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The End of the Feudal System in Banyumas, Central Java: Studies on the Impact of Colonial Intervention in the Sectors of Bureaucracy and Socio-Economic, 1830-1930

ABSTRACT: Banyumas area, since the beginning of the 17th century, was part of the “Mancanegara Kilen” region (outside region of the western part) of the Mataram Kingdom in Central Java, which was then changed into a part of Kasunanan Surakarta since the Giyanti Agreement was signed in 1755. In terms of economics, Banyumas was very important for the central government of the kingdom, both as a food source and a source of labor. When the colonial held power on the area, the prolific and densely populated was deemed a potential for the implementation of forced cultivation of sugar cane and indigo. The traditional life in Banyumas, in its development, had undergone a shift as a result of the interaction with the colonial system of the implemented forced cultivation system in 1830. The purpose of the research is to explain: (1) feudal characteristic system in Banyumas; (2) feudal system support; (3) traditional factor that support the feudal system; (4) colonial intervention; and (5) the end of feudal system in Banyumas. The result can be concluded that the feudal system in Banyumas has had characteristic in traditional bureaucracy and succession system. Feudal system in Banyumas was supported by traditional social structure, land ownership system, and the forced labor (rodi) system. Colonial intervention intensively implemented in the sectors of bureaucracy, labor, and economic money system. The end of feudal system in Banyumas marked with the occurrence of the social structure shift and the appearance of new social class in that area.

KEY WORDS: Feudal system, colonial intervention, bureaucracy, Banyumas area, succession system, socio-economic sector, and social structure shift.

INTRODUCTION

Banyumas area, since the beginning of the 17th century, was part of the *Mancanegara kilen* region (outside region of the western part) of the Mataram Kingdom, which was

then changed into a part of Kasunanan Surakarta since the Giyanti Agreement was signed in 1755. In terms of economics, Banyumas was very important for the central government of the kingdom, both as a food

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source and a source of labor (Burger, 1962:95). When the colonial held power on the area, the prolific and densely populated was deemed a potential for the implementation of forced cultivation of sugar cane and indigo (Geldereren *et al.*, 1974:25). The traditional life in Banyumas, in its development, had undergone a shift as a result of the interaction with the colonial system of the implemented forced cultivation system in 1830.

To understand the historical roots of feudalism in Banyumas, it cannot be separated from an understanding of the position of the area in its correlations with the development of the political system and culture of other Islamic kingdoms in Java, like Demak, Pajang, Mataram, and Surakarta. These kingdoms developed a culture system known as the traditional agrarian culture (Kayam, 1991:37). The culture was essentially an expression of the traditional hierarchical structure of feudal society distinct from a dichotomous grouping of a great culture (great tradition) and the common culture (traditions of folks). The great culture developed in the center of the kingdom (the palace or castle) supported by the nobility and the feudal elite. The characteristics of this culture were full of the symbolism, high, complex, well-educated, and the magnificent (*grandeur*) values. While the common culture was the meaning of the tradition taking place in a rural farming community, which was collective, anonymous, limited to a small community, and supported by the majority (*cf* Redfield, 1985:58; and Kayam, 1991:38).

In the process of its development, the two types of culture were in need each other, interdependent, and affected each other in a patron-client relationship. The relationship suggests the establishment of friendship the two unequal parties, because patrons had a higher social status than the client, who was seen as lower (Legg, 1983:10). The great tradition had grown and shaped through the traditional elements, which were then introduced to the farmers to be absorbed, interpreted, and internalized into their small rural tradition. For the rural communities, the ethical culture was adhered to as something sacred and should not be violated. Such a process was constantly ongoing and was a

cycle of taking and giving and was mutually benefits for both (Kuntowijoyo, 1987:27).

As the client, the farmer communities were bound in highly-obeyed traditional ties, either rural or feudal bond. The village or rural bond is a horizontal bond which can unite all members into one, forming a communal society. Meanwhile, the feudal bond is vertical, relating these people to the social group above them. This is a classic bond between the holders of power and the layer of ordinary people (Burger, 1962:93).

In that condition, the social structure is always related to the principle of the two-party or *dyadic* relationship, which in nature of patron-client (Legg, 1983:48; and Hayami & Kikuichi, 1987:14). Someone with a higher social status, as patron, uses his/her influence and resources at his/her disposal to give protection to a person who is lower status, as client. In return, the client was obliged to provide support and service to the patrons (Benda, 1962:122). As client, the people, in addition to the obligation to pay taxes, were also responsible for serving the patrons (Hugenholtz, 1983:170).

