation	in 1931 (a)	in 1935 (net) (b)	
Bondowoso	2,467	631	1,587	342	496	348	70%
Panarukan	5,786	2,689	3,723	1,456	471	284	60%
Jember	6,449	13	4,150	7	1,164	816	70%

Source : Economische Zaken 1936

follows. "By the restriction of the sugar cane cultivation in the first place lands of inferior quality were naturally not considered for lease any more and only the best rice fields were selected for this. In addition, the reduction of the rent has caused the peasants with good rice fields to try to let out a larger area in order to be able to receive the same amount of rental. This reduction mainly fell upon the landowners, and for the whole people the decrease in various wages and compensations, which benefit them for the execution of activities and the delivery of materials, meant no small loss of income. The curtailment of the work opportunity pressed still more heavily on the people. The laborers pushed away from their work, who were not seldom looked for from elsewhere in former times, must now be assisted by their families or acquaintances in the village, which means for the latter an aggravation of burdens" [Soekasno 1937a:361~362].

On the other hand, the situation was slightly different in the regency Jember where the decrease in the payment to the people was the largest in terms of both amount and percentage as is shown in table 21. The same situation as in Panarukan regency of course occurred in the three districts where the sugar estates were concentrated, as Rijke [1934:30] pointed out: "only in south-west Jember lands are let out to the three new H.V.A. factories and the factory Jatiroto, which lies in the regency Lumajang. By these factories about 10,500 baus in total was leased from the year 1928 to 1931. At the beginning of 1932 the news was suddenly published that the lands would not be leased any more except for about 500 baus which must be used for planting seedlings for the eventual reopening. This restriction caused a loss of f 800,000 of rent and an even larger loss of coolie wages within and outside the factory." But those who engaged in the works in the sugar estates here were mostly the imported laborers as mentioned earlier, so the role of the sugar estate in the people's economy was rather limited as it was pointed out that "the sugar industry working here has still not been a labor opportunity for the residents. The only immediate bond between factory and residents was as yet laid and maintained only by the fact that the enterprise needed land for the cultivation, and thus needed the 'landholders'" [Onderzoek Djember 1932]. Further, only three of the seven districts in this regency had sugar estates, and tobacco cultivation was rather more important for the economy of this regency as a whole<sup>23)</sup>, so the economic situation in this regency was considerably different from that in Panarukan regency.

In short, the curtailment of cultivation in the sugar estates caused a shortage of money also in Besuki, but the effect on the peasants' economy was different in each regency and it was not

so serious as in Surabaya except in Panarukan regency.

