

The Controversy of the Cultivation System In Indonesia

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Abstract: This study aims to reveal the controversy over the Cultivation system (cultuurstelsel) implementation in the Dutch East Indies (1830–1870). This research was carried out using the historical method. The stages consist of heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. This research relies on secondary sources that come from books and articles. This research data was collected using a document review technique. The researchers previously classified specific themes, namely the background of the Cultivation system policy, the Cultivation system policy in several previous works, and the end of the system policy. The results of this study show that research on Cultivation systems in Java is divided into three phases. The first phase started in the 1850s or 1860s and lasted until the early 1920s. While in the second phase began in the 1920s until the end of Dutch rule in Indonesia. Then in the third phase, starting from independence to the present. There was a paradigm shift regarding the Cultivation system in all stages. At first, it was more likely that the system was considered evil, then shifted to the judgment that it was good for the Dutch and bad for the indigenous population. Furthermore, the view indicates that the system benefited some people but was terrible for others. The controversial side of the policy persists to this day, and continuous research is needed to reveal the merits and demerits of the system.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap sisi kontroversi dari pelaksanaan kebijakan Tanam Paksa di Hindia Belanda (1830-1870). Penelitian ini dikerjakan menggunakan metode sejarah. Tahapan penelitian yang dilakukan yaitu heuristik, kritik sumber, interpretasi, dan historiografi. Penelitian ini mengandalkan sumber sekunder yang berasal dari buku dan artikel. Data itu dikumpulkan dengan teknik penelaahan dokumen, dengan sebelumnya peneliti melakukan klasifikasi terhadap tema-tema khusus, yaitu; latar belakang kebijakan Tanam Paksa, kebijakan Tanam Paksa di beberapa karya terdahulu, dan masa akhir kebijakan Tanam Paksa. Hasil penelitian ini memperlihatkan bahwa Penelitian mengenai Tanam Paksa di Jawa dibagi ke dalam tiga fase. Fase pertama dimulai sejak tahun 1850 atau 1860-an sampai permulaan 1920-an. Sementara pada fase kedua, yang dimulai sejak tahun 1920-an sampai masa akhir kekuasaan Belanda di Indonesia. Kemudian pada fase ketiga, yang dimulai sejak kemerdekaan hingga saat ini. Pada ketiga fase itu terjadi pergeseran paradigma mengenai Tanam Paksa, di awal lebih cenderung bahwa sistem itu jahat, kemudian beralih menjadi sistem itu baik untuk Belanda dan jahat untuk penduduk pribumi. Selanjutnya berkembang pandangan yang mengindikasikan bahwa sistem itu menguntungkan bagi golongan penduduk, namun jahat bagi golongan penduduk lainnya. Sisi kontroversi dari kebijakan itu masih berlangsung hingga hari ini dan dibutuhkan penelitian terus menerus untuk mengungkap baik dan buruknya sistem tersebut.

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INTRODUCTION

After the collapse of the *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC), also known as the Dutch-owned trade partnership (*Kongsi Dagang*), the Dutch government has left homework to do (Firmansyah, 2021; Kurniawan, 2014). One of the tasks that the Dutch colonial government must complete is filling the empty state treasury. However, first, the Dutch colonial government had to deal with the traditional system of

government implemented by the indigenous rulers (Wiharyanto, 2006). When the VOC still existed as a trading company, it did not fully intervene in the power of the indigenous rulers. The VOC only tried to take as much advantage as possible of the existing indigenous rulers (Aprilia, Irawan, & Budi, 2021). However, the Dutch colonial government had another purpose: to take economic advantage of the indigenous rulers and try to dominate them politically.

First, the Dutch colonial government tried to be close to the people, especially the farmers. The Dutch colonial government dealt directly with farmers intensively and intensely to ensure the flow of the desired number of export crops. It was done to cut expenses and increase profits on every commodity they got and sold. It also aimed to minimize the involvement of indigenous rulers. Sulem (1890) stated that the first Governor-General after the dissolution of the VOC was Dirk van Hogendorp (1799–1808). As a liberal, Hogendorp considered that the difficult conditions caused by the feudal system killed off the people's potential. Hogendorp proposed reorganizing the position of regents and local authorities by having land tenure revoked and returned to the people for free cultivation (Kartodirdjo, 1991). However, during his reign, this proposal has not been implemented. Indigenous rulers still have power over the land and its people.