In an agrarian society, the social structure was driven by a very complex condition. The most dominant factor is the acquisition of agricultural land rights. This is unsurprising, seeing the agricultural land is a source of economic as well as a symbol of social status (Stavenhagen, 1975:65).

METHOD

In order to reconstruct the past event, we need certain rules as specified in the method of historical research, which can be interpreted as a process of critically analyzing and recording people's experiences of the past. Basically, a historical research follows the cyclical pattern study, consisting of four steps as follows:

Firstly, *Heuristics*. It is an activity to collect traces of history that came from certain era, in the form of objects, printed, and written materials, or the relevant verbal data (Gottschalk, 1975).

Secondly, *Critics*. It is consisted of external and internal critics, in the form of verification steps to scrutinize the sources found, either on their authenticity or credibility.

Table 1:
Names of Regents and Their Period

No.	Regents	The Period
1.	Kyai Raden Adipati Wargahutama II	Regent (<i>Bupati</i>) I 1582 -
2.	Kyai Raden Ngabehi Janah I	Regent (<i>Bupati</i>) II -
3.	Kyai Raden Ngabehi Janah II (Mertasura I)	Regent (<i>Bupati</i>) III -
4.	Kyai Raden Ngabehi Mertayuda (Mertasura II)	Regent (<i>Bupati</i>) IV 1665-1678
5.	Kyai Raden Adipati Yudanegara I	Regent (<i>Bupati</i>) V 1678-1720
6.	Raden Tumenggung Suradipura	Regent (<i>Bupati</i>) VI 1720-1723
7.	Kyai Raden Adipati Yudanegara II	Regent (<i>Bupati</i>) VII 1723-1743
8.	Raden Tumenggung Reksapradja	Regent (<i>Bupati</i>) VIII 1743-1749
9.	Kyai Raden Adipati Yudanegara III	Regent (<i>Bupati</i>) IX 1749-1755
10.	Kyai Raden Adipati Yudanegara IV	Regent (<i>Bupati</i>) X 1755-1780
11.	Raden Tumenggung Toyakusuma	Regent (<i>Bupati</i>) XI 1780-1786
12.	Raden Adipati Yudanegara V	Regent (<i>Bupati</i>) XII 1786-1813

Source: R.M.S. Brotodiredjo & Darmosuwondo (1969).

Thirdly, *Interpretation*. It is the act of interpreting and concluding the evidences believed to be from the authentic sources (Gottschalk, 1975:95-96).

Fourthly, *Historiography*. It is an activity that will construct the facts and testimony which are credible to create a meaningful story or presentation. For researchers of history, the traces are proof of evidences as a series of events that he/she constructs (Berg, 1985).

Fifthly, *Explanation*. It is a process working on the isolated, or *explicanda*, individual facts and still has no meaning. Such facts are connected to the others using a right general statement. Thus, it will result in a series of complete facts and reveals a more meaningful explanation. The explanation is categorized into two categories: (1) the *explanandum*, i.e. the facts which need an explanation; and (2) the *explanans* or a set of facts serving an explanatory tool (Alfian, 1995:1-2).

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM IN BANYUMAS

On the Traditional Bureaucracy.

Banyumas regency always went along with the changes at the central level without any considerable thought. When Mataram was holding her power in the early seventeenth century, Banyumas changed into areas subject to Mataram led by Panembahan Senopati. At the beginning of the Mataram reign, Banyumas was an area of *Mancanegara Kilen* (outside

region of the western part) with the status of a regency. Until the Dutch colonial era, there were 12 Regents who ruled it as shown in the table 1.

During the reign of Mataram, the position of the Regents in Banyumas had been in many ups and downs. Of the 12 Regents, who ruled at that time, only 6 Regents served as *Wedono Bupati* (District Chief) with a title of *Adipati* (Duke). While three were an ordinary Regents entitled *Ngabehi* (title of nobility in Java), and the rest was only a subordinate Regents with entitled *Tumenggung* (title of regent in Java in the colonial period).

The width of the area of a regency was depended on the position of the Regent, which can be seen from their title (Brotodiredjo & Darmosuwondo, 1969). As an illustration, the Regent of Banyumas I had the title of *Adipati*, with a very wide areas of Banyumas. However, Regent Banyumas II was only entitled *Ngabehi*. This lasted to the fourth Regent. Regent Banyumas V increased his position as indicated by the title of *Kyai Raden Adipati*, who served as *Wedono Bupati* (a coordinator of subordinate Regent). With his title of *Adipati*, a Regent deemed right to have an honor umbrella of *Songsong Jene* (a golden yellow umbrella).