#### Notes

- 1) The first sugar estate here, Wringinanom, was established in 1845, then followed by the estates de Maas (in 1848), Panji (in 1849), Buduan and Olean (both in 1852) all of which were located in the regency Panarukan. It was these five estates that originated from the period of the Cultivation System, and according to the report of the Umgrove Committee in 1853 they produced 76,547 piculs sugar (5.6% of the total production of Java) from the sugar cane harvested in the fields of 2,005 baus (5.0% of the total area of Java) [Miyamoto 1993:164]. Since the abolition of the Cultivation System they enlarged the planting area by changing over to cultivation on the land leased from the people. At the same time the establishment of new estates peaked in the 1880s and the 1890s, when the estates Prajekan (in 1883, Bondowoso regency) and Tanjungsari (in 1883, Panarukan), Asembagus (in 1884, Panarukan), Kabat (in 1890, Banyuwangi), Rogojampi (in 1891, Banyuwangi), Tangarang (in 1892, Bondowoso), Sukowidi (in 1894, Banyuwangi) and Nangkaan (in 1895, Bondowoso) opened one after another. But after that the number of the estates rather decreased due to the closure of the estate Nangkaan (in 1902), Tangjungsari (in 1904), Rogojampi (in 1912) and Kabat (in 1916). It was in the latter half of the 1920s that the second peak of the establishment came, when the estates Gunungsari (in 1926), Semboro (1927) and Bedadong (1928) were established in Jember regency which had no estate until then. The planting area at the end of the 1920s amounted to more than 20,000 baus, more than ten times that under the Cultivation System [Uemura 1983a].
- 2) The estate Asembagus planted also on the land obtained on the long lease (*erfpacht*), and the estates Buduan and de Maas planted also on the dry fields in the district Besuki as is shown in table 2.
- 3) See Uemura 1989
- 4) The estates here are considered to have carried out the cultivation by means of the three years crop rotation system, because there was no special reference to this point in the documents in the 1930s. The MvO Bondowoso 1931 said that the planting of the estate de Maas exceeded the licensed area by 100 baus a few years earlier, and it pointed out the need to prevent the lease of more than one third of the arable land in the village, which means that at least the Department of Internal Administration considered the three years crop rotation system as the standard method.
- 5) It was as late as at the beginning of the 20th century that the Reynoso system was first applied in Besuki, and it was not established easily before the beginning of the 1910s. The reason for this can be found in the fact that the popular breeding of cattle here permitted the old cultivating method of using the plow pulled by the cattle, and also in the fact that the shortage of the laborers here due to the fairly sparse population made the introduction of this new labor-intensive system difficult. See Uemura 1983a:16-17.
- 6) The above description is written on the basis of the Jaarverslag WA [1935:45, 47; 1936:69], Aanplant [1935 no.59, 25 September; 1936 no.4, 21 Januari]. The planting area of 850 hectares was determined on 4 March 1936 [Aanplant no.14] by dividing 131,773 quintals, the permitted maximum sugar production (weight converted into that of the superior first quality sugar), by the planned production per hectare of 155 quintals. The estate however remade 900 hectares of rice fields into the fields for sugar cane and it was in the first half of August that the planting of 850 hectares was eventually fixed.
- 7) For the sugar estates in Java the early securing of the fields was very important for the smooth proceeding of the cultivation, so they tried various methods for this purpose. The fallow lease (*braakhuur*) was one of these methods, the lease contract of which stipulated that the lessor should give up one harvest of the rainy season paddy in return for receiving the compensation. Though this measure gained considerable popularity in the residency Pukalongan and Cheribon at the beginning of the 20th century, it was not so advantageous for the estate in respect of the cost, and it was restricted by the so-called Fallow-lease-ordinance (*Braakhuurordonnantie*: Stbl.1918 no.791) due to the more

acute shortage of provisions at the end of the 1910s. See further Uemura 1989:104~105.

- 8) The estate had applied this system before the suspension of planting began, but in the 1935/36 cultivation the estate could not set the premium because it could not announce the resumption of planting to the lessors by 18 February 1936, so there was no incentive to the early planting of paddy on the lessors' side which resulted in the more irregular and later delivery of the lands than in a normal year [Jaarverslag WA 1935:18~20]. This was the direct reason for the restoration of this system in this year and the amount paid per bau would be set at f 10 for the delivery of the land by and in the first half of February, f 7.5 in the second half of February and f 5 in March. In addition, this estate tried to introduce the obligatory planting of the early-ripening paddy imported from the regency Banyuwangi in the second half of the 1920s as was frequently done by the sugar estates in Java to ensure the early obtaining of the fields, but did not succeed and this sort of paddy disappeared here at the beginning of the 1930s, because it did not differ much in its growth period from that cultivated in this region until then and also because the people did not want to plant it due to the easy falling of grains when harvested. See further *ibid.* 1927:23, 1928:26 and 1932:39.
- 9) The difference of about 55 hectares between the leased area and the planting area is attributed to the fact that the former included the inferior lands where no cultivation was carried out, the parcels along the irrigation channels, and the ring-road around the field, etc. On the other hand the latter included the irrigation channels, etc. See *ibid.* 1937:20.
- 10) The operating period of the factory, which was about the same as that of the harvest, from the second half of the 1920s was as follows.

1924/25 cultivation	1 June ~ 27 Sept.	1929/30 cultivation	15 May ~ 17 Sept.
1925/26 cultivation	18 May ~ 21 Sept.	1930/31 cultivation	24 May ~ 25 Sept.
1926/27 cultivation	20 April ~ 29 Aug.	1931/32 cultivation	15 May ~ 20 Aug.
1927/28 cultivation	5 May ~ 21 Oct.	1935/36 cultivation	11 June ~ 16 Oct.
1928/29 cultivation	11 May ~ 23 Sept.		