Hogendorp proposed that people be free to choose the type of plant and sell it (du Perron-De Roos, 1943; Hogendorp, 1887)—mandatory submission to the government in the form of taxes on agricultural products and per person. The government hopes that with this system, the people will be more active in planting and be able to produce various export commodities, such as sugar cane, indigo, and coffee. Although it did not go well due to the solid feudal system in Java until the reign of Governor-General Herman Willem Daendels (1808–1811) (Rocher, 2011; Arifin, 2021), under his rule, there was a complete overhaul of the traditional governance structure and land tenure.

Governor-General Daendels emphasized the importance of centralizing power under the central government authority. One of Daendels' most phenomenal actions was to regulate the relationship between the colonial government and the indigenous rulers. The relationship between the colonial government and the indigenous rulers, which was previously horizontal, turned into a vertical relationship with the Governor-General as superior and the indigenous ruler as subordinate

(read: colonial officials) (Daendels, 1814; Hoogendijk, 1943). Likewise, with land tenure, local rulers' lands become state-owned. As a result of the land tenure policy, the feudal system collapsed. The indigenous rulers that previously had power over the land were turned into administrators on behalf of the government. It happened until the arrival of the British in 1811.

From 1811 to 1816, the Dutch East Indies were under the rule of Lieutenant Governor Stamford Raffles on behalf of the British Empire. Raffles was considered a liberal figure, and during his leadership, a land lease system was introduced in Java (Raffles, 1830; Lee, 2004). In addition to the land lease system introduced by Raffles, he also reformed the feudal system in Java. The government took over the lands previously belonging to the feudal lords and became state property. The previous feudal lords then became government employees under the control of the Lieutenant Governor (Jordaan & Carey, 2017). The Raffles government began the land lease system, which was later used by the Dutch colonial government when it returned to power.

After the French domination in the Dutch East Indies (1811–1816), political thought in the colonies began to shift from liberal politics to conservative parties (Kartodirdjo, 1991). In 1810–1830, the land tax system was introduced. The mandatory handover system in Java was abolished. However, in the Priangan area, Preanger Stelsel was implemented as mandatory coffee cultivation, which became a pilot project for implementing the Cultivation system (*cultuurstelsel*), run by Governor General Johannes Van den Bosch in 1830. It was this policy of Cultivation (*cultuurstelsel*) that later became the source of the Dutch state treasury for the next forty years (1830–1870), which also became a symbol of the second stage of capitalism in the colonial period, which still raises pros and cons to this day. Capitalism is one of the sources of people's suffering and the cause of environmental damage (Amin & Kurniawan, 2020).

The Cultivation system was implemented in Indonesia in the nineteenth century and received wide attention from various groups, both from policymakers in the Netherlands at that time and researchers, especially regarding the impact or influence of these policies on Indonesian society. There were also differences of opinion among researchers regarding Cultivation implementation. This difference had already begun to appear then, then grew and became more complex until the end of the twentieth century.

The Cultivation system is a translation of the *Cultuurstelsel* proposed by Johannes van den Bosch to overcome the economic and monetary crisis in the Netherlands. The proposal was accepted, and Van den Bosch was appointed Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) to implement it. The Cultivation system began after Governor-General Van den Bosch arrived in Java in January 1830 (Neil, 1992). The main characteristic of the Cultivation system lies in the obligation of the people to pay taxes in the form of goods, namely in the form of people's crops and forced labor. Regarding the main provisions, in general, there were seven provisions, as stated in Staatsblad No. 22 of 1834 (Kartodirdjo & Suryo, 1991). According to this provision, each party benefits from the Cultivation system, but the reality often differs from what has been determined.

The discrepancy between theory and reality causes Ricklefs to say that the "system" has never existed. It is based on implementing the provisions that vary from one region to another. In addition, as an example of the concept of profit for all parties, it turned out to be the biggest extortion story in the history of colonialism in Indonesia. This opinion was not only monopolized by Ricklefs himself; many other researchers had the same view regarding the suffering of the people during the Cultivation system Period.

In addition, other writers have different views, saying that not all people suffer the consequences of the Cultivation system, but some people benefit from the implementation of Cultivation systems. The existence of various and controversial opinions about the impact of Cultivation has prompted the author to describe it in this paper.