The position of a *Wedono Bupati* with his *Adipati* title was the head of the *Mancanegara* region having an authority to regulate the subordinate Regent in the areas. His most

important task was to coordinate the Regents under his control in terms of stabilization of government and on the collection of the local income, which must be submitted to the central government of the kingdom. In general, *Wedono Bupati* was entitled *Raden Adipati*, while the subordinate Regents took the title of *Tumenggung* or *Raden Arya* (Kartodirdjo, 1977).

On the Succession System of Local Authority. Actually, Banyumas in the days of the Mataram power had its own rules of succession, implemented by generations. If a Regent died, his position will be replaced by the first son of the consort of king or *garwa padmi*. However, due to the subordinate position of Banyumas under Mataram, the final decision was on the King. Thus, the system of succession in Banyumas did not always go well. If the consort of King had no son, a new Regent could be from the in-law or any relative having connection to the late Regent. Another possibility of the successor of the Regent could be taken from the eldest son of the concubine wife (*garwa ampeyan*) if the consort of King (*garwa padmi*) did not have any male descendant.

In fact, the new candidate was not always from the descendants of Regent Banyumas. Among the 12 Regents of Banyumas in the Mataram kingdom, there were 3 Regents who came from outside the regency. They are Regent Banyumas VI (Raden Tumenggung Surodipuro), Regent Banyumas VIII (Raden Tumenggung Reksoprojo), and Regent Banyumas XI (Raden Tumenggung Toyokusumo), who were appointed directly by the King of Mataram. This proved that the local succession system could not necessarily done. The mistake or good services a Regent made to the King had a certain impact on the continuity of the succession system of local governance.

SUPPORT FACTORS OF FEUDAL SYSTEM IN BANYUMAS

First, Social Structure. Traditionally, Banyumas condition can be described as the static rural communities. The pattern of relationships between social groups in Banyumas at the time was a pattern of patron-client relationship. This can be detected from the lives of the people in that area from the

rural communities. The interrelationship between farmers of *numpang* and those of *sikep*, as well as the relationship between farmers of *sikep* and the rural elite above them (Haar, 1950:2001-2002).

As it was known, the *sikep* farmers were those who hold the rights to farmland, while the *numpang* farmers have no land and serve as the tenants responsible to work on the agricultural land. Meanwhile, the village elites were composed of the village officials or local residents, who were in the village government bureaucracy (Koentjaraningrat, 1984:297). In connection with this, B. Ter Haar suggested that the social structure of rural communities in Banyumas was as follows:

Kentol group are the villagers who are the descendants of the founders of the village. They have a right to land inherited from generation to generation. Some of them also served as village officials, who are also entitled to land positions (*bengkok*), and enjoyed the offerings of the *sikep* farmers.

Sikep farmers group are farmers who own the house, the yard and control the rights to farmland. They were obliged to submit agricultural products, labor, and service to the village authorities.

The *numpang* or *mondhok* group, whose lives depend on *sikep* farmers. They have no rights of agricultural land, and most were sharecroppers.

Rayat refers to those whose lives are very dependent on *sikep* group. They live in the house of *sikep* family, who was responsible to care and to protect.

The villages in Banyumas were headed by a village headman, called *demang*, *lurah*, or *bekel*. The main village is administratively divided into smaller regions, i.e. hamlets called *kopak* or *wewengkon* (Haar, 1950:74).

The village head was generally derived from the elite and was elected directly by the residents of the village for a period of his lifetime. The members of the village elite holding bureaucracy were called *perabot dusun* or *junjang krawat*. Those were responsible for the run of the village government (Haar, 1950:72; and Koentjaraningrat, 1984:201-202).

Among the traditional villages, a federation bond was established, constituting a senior village located in the middle, with four other villages surrounding it. This bond was called *mancapat* village coordinated

by a *penatus*. The *mancapat* village was a network whose area beyond more village location (Ossenbruggen, 1983:45). The status of villages in Banyumas can be divided into two types, namely ordinary villages and free villages or *perdikan*, which got special treatment from the kingdom.

The *perdikan* villages led by a free headman directly responsible to the King. The free villages in Banyumas in the reign of Mataram were about 41 villages (Ossenbruggen, 1983:75). The number was progressively reduced, so that at the end of the Surakarta reign in 1830, there were only 31 *perdikan* villages in Banyumas.¹

As local authorities, the Regents had two important positions. In the first position, he held a power under the King's hierarchy. In this context, the Regent had an obligation to submit the tribute to the King three times a year at the times specified. It had a symbolic value of a subordinate loyalty to superiors. His attention focused on the dedication to the King who became the patron for the preservation of his post and authority. As an agricultural country, Mataram kingdom used the land as an important contributing factor for its power. The land ownership, then, was the basis for the social structure as well as the power structure (Moerton, 1985:132).

