David birnie: a dutch private investor and agent of social change for society at Bondowoso East Java, Indonesia in the colonial era

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Abstract. The purpose of this study is to analyze the social changes that occurred in society as a result of the economic system of commercial agriculture (commercial agriculture) introduced by David Birnie. David Birnie is a private Dutch who got erfpacht rights (right to rent) from the Dutch colonial government in 1894 in the Ijen highland regency. The context of time in this study was 1931; and it was to detect social changes that occurred in a community at Bondowoso. This study was dissected using social change theory formulated by the historical method. This study revealed that there has been a social change in society as a result of their coffee plantation at Bondowoso that was founded by David Birnie. Coffee plantation that was owned by David Birnie was able to bring social change for Bondowoso’s society. The social change was like changes in the social structure, the structure of power, lifestyle of society at plantation, and the emergence of vacancy in the form of media exhibition.

1. Introduction

The modern plantation was first introduced by the colonial government. Plantations were present in the colonies as an extension of the development of West agrarian capitalism introduced by the colonial economic system [1]. At first, plantation presented as a new economic system that had never been known by Indonesians. The new economic system was called as the economic system of commercial agriculture, or European plantation system Indonesia only recognized and applied plantation systems to meet their subsistence needs and had never been thought to execute gardening activities for commercial purposes. It was due to the low ability of human resources. Society simply figured out on how to meet his food needs to survive in their lives. European plantation system (European plantation) as a new agricultural economic system had introduced various reforms in the agricultural economic system that brought an important change on the colonized people's lives. Therefore, the development of plantations in colonized countries or developing countries was closely related to the process of modernization.

The success of cultuurstelsel (cultivation system) that was implemented in 1830-1870 by Van den Bosch in the Dutch East Indies to plant agro-industry (coffee, sugar cane, tobacco, indigo) has made investors in the Netherlands were interested in investing at Dutch East Indies. The investors in the Netherlands urged the government to give them an opportunity to invest at Dutch East Indies. The insistence of the investors was finally paid off. The Dutch State Government decided to take an Opened Political policy in 1870 that was intended to open up the greatest possible extent for private Western investment in the colonies on the agricultural sector [2].

The Opened Political policy that was applied by the Dutch colony gave an opportunity for investors to settle at Dutch East Indies, especially at Bondowoso. Bondowoso also became the target of the capitalists who wanted a profit from commercial plantation business. Starting from tobacco companies, large coffee plantation company and small coffee plantation companies competed to get the right erfpacht of the Dutch colonial government. As the report of Bondowoso resident memory (AH Neys) [3], there were four tobacco companies such as Besoeki Tabakmaatschappij (at Kalianyar, Tamnan, Bunder, Pengaran); Landbouwmaatschappij Oud Djember (at Nangkaan, Sumbersari); NV Tabakmaatschappij "Kontjir" (at Kontjir); Firma Fraser-Eaton (at Klabang, Sukowono and Jelbuk with the core-center company at Jember). The geographical conditions of Bondowoso, especially Ijen...
plateau and the northern slopes of Kendeng Mountain that was possibly suitable for the agro-industry plants, especially coffee became an interest for the Dutch man David Birnie. The experience of his cousin George Birnie [4] in renting a land at Jember to plant tobacco, because its geographical location was lowland. His cousin inspired David Birnie to rent a land at Bondowoso in 1894 at Ijen highland and at the north slope of Kendeng Mountain, and he began to plant coffee there.

The plantation managed by David Birnie included a large coffee plantation [5] consisting of Blawan-Kali Gedang plantation with a land area of 2,476 and 1,308 were planted with coffee; Jamjit plantation with a land area of 2,366 and 375 were planted coffee; Gunung Blau plantation with an area of 1,190 and 284 were planted with coffee; Kalisat plantation with a land area of 1,372 and 950 were planted coffee; Pancur plantation and Angkrek plantation with a land area of 2,313 and 1,506 were planted coffee; Kayumas plantation with a land area of 1,287 and 1,032 were planted coffee. In addition, there were some small coffee plantations in Bondowoso (the area was between 2.5-40) which were rented by some of the small capital of the district, such as Van Dijk at Sekarputih with an area of only 2.5; R.F. Douw van der Krap in the district of Curahdami and Bondowoso with an area of 8R and 166 R; Y.L. Versteegh in the district of Sukasari Wonosari with an area of 40. David Birnie's seriousness to get benefit from his coffee plantation business was proven by the establishment of Besuki Research Hall (Besoekisch Proefstation) that was driven by David Birnie and was expected to benefit planters who rented land in the east area of East Java. The research hall examined agro-industrial crops such as cocoa, coffee, rubber, quinine, tobacco that were sold at the time in the European market.