METHOD

The method used in this research is the historical method. As Gottschalk (1945) stated, the historical research method examines and analyzes historical events in detail. It aims to describe events that have occurred in the past, critical recordings, and historical relics from the past. The steps in the historical method consist of a) Heuristics is a natural stage in the research process in the form of collecting the necessary sources and data and relating it to the problem to be discussed. The data for this study was collected from secondary sources by examining the information available from previous studies regarding the Cultivation system. Sources used, such as books and articles. The data was collected using a document review technique,

with the researcher previously classifying specific themes. For example, in this study, the researcher has classified the data into three themes: the background of the Cultivation system, the Cultivation system in several previous works, and the end of the Cultivation system; b) Criticism is an assessment of the sources and data that have been obtained previously. This stage is carried out to obtain sources that have been validated by studying and comparing historical sources with one another; c) Interpretation is the process of interpreting and inferring the sources and data that have been validated in the critical process; and d) Historiography is the final stage of historical research. The results of thoughts, interpretations, and conclusions are written down at this stage.

CULTIVATION SYSTEM POLICY

The Cultivation, or *cultuurstelsel*, was initiated by Governor General Johannes Van den Bosch in 1830. It aimed to replace the land lease system, or *landelijk stelsel*, which failed to implement optimally. The land lease system that Lieutenant General Stamford Raffles implemented until the administration of Commissioners General Van der Cappelen and Du Buss failed to encourage farmers to increase the production of export crop commodities (Bremas, 2014; Suryani, 2019). The need for a new policy expected to fill the Dutch treasury gap quickly is urgent. The Dutch economy at that time was indeed chaotic. The war that was carried out drained the state treasury. At that time, the Netherlands was indeed in debt due to the two wars it was facing. The first is the war in Europe against Belgium, and the second is in the Dutch East Indies (read: Java Island) against Diponegoro.

The Netherlands imposed it on their colonies to increase the production of export crops, which could not be achieved by the previous policy, namely by establishing a land lease system. However, this system failed to provide the Netherlands with sufficient income. However, this land rental system provided the foundation for the Cultivation system (*cultuurstelsel*), which was implemented later. The rental system abandons the regulation that each village must set aside a portion of its land to be planted with export commodities, especially coffee, sugar cane, and indigo. The harvest from these plants will later be given to the Dutch East Indies government. As for residents who do not own land, they have to work 66 days a year.

The Cultivation system, or *cultuurstelsel*, combines the compulsory surrender and land tax

systems. People must pay taxes on their crops. This system is also an effort to revive the exploitation that occurred during the VOC period, namely in the form of compulsory surrender to increase the production of export crops. The difference is that the Cultivation system is more organized and involves essential elements such as the colonial government bureaucracy, indigenous leaders, village organizations, people's agricultural land, labor, and entrepreneurs.

As stated in the Staatsblad of 1834 number 2 (Kartodirdjo, 1991), which contains the following provisions for the implementation of the *cultuurstelsel* system: a) Villagers provide part of their land for planting commercial crops that can be sold on the European market; b) The land provided should not exceed one-fifth of the agricultural land owned by the villagers; c) The work required to grow the specified crops should not exceed the work required to grow rice and other food commodities; d) land planted with commercial crops is exempt from payment of land tax; e) Plant products must be submitted to the Dutch East Indies Government. If the result exceeds the land tax, then the positive difference must be handed over to the people; f) Crop failure must be borne by the Dutch East Indies Government, especially if the negligence of the population does not cause the failure; and g) The villagers would work their lands under the supervision of their chiefs, and European officials limited their control to technical aspects and punctuality in plowing, harvesting, and transporting.

Terms of Cultivation

Cultivation, or *cultuurstelsel*, was a regulation by Governor General Johannes van den Bosch. It required each village to set aside a portion of its land (20%) to be planted with export commodities, especially coffee, sugar cane, and indigo. These crops would be sold to the colonial government at a fixed price, and the harvest would be handed over to the colonial government. Villagers who did not own land had to work 75 days a year (20%) on government-owned plantations as a tax. In practice, the regulation was meaningless because all agricultural areas must be planted with export-worthy crops, and the results were submitted to the Dutch government (Breman, 2014; Hermawati, 2013; Yuan, 2018).