Then, in the second position, the Regent was the highest leader in his territory. To support his position, a Regent had to perform as an authoritative and respected leader. He had to have charisma and broad influence. He also should organize and become a role model for all members of society throughout his realm (Van Niel, 1980:30).

Second, Land Ownership. For farmers in village, agricultural land was very crucial in their lives. Traditionally, members of rural communities have certain rights over the land in the village called *seignorial* rights or *beschikkingsrecht*. Such rights were the right to use certain plots of land, while for those who come from other villages could only pick up the crops in a certain time limit. And it had to be approved by the village or local community members (Haar, 1950:63).

¹See, for example, an article on "Archift, 1877" in *TBB (Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur)*, Vol.XII. Batavia: Kalft & Co., pp.382-383.

The concept of traditional land tenure was very different from the Western concept, which was more oriented to property or *eigendom*. At the time of Mataram kingdom, all land in the regions of the kingdom was under the control of officials appointed by the King or authorities in the palace (Pigeaud, 1960:525). Politically, rulers were entitled to retain and enjoy the harvest of the agricultures in accordance with the prevailing custom. Some parts of the land in the kingdom were for religious purposes, and some others were reserved for the benefit of the village. And another part was the land office, known as the land of *lungguh* or *bengkok* (Wiradi, 1989:68).

In fact, both communal and individual land ownership could not mean an absolute property rights. As it is known in 1656, Amangkurat I (1645-1677) issued a rule, saying that the people in all regions of the kingdom were residents who did not own the rights of any objects. All property owned by people were declared to be the absolute right of the ruling King (de Graaf, 1987:22-23). It can be understood that in the feudal society, the King may declare himself as the owner of the land in the entire territory. The ownership of the land was more political, not an absolute ownership in person (Schrieke, 1975:29).

As the owner of the land, the King gave the right to the Residents over the land plot, especially the land for paddy field. In Banyumas, the official land (*bengkok*) which was 1/5 of the whole was exempt from the tax levy required by the kingdom. Thus, the other of 4/5 parts of the land belonged to the King. They were planted and harvested by the farmers with the obligation to hand over a half of the harvest to the King (Scheltema, 1985:134). In return of the arable land, the farmers had to send part of the yield (Wolf, 1985:3).

In Banyumas, this exerted a very broad social impact in the farming community. There was a process of individual absorption into community, so that the common interests should take the precedence over the individuals. The social activities were also placed above the economic activity; the prestige was considered more important than the profits (Boeke, 1971:22). Thus, the

ownership of the means of production was not for personal purposes, but more especially prone to represent the social status of the owner. This made it clear that the social value had more important position than the economic value (Gelderens, 1981:9-10).

Third, Force Labor System. Traditionally, villages in Banyumas were not only as economic base but also as a labor base. Besides having an obligation to give up some agricultural products to the ruler, the farmers were responsible for various forms of work (Burger, 1962:97; and Hayami & Kikuichi, 1987:12). Thus, the area with a good agricultural land and dense population was resource potential, in terms of economic and labor sectors. For the royal government, the people functioned to provide the harvest as taxes, to be the compulsory labor, and also to serve in military conscription (Breman, 1971:13).

Since the kingdom era, rural communities had known various forms of compulsory labor. Such works for them were normal obligation to obey. The form of working relationship between the people and the traditional leader was various. However, according to G.J. Vink, they can be grouped into three, namely: (1) *Working as a tax* was working for the benefit of the leaders, so the people can cultivate the arable land; (2) *Working for the society* was working together with other community members dedicated to the social interests of the whole community; and (3) *Working for the benefit of individuals* was working as a remuneration or working to expect for certain benefits in time (Vink, 1984:87).

Based on the demographic situation and the labor sector, it can be stated that the high population density was very beneficial for the ruler. The position of the local areas traditionally served as a supplier of labor for the benefit of the authorities. It was proved by the fact that, at the end of the Surakarta reign, Banyumas in 1830 had sent about 2,600 force labors for the benefit of the palace (Hugenholtz, 1983:170).

COLONIAL INTERVENTION IN BANYUMAS

On an Intervention of Bureaucratic Field.