Source : Jaarverslag WA 1928:51, *ibid.* 1936:114

- 11) Though incendiary fires of sugar cane (*riet branden*) occurred frequently in the harvest season which hindered the harvest, they decreased in number after the peak year of 1911 and almost disappeared from the 1920s onwards [Elson 1979]. Also in this estate there were fires on a large scale which seemed to occur due to the incendiarism, but in the 1930s there were only a few fires, namely, four times in 1930 (burned 40.15 hectares), three times in 1931 (11.76 hectares), and five times in 1936 (3.61 hectares). As for the 1936/37 cultivation the fires occurred three times and burned 11.66 hectares in total but all of them were accidental ones as is shown in the table below. The burglary of sugar cane, however, happened frequently as ever, and especially in September a large quantity was stolen from the two fields in the parcel A, with the result of adding the watchmen [Aanplantrapport 1937, no.17, no.18]. The watch over the sugar cane in this year was carried out by 14 policemen and a headman under the leadership and with the help of the headquarters of the field police in Situbondo [Jaarverslag WA 1937:11].

date of the fire	field in which the fire occurred	area burned	damages	(1) causes, (2) punishment
26 June	South Paras	4.00 ha	f 678	(1) accidental fire caused by a harvest laborer preparing a meal, (2) four months detention
13 July	North Nanggkaan	3.76 ha	f 769.5	(1) accidental fire caused by casting way of tobacco by a harvest laborer, (2) four months detention
18 Aug.	Bukollan	3.90 ha	f 366	(1) accidental fire caused by the sparks of fire from the steam locomotive

Source : *ibid.* 1937:13

- 12) The following examples can be given. In 1926 many laborers were imported from the Island of Madura and the surrounding islands for planting and weeding and further some female workers were introduced from the hill villages, for both of whom the estate newly built 5 huts around the factory [ibid.1926:20]. In the second half of February 1929 eight hundred laborers in total were imported from Kraksaan, the surroundings of Besuki and of the nearby sugar estates where the harvest of paddy had not yet begun, for the immediate remaking of the lands on a full scale due to the earlier delivery of them, but the supply of laborers diminished greatly as usual after the end of the Ramadan in the middle of March and the supply was also bad from May to July due to the village ceremonies and the very prevalent malaria among the people [ibid.1929:32; 1930:3]. In 1930 the work of remaking rice fields was delayed due to the later harvest of paddy, resulting in a worse supply of the laborers than in the previous year, and many were sick due to the prevalence of malaria, influenza and dysentery [ibid.1930:28]. In 1936 the supply of laborers was worse than had been expected, so that various works were delayed and the planting of the sugar cane for the 1936 harvest, which was intended to be finished in the middle of June, continued until 15 July [ibid.1936:18].
- 13) I describe here briefly how the reduction was practiced in other items of expenditure. The salaries of the European as well as Native staff were reduced by cutting both their number and the amount paid. Almost all of them were laid off in the suspension period, and some of them were unemployed. The number of staff in the resumption period was limited to less than that in the normal period with reduced salaries. The "watch" (i.e. payment to the field police) was introduced from the 1926/27 cultivation onwards, which was however limited to the salary of the guard for the hut for coolies in the suspension period. The decrease in the "manure" was attributed to the lesser use of ammonium sulfate, the main fertilizer, from the 1930/31 cultivation onwards and was also due to the reduced unit price which went down further in the resumption period. The expenditure for the "irrigation" diminished due to the strict control from the 1930/31 cultivation onwards. The cost for the "seedling" first increased due to the introduction of the new sort, P.O.J.2878 from Malang in the 1927/28 cultivation, but it was later curtailed by changing the system of supply and also due to the reduced unit price. The decrease in both the "road/ bridge" and "others" was due to the strict control of expenditure. See further ibid. 1927:9, 1930:37, 1931:11~12, 55~56, 1932:15, 48, 1933:16, 22, 1934:7, 1935:8, 42, 1936:25~26, 103, 1937:110~111, 142, 1938:33~34
- 14) The rise in the unit price of the harvest wages was attributed to the advice of the government. In this year the supply of harvest laborers became worse in the second half of November, the last stage of the harvest, due to both the rainy weather and the festivals after the end of Ramadan, so the estate tried to get a sufficient number by paying a premium [ibid. 1938:132].
- 15) See further ibid.1926:39, 1927:46, 1928:48, 1929:60, 1930:45, 1931:64, 1932:54, 1936:112~113, 1937:150 and 1938:134
- 16) These two estates were under the same management and sold their sugar via VISP before. They coped with the declining price of sugar first by extending the cultivation. The raising of the maximum planting area of sugar cane for processing to 2,000 baus was permitted to both of them by the director of Interior Administration on 9 January 1929 [Verslag P.T. 1928:9], and the 1929/30 and the 1930/31 cultivation actually increased as is shown in table 14. From the 1931/32 cultivation onwards, however, they changed the course to the curtailment, which they carried out mainly on the inferior lands of lower productivity, with the result that the planting on the dry fields disappeared and the production of sugar per hectare increased [ibid 1930:8; 1931:9; 1932:6]. This was precisely the reason for the high productivity per hectare of sugar from the 1933/34 cultivation onwards, which contributed greatly to the reduction of the production cost. Further, transport of sugar cane by carts tended to change to that by rail, with the aim of curtailing the transport cost. Besides, curtailment of the harvest wage and the unit price of transport was also introduced to cut the harvest cost [ibid 1931:7, 1932:7, 1934:7, 1935:7].
- 17) Such a method was introduced in every sugar estate in Panarukan regency from this year. See further Verslag Grondhuurcontracten 1934. Such points as the deadline for announcing the land nonuse and the amount of the compensation for it seem, however, to have been undecided at the time, because,