Areas used for *cultuurstelsel* practices were also subject to tax. Residents who did not own agricultural land were required to work for an entire year on agricultural land. Cultivation was the most



Figure 1. Farmers planted sugar cane during Cultivation in Kribet, Malang, East Java (Source: KITLV, 1870)

exploitative era in the economic practice of the Dutch East Indies. This Cultivation system was much harsher and crueler than the VOC monopoly system because there was a target for state revenue that the government desperately needed. Farmers who in the VOC era were obliged to sell certain commodities to the VOC now have to plant certain crops and at the same time sell them at prices set by the government. These Cultivation assets significantly contributed to capital in the golden age of the liberal colonialist Dutch East Indies from 1835 to 1940.

As a result of the system that prospered and prospered the Netherlands, Van den Bosch as the initiator, was awarded the title Graaf by the king of the Netherlands on December 25, 1839. Cultuurstelsel in Java was started in 1836 on the initiative of someone experienced in the matter, namely Van Den Bosch, who had experience managing plantations in Dutch territory in the Caribbean Islands. Van Den Bosch's goal as Governor-General was to "transform Java Island into a large-scale exporter of agrarian products, with the profits from their sales for the Dutch finances." Van Den Bosch's goal with the *cultuurstelsel* system in Java was to produce various commodities in demand in the world market.

To achieve this goal, Bosch recommended cultivating various products such as coffee, sugar, indigo (tilapia), tobacco, tea, pepper, cinnamon, castor oil, and so on, which the colonial government forced the farmers to produce. While the main provisions of the Cultivation system, as stated in the Staatsblad of 1834 No. 22, are as follows: a) Agreements will be made with the residents; they will provide part of their land for the cultivation of

commercial crops that can be sold on the European market; b) The share of agricultural land provided by residents for this purpose shall not exceed one-fifth of the agricultural land they own; c) The work required to grow commercial crops should not exceed the work required to grow rice; d) Part of the land provided for growing commercial crops is exempt from paying land tax. The crops produced from the provided lands must be submitted to the Dutch East Indies government. If the price of the crops is estimated to exceed the land tax that the people must pay, then the positive difference must be handed over to the people.

If there was a failure in a commercial crop, it must be borne by the government if the people's lack of diligence did not cause the failure. When working the lands for commercial crops, the villagers were supervised by their village officials. In contrast, European officials would only limit themselves to supervision, such as when plowing the land, harvesting, and transporting the crops, whether they were going well and on time. If it is observed based on the contents of the *staatsblad*, then the Cultivation system was not so burdensome to the community.

The impact was destructive, which made the people poor and lived irregularly. This phenomenon was caused by the deviation of the provisions in the *staatsblad* carried out by the Dutch East Indies government. They only focused on planting the export plants and could not work their fields well. There were also times when they could not work on their land.

COMMODITY PLANTS

Sugarcane cultivation was more dominant in areas on the north coast of Java, such as the residencies of Cirebon, Pekalongan, Tegal, Semarang, Jepara, Surabaya, and Pasuruan. Planting sugarcane requires good land and irrigation (Sodarika, 2019). The implementation of sugarcane cultivation in various areas was different but still to the standards applied by Batavia. It means the government regulated the farmers in Java to plant sugarcane on a few percent of their land. Then they were obliged to deposit their crops at the mills in their area, and the wages they got would depend on the quantity and quality of the produce. The sugar cane mill then processed the crops into sugar and sent them to a government trading company called *Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij*. This company was responsible for shipping sugar to the Netherlands for auction. By the 1940s, the sugar industry had begun to be

concentrated in an area that would become the center of the sugar industry in the next century. This sugar industry uses much labor from its people because the percentage of land planted with sugar cane often exceeds the maximum allowed. The wages given to the farmers did not always follow the yields due to the corruption of the employees. The Javanese peasants and workers were only rewarded for producing and transporting sugar cane to the factories.

Indigo was a crop that used a rotation system with the main crop, rice. Before planting, farmers had to dismantle the bunds and canals used for rice cultivation after harvesting export crops (Bremen, 2014). For indigo plants, several villages must work together. In indigo planting, the farmers were not only required to plant and care for the plants but also harvest (3–4 times a year), transport the indigo leaves to the factory, and then process the indigo to produce indigo dye plates. Wages were based on the amount of dye produced from indigo provided by farmers.