To empower its authority in Banyumas, the Dutch colonial intensively reform the region,

led by the Resident of Pekalongan, who was held by Hallawijn at that time. The main goal of the effort was to do an extensive inventory of the region, soil conditions, the condition of the area, population, and social conditions of indigenous peoples.² In this way, the Dutch colonial immediately figure out various problems to face there, so that it could cope with the appropriate policies.³

As the first appointed Resident Banyumas, de Sturler, was officially inaugurated on September 22, 1830. In conducting his tasks, the Resident was guided by a Decree (*Besluit*) of Governor-General J.G. van den Bosch, No.1 which was issued on December 18, 1830 (*ibidem* with footnote 2). Under the decree, the residency of Banyumas was officially formed, consisting of four districts and one country and *kepatihan*.

In provisions concerning the system of government in the country, there were two types of administrative officers, namely: (1) For the Dutch civil service, consisted of *gewest*, *afdeeling*, and *onderafdeeling*; and (2) For the Native Civil Service consisted of *regentschap* or regency, *kawedanan* or district, and *onderdistrict* or sub-district (Soedjito, 1976:34).

Under the provision, in his duties as Resident Banyumas and based in the capital city of Banyumas, was assisted by three Resident Assistants, each of which was placed in Ajibarang, Purbalingga, and Banjarnegara. There was no Resident Assistant in Banyumas, since the supervision can be carried out directly. The Resident was also aided by a Policeman (*Kommis*) and a Secretary of the District Court (*ibidem* with footnote 2).

The Resident Assistant was in charge to watch the Regents directly, because these officials were the leaders of *afdeeling* (section). In this case, the Regent was called HPB (*Hoof van Plaatselijk Bestuur* or Head of Local Government). Thus, the position of Regent is directly under the Resident Assistant, such a condition lasted to 1831 (Soedjito, 1976:40).

²See, for example, "Register van Residentie Banjoemas, 11.4., 1830" in *Arsip Banyumas*. Jakarta: ANRI [Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia].

³See also "Dagregister Resident van Pekalongang and Banjoemas, 10.4., 1830" in *Arsip Banyumas*. Jakarta: ANRI [Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia].

Since then, the Regent's position is no longer under, but in the same position, with the Resident Assistant. Both the Regent and the Resident Assistant had different individual tasks and mutual tasks. Both were also under the leadership of the Resident.

In performing its duties, the Resident Assistant was helped by some Controller (*Kontrolir*), each of them had his own task region (*kontrolle-afdeeling*). The total area of the task was usually the same as the total area of the district. However, in large districts, there were usually more than one *kontrolle-afdeeling*. In practice, such a controller functioned as the Vice or *Bevoogden of Pangreh Praja Pribumi* or Indigenous Civil Service (Soedjito, 1976:40).

At that time, the Regents were the peak positions for indigenous civil service. The bureaucratic system constructed was in accordance with the procedures of the feudal. In addition to conduct the direct administration to the indigenous people in the district, the Regents also served as Chairman of the House of Representatives at District or *Regentschapsraad*. In the position, certain symbols were used, such as the authority to use the title of *Tumenggung* and the right to use a white umbrella (*songsong*), and half green with three golden yellow strips in the edges. Title of *Tumenggung* may be upgraded to be *Adipati*, who then had right to use the umbrella. *Adipati*, or the Duke, may reach the highest achievement of service as a Regent and, then, was given the rights to take the *songsong jene*, a completely golden yellow umbrella (Soedjito, 1976: 44).

In performing his duties, a Regent was assisted by a Vice or *Patih*, who in any case could represent the Regent. In addition to be a leader the Parliament, a Regent was also a Chairman of the Police Department at District, namely *Polisi Pangreh Praja* or *Bestuurspolitie*. This was due to his responsibility of security and the public order (Soedjito, 1976:45).

On an Intervention in the Labor System. In *Karsidenan* (Residency) Banyumas, population growth, in that period, was also relatively high. The calculation of population number in this area had been done well since 1859. The data of population had been accurate. According to the data, the average

population growth in Banyumas residency had been about 2% to 2.5% for each year (in Oemarmadi & Poerbosewojo, 1964).

Unfortunately, the high population growth was not anticipated by the expansion of agricultural land and the development of production. As a result, the economic situation of the population had been severely disrupted. The main impact perceived by the people was the disruption of their income, which relied on the traditionally agricultural sector. The agricultural land increasingly shrunk, because of the pressure from private plantation industry development growing rapidly after the period of the 1880s (Furnivall, 1944:211).