according to the letters between the factory and the head office, they continued to discuss the details of the new contract to be concluded after the negotiations with the lessors began in September.

- 18) Though the Land Lease Ordinance of 1918 stipulated that the standard of minimum rent should be revised every five years, the actual work of doing so was delayed in this region and only began on 19 December 1933 when the resident delivered the calculation table to the "Committee for advice on the periodical revision of the minimum rent". This committee was constituted of government officials, the representatives of sugar estates and of the lessors, and discussed this table. After the discussion was finished the resident would deliver this table to the governor of East Java Province with the remarks of this committee and his own which he made taking the former into account. The new minimum rent drafted in this way was fixed definitely by the approval of this governor. In the actual proposal of the resident the minimum rent per bau was f55 for the first and second class land, f36.5 for the third class, f32.75 for the fourth class and f 26 for the fifth and sixth class. The representatives of the lessors insisted that the minimum rent should not be below f 60 saying that they must pay an excessive tax of f 10~ f20 per bau even if the reduction itself must be accepted, but at the same time they said that they could accept the resident's proposal if the tax were reduced to f 5 ~ f10 as before. On the other hand the representative of Wringinanom estate asserted that the prices in the resident's proposal were still too high. A letter of this estate to the head office, however, asked for permission to pay the lessors at least f 40 per bau and if necessary to add some more to avoid the possible rejection of contract conversion in case the prices in the resident's proposal were approved as the standard of minimum rent. See further *Confidentieel* 1933, no.36, 20 December.

- 19) The items of the cost for converting the contract (guilder) are as follows.

premium to the village chief, etc.	2,000
extra premium to the lessors	2,500
daily allowance to the European staff (including lawyers)	1,100
salary of the native secretary	400
salary of the secretary in the office of assistant resident	100
cost for revenue stamps, etc.	2,500
cost for certification	200
others (including cost of travel, etc.)	600
total	9,400
Actual expense in 1935	3,247.63
Actual expense in 1936	3,415.30
Actual expense in 1937	2,701.62
total	9,364.55

Source : *Jaarverslag* WA 1934:23

- 20) P. Beng Supie who appears in table 10 is apparently considered to have been one of those who made a direct plea to the Governor General.
- 21) This money was spent from the "extra premium to the lessors" in the note 19). According to *Jaarverslag* WA [1935:8] the premium paid in 1935 amounted to f22,299.24 for 1,114.481 baus or f 20 per bau, meaning that there was no additional payment in this year.
- 22) I examine here how the lands of those who rejected the conversion of the contract were dealt with also in other years. Though it was reported in a letter to the head office on 29 November 1933 that the land for the 1934/35 cultivation would be disposed of by concluding the nonuse agreement [*Confidentieel*, no.32], the estate could not succeed in arranging this and eventually leased these lands by the more expensive former rent to use as the nursery for the next cultivation [*Jaarverslag* WA 1935:7]. Also the lands for the 1935/36 cultivation were leased by the former rent to plant sugar cane [*ibid.*:44]. These people did not change their stance, so the estate had to lease even the land for the 1938/39 cultivation by the former contract [*ibid.*1938:11].
- 23) On this point see Uemura 2002

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