Coffee was a very profitable commodity under the Cultivation system. Unlike sugar cane, coffee was usually not grown on ordinary agricultural land but combined with food crops. However, because of the policy of the Dutch government, farmers often had to travel far to grow coffee, care for, and harvest coffee. The processing of coffee beans only includes drying and cleaning the coffee beans after picking, which was carried out by farmers. Coffee was the main export crop on Java Island. The value of coffee exports with the Cultivation system was much higher than that of sugar, accounting for 80% of the profits (Bremen, 2014).

Thus, the Dutch government's most significant profit came from coffee. Between 1840 and 1849, they could earn about F65 million from selling the most produced commodity. Meanwhile, indigo only brought a huge profit of 15 million. Such a profit from coffee was due to the high selling price but a meager buying price.

CHRONOLOGY OF CULTIVATION RESEARCH IN INDONESIA

Research on Cultivation has been started since Cultivation was implemented in Indonesia, or more precisely, in the mid-nineteenth century. Research on Cultivation continued well into the late twentieth century. Research and writing on Cultivation are divided into three phases. The first phase started in the 1850s or 1860s and lasted until the early 1920s. Then a second phase began in the 1920s and ended along with the end of Dutch rule

in Indonesia. The last third phase started after Indonesia's independence and continues until now (van Neil, 1992). The third phase of Cultivation research is mainly conducted. Therefore, in this paper, the discussion of Cultivation is more focused on the third phase when compared to the second and first phases.

Phase One: Abuse of the Cultivation System

Research on Cultivation in the first phase is still general and has not focused on one theme or area. The writers who entered this phase were S. van Deventer (1865–1866) and Van Soest (1869–1871). They found that there had been an abuse of the Cultivation system in Java. The abuse includes not only having to plant more than one type of crop and using ordinary labor, but also having to cut and lift firewood for sugar refineries.

As a result, work on their land was often neglected, and to avoid this situation, some people migrated to other areas where the system was not implemented (van Deventer, 1866). Some even went to the forest because there was no safe place free from forced labor, extortion, and acts of violence. Therefore, only a few parts of the community survived and submitted to the Dutch colonial oppression, so their bodies were drained and 'destroyed' (van Soest, 1877). Other writers, like Cornets de Groot (1862) and Pierson (1877), saw the Cultivation system as wrong in practice, causing misery to the people. On the one hand, the people suffer. On the other hand, the Netherlands brings enormous benefits and advantages by implementing economic policies that promote private enterprise to help overcome economic problems in the Netherlands (van Neil, 1992). In line with J.W.B. Money (1861), which stated that during the twenty-five years of Cultivation, the government had doubled government's income so that it was able to pay all debts in four payments, improve administration, reduce crime, and even almost double the population of the East Indies. Thus, the Cultivation system benefits the Dutch and the indigenous population.

Besides that, some published archives on Cultivation, as did De Yonge (1861–1918), M.C. Van Deventer (1891), and Van Der Kemp (1890–1920) (van Neil, 1992). The other side written in this phase is the impact of the Cultivation system on land tenure rights in rural Java. According to Solewijn Gelpke (1901), one of the consequences was the application of the "konco" method in the land distribution in Java. They consist of assistants and loyal followers of the village head so that, as

members of the village government, they get a share of the village land that increases. It is also highlighted by Van Vollenhoven (1919), condemning the Cultivation system, especially the impact on village land ownership rights in Java (van Neil, 1992). In the second phase, Van Vollenhoven provided a lot of raw data, sufficient to contribute to the writing of history.

Phase Two: Cultivation brings positive changes to the indigenous population

While most authors focused more on the negative side of implementing Cultivation in the first phase, many researchers have started to see the positive side in the second phase. Among them is Furnivall (1939), who saw positive changes from Cultivation. For example, there was population growth in Java, increased agricultural production, and an increase in the value of exports, such as coffee, sugar, and indigo. Nevertheless, Furnivall assessed that the Cultivation system after 1840 was obsolete because it was incompatible with economic development (Kartodirdjo et al., 1992). At the same time, Burger (1939) saw that the Cultivation System had brought Western institutions to the interior of Java, which resulted in the de-feudalization and opening of Javanese society (van Neil, 1992). Thus, the colonial government's influence on the Javanese population's daily life was more profound than before.