Meanwhile, the farming techniques also did not make any significant development, so that the existing agricultural land failed to provide the staple food to the fullest. Such a condition was in line with the development of the money-based economic system in the countryside after the mid-19th century. The biggest impact was the decrease of the real income in part of the people (Renneft, 1974:ix).

High birth rates can lead to the growth of children into adults, which in turn became a source of labor for supporting the income of the family. From this perspectives, the children was seen as a means of production and an important source of income for the people. In another, this proved a high life expectancy among the population which was closely related to the rise of healthy living in their environment.⁴

Around 1890s, the need of labor for sugar cane plantation and sugar mill increased. This was in line with the efforts of the Dutch colonial to increase sugar production with *reynoso* system, implying some requirements. With the new system, the plantation demanded an increase of the workers from 800 people to 1,000 people per hectare. The sugar cane planting was carried out intensively, crop rotation system was also strictly applied and they always involved new construction of irrigation lines. This job requires the enactment of a free labor system based on an employment contract with people.

⁴See "Algemeen Verslag der Residentie Banjoemas, 110, 1880" in *Arsip Banyumas*. Jakarta: ANRI [Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia].

Such developments opened a wider space for the start of money-based economic system, the one which really fitted to in the period closing to the 20th century (Burger, 1962:81; and Breman, 1986:48).

The plantation workers in the period of the 1890 was paid about 16 to 25 cents for each day. The works included the planting, land preparation, the crop maintenance, and the digging of irrigation canals. Besides, it also involved a work of post-harvesting, i.e. the sugar cane harvesting and the transporting work.⁵ With the daily wage-system, the working system was then completely free. At a gross calculation, if a man worked in a month, would receive a payment of f. 6 to f. 7.5 or six to seven point five Guldens Dutch (van Hoevell, 1890:362).

In the period 1895-1900, in Banyumas residency, the plantation had involved approximately 5,452,253 labors. Thus, for each acre of the land, it needed 662 men in a day or 6,282 labors per acre in a year (Levert, 1934:126). This was from the fact that in 1900, the sugar cane plantations in Banyumas residency had reached approximately 8,000 acres (Burger, 1962:189).

Meanwhile, the wages of unskilled laborers in the sugar factory, in the period 1895-1900, were relatively higher than those working in the sugar cane plantations. They were paid ranging from 30 cents to 36 cents in each weekday. This means, a factory worker could earn wages of about f. 9 to f. 11 in a month. In five years (1895-1900), the factories in Banyumas had hired approximately 3,914,447 workers. From the whole workers, about 2,450,033 people (51%) were men, and other 1,464,414 workers (48.3%) were women and children (Levert, 1934:136).

Basically, the wages of the free labors in the sugar mills depended on the type of job and the skill of the worker. The wage for the labor that did not require a specific skill like weigh handyman, janitor, and stoker assistant were around 30 cents to 36 cents per day, or about f. 9 to f. 11 of each month.⁶

⁵"Algemeen Verslag der Residentie Banjoemas, 120, 1890" in *Arsip Banyumas*. Jakarta: ANRI [Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia].

⁶Article on "Welke Inkomsten Trekt Java Uit de Suikerkultuur" in *Tijdschrift voor Binnenlandsch Bestuur*, VIII. Batavia: Kalf & Co., 1900, p.21.

On an Expansion of Money-Based Economy. At the beginning of the cultivation system, the economic life of the rural population was still not open. They were bound by the traditional bonds, both village and feudal bonds. The Dutch colonial government was well aware of how strong these bonds were and it took their beneficial for the implementation of the system of forced cultivation. On the basis of this, the Dutch colonial policy in the forced cultivation system relied on the long-standing traditional institutions (Kartodirdjo, 1988:318).

Gradually, the influence of the colonial economy started having impact on the lives of people with the emergence of some economic tensions in society. These tensions were due to the pressure on the people, who had to maintain a balance between two different demands: the internal and the external demands. In terms of socio-economic, since the days of kingdom, the people in rural areas were not only source of labor (fund of power), but also economic actors (economic agent). As economic actors, their position was crucial for the food self-sufficiency (Wolf, 1985:19).

In line with the ongoing developments, the payment of wages planting (*plantloon*) was given after the products of the planting mandatory were submitted. This was also seen as a labor exchange system with money in return for the work done. It was also considered by many as one of the factors that will determine the process of change towards the liberation of labor from the labor bond leads to the employment contract system based on wages (Burger, 1962:83).