The influence of the Cultivation system also affected the economic field. As stated by W.M.F. Mansvelt (1925-1926), it turns out that there have been economic changes in a positive direction by showing statistical data. The statistical data was later developed by Creutzberg (1975). C. Gerretson (1938) also expressed a similar opinion, "The Cultivation system was the greatest generosity the Dutch had ever given to the Dutch East Indies."

Third Phase: The Cultivation system benefits some people but is terrible for others

The first author considered a pioneer in the third phase is Reinsma (1955). Reinsma stated that there had been general prosperity in Java during the Cultivation Period. Apart from Reinsma, the standard work on Cultivation in Java is Fasseur's dissertation (1975). Fasseur examined the period 1840–1860 and concluded that the cultivation system had produced the most significant profits, despite strong criticism of its abolition. The advantage was obtained by the *culture procent* policy. *Culture procent* is the percentage amount received by Dutch officials following the

production submitted to government warehouses. Not infrequently, the amount was more significant than the salary received. It seems that Van den Bosch deliberately implemented this policy to encourage officials to work hard. Even though there was a culture-percent policy, it was not the cause of the end of Cultivation. According to Fasseur, the change in political mentality in the Netherlands was more the cause of the end of the system than the economic reality in Indonesia. It is unlikely that the system will disappear due to increased private investment (Fasseur, 1992). This opinion is supported by Elson (1980), who showed that sugarcane plantation owners had difficulties obtaining sufficient labor in the 1870s. The transition to "free labor" in 1870 did not benefit the gardeners. The labor surplus in Java occurred when the population proliferated (Linblad, 1990).

The impact of the implementation of Cultivation on the Javanese population in the future is shown by C. Geertz. Geertz (1963) argues that the rural economy in Java was damaged because of Cultivation. It can be seen from the involution of agriculture in Java. Later, researchers criticized and opposed Geertz's opinion. Among them is Svensson (1985), who did not find a relationship between Cultivation and agricultural involution. Likewise, Elson (1980) said he found no traces of Cultivation in Pasuruan. Even Van Schaik (1986) concluded that Geertz gave the wrong conclusion by interpreting the statistics of the 1920s back to the nineteenth century, and Van Schaik himself doubted whether agricultural involution had occurred in Java (Linblad, 1990). Another opinion on the impact of Cultivation comes from Fernando and O'Malley, who states that history has proven that the growth of commercial agriculture after 1830 had a stimulating effect on the rural economy because commercialization led to an increase in the standard of living of the majority of the rural population, at least for decades. (Booth et al. 1988). Some of these studies seem to overgeneralize Cultivation and agricultural involution. This generalization occurs because they tend to see Java as consisting of homogeneous villages. This view is challenged by Breman (1986), who shows excellent internal differentiation before and after Cultivation.

Several researchers have investigated the effect of Cultivation in several areas. Among them is Onghokham (1975), who researched the Madiun area. Onghokham noticed that the social structure varied less in 1870 than in 1830. In addition, Elson (1980), who studied the Pasuruan area, saw that social stratification became further strengthened by

the emergence of a small group of wealthy elites who benefited from Cultivation. Meanwhile, in Semarang, Elson (1980) argues that the breakdown of local power structures was demonstrated by an inadequate response to the bad weather conditions that led to the famine of 1849–1850. In contrast, Knight (2014), who concentrated his research on Pekalongan, saw that rice farmers divert their land for trade crops.

Meanwhile, Fernando (1983) argues that forced crops did not lead to commercialization elsewhere in agriculture. Researcher Boomgaard, who researched the Bogor area, showed that it was more modern before Cultivation was implemented. Boomgaard (1999) emphasized the interplay between production expansion and population growth in his doctoral dissertation. He stated that there was rapid population growth in the second half of the nineteenth century, which at the same time saw an increase in agricultural production. Thus, there was an increase in per capita income in 1850. Booth (1985) also predicts an increase in rice production between 1850 and 1880. Likewise, population growth at the beginning of the twentieth century resulted from improved economic conditions. Husken conducts one more study in the Jepara area. Husken concludes that Cultivation has allowed village heads to control most of the rural land and strengthened their political position in rural Jepara. It was what then led to the occurrence of such significant social differentiation in rural Java communities.

It is different from Van Neil (1992), who asserts that the cultivation system was not commonly used but consisted of various local arrangements made by colonial government employees to promote the production of commercial crops. Van Neil points out that the lands used for the Cultivation system, on average, are only five percent of all the agricultural land in Java. Meanwhile, farming families involved in Cultivation account for more than 70% of the total farming families in Java. In addition, in the period 1837–1851, there was a lot of population displacement when villagers avoided their workload and did not get any profit from the crops.

When Cultivation was implemented in Java, a new rural elite group was formed, which Van Neil saw as the growth of a class that became an intermediary between the supra-village elite (*pangreh praja*) and the mass of the rural population. One of their duties was to collect taxes from farmers or residents. Tax collection continues even though Cultivation has been implemented. It

was considered an addition. Van Neil also criticized previous researchers for not using statistical data to analyze Cultivation's historical facts. The Cultivation system has slowed modernization in Java. Javanese farmers lost the opportunity to produce more exports, affecting their social values.

The study of Cultivation needs to review the three legacies of Cultivation, namely the formation of capital, labor, and the rural economy. For example, regarding the form of capital, Van Neil argues that capital participation in the Cultivation System did not only come from people or institutions in the West because, at that time, Western companies were also bankrupt. For example, the capital for sugar factories managed by the private sector came from the Javanese, such as retired employees, export and import companies, and Chinese merchants. Then, when private plantations opened in the 1870s, it turned out that the Cultivation system did little to prepare the way for a free and voluntary labor market. It impacted landowners because, on the one hand, they could compete in the world market by using cheap labor, while on the other hand, they had difficulty obtaining labor. In addition, the village economy was also influenced by the Cultivation System, thus creating changes in Javanese society. The cultivation system significantly impacted the Javanese people in terms of the economy and socio-culture.

CULTIVATION OUTSIDE JAVA

The practice of Cultivation outside Java was minimal compared to the island of Java. Therefore, research on Cultivation outside Java is still rare. However, this paper will briefly describe the Cultivation outside Java. One of them is in the Tapanuli area. Tapanuli, which the Batak people inhabit, was ordered to grow coffee on their farms in 1840. Four years later, the first coffee harvest was carried out. According to a report by Breman (2014), coffee cultivation was detrimental to the Batak community because the Netherlands offers low prices, and the buying centers are too far from the production location. As a result, forced coffee cultivation caused losses for the Dutch and the Batak people (Ropke, 1990).

The failure to implement the innovation by force, with the help of the village head, was then replaced with a voluntary task based on economic incentives. The locations for buying coffee have increased. Coffee cultivation techniques were improved, resulting in increased yields. As a result, the government obtains a surplus of income. Likewise, the Batak people have an income (Ropke,

1990). Thus, coffee cultivation benefits the Batak people.

Apart from Tapanuli, in West Sumatra, coffee cultivation has been implemented since 1847. Before it was implemented, this area had been cultivated individually since the 1820s. It continued during the Cultivation Period. Since the enactment of Cultivation, coffee production continued to increase until 1881 and peaked in 1867-1871. The increase in coffee cultivation and production was due to a wage policy that did not confuse farmers. The price was f 20 per carrying, and after deducting, the farmer received a fee of F 4 per carrying or 5 cents per kg. The second was the availability of manpower to be mobilized for the job. Third, this increase was also supported by the trade tradition that has long been embedded in Minangkabau society (Booth, 1988).

Coffee production began to decrease in 1886 and never increased again. According to Young, the decrease in coffee production was caused by the depletion of agricultural land because it could no longer expand. The second was the presence of plant diseases that could not be adequately handled. Third, the Aceh War lasted long enough to attract the government's attention and the large number of funds that had to be spent because of the war. Fourth, it is because poor management or management causes inefficiency and losses for the government.

Then in Sulawesi, precisely in the Minahasa area, Cultivation was also applied. The main crops grown in Minahasa were coffee and tea, especially in the Tondano highlands. Tondano is an area with a larger population than Minahasa, so it is possible to traditionally mobilize workers for coffee cultivation and labor in infrastructure development. Coffee cultivation continues in Romboken, Sonder, Kawanokoan, and Tomohon (Leirissa et al., 1996).