Thus, the free labor was increasingly seen as a matter of course. In such conditions, the pressure from the traditional ruler was no longer an incentive for villagers to perform compulsory labor. For them, working in the sugar cane plantation or mill was aimed to gain financial rewards. From this, it seemed clear that the money as stimulus was very important to move the people to work (Elson, 1988:77).

THE SIGNS OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM DEMISE IN BANYUMAS

First, the Shift of Social Systems.
Implementation of large-scale plantations in

the framework of forced cultivation system was seen to have an impact on the process of social shifts in the rural communities. Moreover, the organization of many sugar cane plantations were highlighted as a special case. Many people judge that the sugar cane plantation was seen as a key driver of the process of social shift in rural communities around the plantations. It can be traced from the use of land and labor used for sugar cane plantation and sugar mill. As it is known, the cultivation of sugar cane had used high quality land used for the paddy fields; it also had a good irrigation system.

In addition, the sugar cane plantations needed environments that were similar to rice plants, especially those related to the labor sector. Both planting rice and sugar cane plantations required labors in a large number, but it always changed according to the season (Mubyarto & Daryanti, 1991:56). Given the use of the same land between the cultivation of rice and sugar cane, it demanded a strict rotation planting. During the cultivation, the Dutch colonial sought for the land and the labors by putting pressure to the head of the village. At the end, the pressure was on the people, the farmers, who own the rights to farmland. The people, in their weak position, were forced to restrict the cultivation of rice, transferring the land and the labors for the sugar cane plantations. This was disturbing their traditional economy much, considering the rice as their basic need for food (Breman, 1971:46).

As the impact of Dutch colonial pressures, the traditional land tenure system was also disturbed. The *sikep* farmers had to do the forced labor and planted their lands with the sugar, leaving them with a big burden. Thus, the forced labor, in practice, was done together with the *numpang* farmers (Van Niel, 1987). As a result, a change was seen in the land ownership among the *sikep* farmers, turning into a communal land ownership. The shift was also known as a communalization process.⁷

⁷As it is known, the *sikep* farmers were those who hold the rights to farmland, while the *numpang* farmers have no land and serve as the tenants responsible to work on the agricultural land.

The trend has occurred, because the ownership rights to the land was no longer seen as a privilege, but rather perceived as a burden. To clear the differences of work burden among the villagers, the arable land in the form of paddy fields were distributed evenly to the people, and the status of the land belonged to the communal lands. In the process, the shift agricultural land became the village's property, and the private ownership was abolished. Each man was entitled to an arable land, and he had to carry out the forced labor (Aass, 1984:18-19).

Later in 1880s, a large-scale private capital came into the sugar cane plantation and sugar mill. At that time, there was a tendency for the new entrepreneurs to establish a direct contact to the villagers to get their land and labors. With this, the Western elements began to infiltrate in the countryside geographically as well as structurally. By the direct contact between the employers with the rural people, the structure of society was affected more. As a result, it gradually emerged in the individual spirit among the community. The social change spread widely, since the entrepreneurs were always looking for new lands to expand their business (Burger, 1983:11-12).

In Banyumas, there were transfers of the land rights through various forms of buying and selling. The people applied through three kinds of transactions, i.e. selling off, selling mortgages, and annual sales. These three were called *ngedol dongkelan* or *ngedol plas*, *ngedol sende*, and *ngedol tahunan* (Haar, 1950:76).

The selling off (*ngedol dongkelan* or *ngedol plas*) was the delivery of a land to another person with a certain payment agreed upon. Then, selling mortgages or renting sale (*ngedol sende*) was the delivery of the land with the payment of money or goods in cash, but the landowner still owns the rights to the land, if the relevant payments had been able to pay the money back. Finally, annual sales or yearly selling (*ngedol tahunan*) was a delivery of land to another person for a period of several years in accordance with the agreement. After the date line was over, then, the land was given back to the owner (*cf* Haar, 1950:77; and Hakim, 1965:6, 20, and 61).

The increasing number of land-right

transfer was a strong indication that the farming families in the neighborhood experienced an imbalance between revenues and expenditures. To overcome the deficit, they were often engaged in money lending transactions with individual capital owners who applied high interest. As a result, the bad condition turned to worse. Such a situation was seen as a typical symptom of the pervasiveness of Western economic system, in the form of active cash flow among the rural population. Such symptoms were often referred to as the evil forces of money-based economy (Renneft, 1974:x).