As in Java, the people of Minahasa were also under pressure. For example, people were required to transport their crops themselves to government warehouses, even though the distance between agricultural land was far from the countryside and even farther from government warehouses. Another form was that residents were sometimes called to work without pay on various public works projects. This work often brought misery to the people because the projects were far from the village, and at the same time, they had to work on their plantation lands or harvest crops.

In addition, some areas still use Cultivation. Among them were Madura and Maluku. If the forced crop in Madura was tobacco, then there were

two types in Maluku. The Ambon islands have clove plants, while the Banda islands have nutmeg plants. Cultivation was abolished in 1860. The author has not found sources that have specifically researched cultivation for Madura and Maluku. So, research on Cultivation outside Java was still relatively small.

THE END OF THE CULTIVATION SYSTEM

Van Neil (1992) stated that the collapse of the Cultivation system was due to a new liberal view marked by the political changes of 1848 in the Netherlands. It gave rise to a dislike for personalism, favoritism, and the autocracy of the colonial system in Java. Therefore, after the Liberal Party succeeded in controlling the Dutch Parliament, the revision of the Dutch constitution began. In addition, protests against the Cultivation system came from a group of writers, ministerial employees, and most of the old colonists. One of the prominent figures who contributed to the opposition to the Cultivation system was Douwes Dekker, a former colonial government employee. Under the pseudonym Multatuli, he wrote a book entitled *Max Havelaar or The Coffee Auctions of the Dutch Trading Company* (Havelaar, 1999).

The article was praised for the quality of the writing and the exposure of the Dutch government's atrocities in Java. However, according to Raby (2002), the story in the book is very long and tedious, often deviating from the subject matter. The essence of the story only wants to show that the Dutch residents and assistant residents pretended not to see the blackmail carried out by the local nobles. In some districts, people often have to work without pay. Their property was also often confiscated without compensation. Raby also stated that the descriptions in the book were not as bad as the facts.

1870 became a turning point in Dutch colonial politics because it was in that year that the Agrarian Law (*Agrarische-wet*) was realized. The Agrarian Law contains the following provisions: a) Prohibition of expropriation of indigenous peoples' lands, b) Plantation companies may lease resident agricultural land in the short term (five years), and c) Plantation companies can lease government land for the long term.

CONCLUSION

The *Cultuurstelsel* policy, or the Cultivation system, was the stage of Dutch colonial politics in Indonesia that was most highlighted, including by historical researchers. Research on Cultivation began at the time of Cultivation (1830-1870) and continued

until the end of the twentieth century. Most of the studies focused on Java island compared to outside Java. At the beginning of the writing of the history of Cultivation, the writers believed that the system was evil, then turned it into a system that was good for the Dutch and bad for the natives. Then it developed to be profitable for some people and bad for other people.

Research on Cultivation in Java is divided into three phases. The first phase started in the 1850s or 1860s and lasted until the early 1920s. Several writers included in this period are Cornets de Groot, S. van Deventer, Van Soest, Pierson, Clive Day, and van Vollenhoven. Most writers in the first phase saw the abuse of the Cultivation system, which resulted in suffering for Javanese society. While in the second phase, which began in the 1920s until the end of Dutch rule in Indonesia, the writers included Furnival, Burger, C. Gerretson, and Mansvelt. They have seen the positive side of Cultivation, although, in general, they still think it has brought poverty and misery to the population.

Then in the third phase, which started after independence, Reinsma had different views from the first and second phases. Reinsma argues that the period of Cultivation has led to general prosperity in Java. Fasseur, and van Neil, support this opinion, and Husken, states that prosperity was only for certain groups. It means that not all people suffer because of the implementation of Cultivation. However, on the other hand, some think that Cultivation has caused poverty for the Javanese population, such as Geertz's theory of agricultural involution. Svensson opposed this opinion, and even Elson said there was no connection between Cultivation and agricultural involution by saying there was no trace of Cultivation in Pasuruan.

Therefore, there was a change in the view of the Cultivation System. At the beginning of the writing of the history of Cultivation, the writers thought the system was evil. Then the opinion shifted to the system being good for the Dutch and bad for the local people. Furthermore, the view indicates that the system was beneficial for some people but bad for other groups of people. Even recently, some think the system is suitable for a group of people in certain areas who cultivate certain types of plants but bad for other people in other areas.

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