Along with the ongoing development, the scope of the content in the social structure of the society in Banyumas became increasingly complex. The pattern of social structure did fundamentally change, but the social groups became increasingly varied. In this context, B. Ter Haar argued the emergence of four social groups as follows: (1) *Kuli gladag* or *kuli kuat*, or strong coolies, were a group of people having houses, yards, and vast rice fields, at least a third of acre; (2) *Kuli cilik* or *kuli rempo* were a group of people who own a home, yard, and rice fields less than a third of acre; (3) *Lindung* were a group of people who have their own house and yard, but did not have any fields; (4) *Pondok tempel*, a community group having no arable land or paddy field, but had their own homes on other people's yards; (5) *Pondok ringku* was a group of community members without arable land and no home, so they all live together in the house of *kuli gladag*; and (6) *Rayat* were people who lived with the coolies and all their needs were borne by the coolies concerned (Haar, 1950:70).

From the division, it can be seen that the first and the second groups were the development of a group of *sikep* farmers. Meanwhile, the third to the sixth groups were the division of the *numpang* farmers. In reality, each social group had their own obligations, according to their position. The *kuli gladag*, for example, was surely the group endowed with most obligations, but he/she also held the widest area of the land.

Second, the Emergence of New Social Classes. The continued development of free labor system and the ever-expanding money-

based economic system in the rural areas had not only disrupted the structural building of traditional society, but also put pressure on the indigenous elite, leaving them with a less decisive role. Along with these developments, the individualization emerging in society was worsened by the loosening of traditional ties, both vertical (feudal bond) and the horizontal bonds (village bond). The bond was weaker, so that the primordial society shifted into a more rational one (Abdullah & van der Leeden, 1986:14).

Structural differentiation grew more widespread with the creation of new roles and replaced the existing traditional roles. The Dutch colonial government gradually organized the improvement in its administration. This process was legal rational, to lead into a standard government bureaucracy in accordance with the Western measure. This resulted in the decline of traditional political institutions, serving only as a tool of Dutch colonial bureaucracy; it had no more autonomous, but was under the full control of the Dutch colonial authorities (Day, 1904:159).

A further impact of the widespread of money-economic system was a defeudalization process. The most obvious destructuralization was the chaotic shock of values in the rural communities. The wider money-economic system had made the farmers increasingly unprotected. For the people, such conditions increasingly decreased their trust in the value of the village and other traditional institutions. Along with that, the people who felt unsafe tried to find a new patron. The weakening of the support and loyalty to the traditional formal leaders was due to the lack of their leaders' roles in the process of economic and colonial bureaucracy.

Accordingly, the symptoms of shifting allegiance of the rural population were seen from the traditional authorities to the new elite. They were the free Moslem scholars, who were not involved directly in the Dutch colonial bureaucracy networks. Actually, the term of "free scholars" is a symbol of the religious elite group that was solely devoted to the religion and kept away from the political affairs (bureaucratic colonial). In general, they

consisted of Hajjs and Clerics, who practiced their knowledge through Islamic boarding school and the establishment of Sufi orders (Dhofier, 1990:55).

The public at that time viewed these Islamic scholars as leaders, because they were seen to have a number of superior quality. With its advantages, the new elite was also able to influence the psychology or behavior of the surrounding community. In their daily, the rural communities could no longer expect the protection of the indigenous elite, the members of the Dutch colonial bureaucracy (Moedjanto, 1987).

The relationship between the religious elites and their surrounding communities were interactive on the shared mutual consent. On one hand, the scholars provided protection and security to the community; while on the other hand, the people paid their homage and social services voluntarily (Suhartono, 1991:74).

CONCLUSION

The government organization, at the village level in Banyumas, was retained in the Dutch colonial era. Even they were involved more intensively in the implementation of the system of forced cultivation. One of the ways to do was by giving the responsibilities for them in the implementation of the forced cultivation in order to increase the production of exported crops. Through traditional bonds, either feudal or rural, the village bureaucracy functions were empowered. The village head served as an intermediary between the villagers and the upper level region. The solid structure of feudal society placed a head of the village under the strict supervision of the civil servant or *pamong praja*.

The Dutch colonial intervention through social, economic, and government bureaucracy sectors had been able to penetrate the lives of people in the area, and it led to the social and economic shifts. The emergence of wage labor, the development of a money economy, and the growing popularity of the religious elite status of free scholars in the community had enhanced the process of defeudalization in society. The spirit of devotion to the elite superiors were fading, individualism

began to grow, and the free Moslem scholars appeared to be a new group of charismatic and respected leaders.⁸

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⁸**Statement:** I would like to declare that this article is my original work; so, it is not product of plagiarism and not yet also be reviewed and published by other scholarly journals.

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