David Birnie targeted to get Ijen Plateau seriously. However, as a financier, he understood about the geographical condition of the Ijen plateau which was suitable for planting coffee as one of the most popular commodities in the region of Europe at the time. The Ijen area that was hired by David Birnie had a hilly nature, as it is located on the slopes of the Ijen Mountain with a height between 1050 meters to 1550 meters above sea level and an average temperature of 18 degrees Celsius. Ijen Mountain Rocks consisted of Pyroxeen andesit, Bazalt and a little horblende, because it was located on a plateau, and the land was influenced by the explosion of Volcano Mountain. So, the color of the soil was gray and darkened by charcoal humus level and high nutrient elements that were beneficial for fertility soil especially for Arabica coffee plants (at the time known as Java Coffee) [6].

David Birnie modified Ijen plateau and the northern slopes of Kendeng Mountain by establishing plantation that consisted of plantation at Belawan-Kali Gedang, Jamjit plantation, Mount Blau plantation, Kalisat plantation, Pancur plantation, Angkrek plantation, and Kayumas plantation. The plantations produced Arabica coffee designed by David Birnie. The first planting was carried out in 1894 [7].

The plantation was equipped by the factory for processing coffee and residential manufacture population of the local society that employed and worked in his plantation. This way was able to make social change in their communities. Although many Dutchmen rented a land at Bondowoso for tobacco plantation and small coffee farms, but they were unable to bring any social change. The inability was due to the indigenous owner of tobacco plantation, so they did not require a settlement for the workers. As well as the small coffee plantation, it also did not require a lot of energy, because the extent was only 2.5 to 40 odor [8].

This study provided a comprehensive illustration of the social changes that occurred at Bondowoso as the result of the implementation of commercial agriculture economic system (commercial agriculture) that were patterned-colonial and introduced by David Birnie.

2. Method

This study took a spatial scope in the regency of Bondowoso during 1894-1931. The study was began in 1894 due to the existence of colonial-style commercial plantations introduced by David Birnie (especially coffee plantations). This study ended in 1931 as evidence of long process of social change that occurred in the plantation community at Bondowoso regency. This study dissected the theory of Social Change by Karl Marx, especially economic aspects [9] and formulated with the historical method. According to Marx, the changes in the economic infrastructure of society were a key driver towards social change. The economic infrastructure included the forces (capital, etc.) and the relations of production. So, economic change was the foundation that led to some changes in the social system. The method of this study was to get an idea of chronological history about social changes that occurred at Bondowoso regency as a result of the establishment of large coffee plantations by David Birnie.
3. Results and Discussion

3.1 The Opened Political Policy in 1870

The Opened Political policy in 1870 was intended to open up the greatest possible extent for private Western investment in the colonies on the agricultural sector [10]. Politics was actually done at the insistence of the middle class in the Netherlands who wanted to have a place to participate in executing an exploitation in the colonies. They were entrepreneurs, capitalists or bourgeoisie. They urged the Dutch government to open a chance for the colonies investment, especially in agribusiness companies.

The changes in the direction of the Opened Political policy brought consequences that the government should abandon the principle of colonial exploitation (by force) to the principle of free-trade, taxation and investment. The free trade policy brought incredible excesses in the colony that were the widespread commercialization in the colonies. The impact was the increased commercialization of the colonies into a source of an effective production of export commodities and a source of capital accumulation and industrial market production of the Netherlands.

Their Opened Political policy led foreign investors especially from Holland flock into Indonesian territory to be able to enjoy plantation land planted with agro-industry (Coffee, sugar cane, tobacco, etc.) that could not be planted in the Netherlands due to natural factors and tropical climate which were not available in the Netherlands. The result of agroindustrial plant was well-purchased in European markets. One investor from Netherlands who was interested to invest was David Birnie [11]. He got Erfpacht Rights (right to rent) in 1894 in Ijen plateau at Bondowoso and in the northern slopes of Kendeng Mountain.

3.2 The Role of David Birnie in Bondowoso

The Erfpacht rights granted by the colonial government to the investors was the regions located in the mountainous regions and isolated areas in accordance with the Law of Agrarian in 1870. In the legislation, the land that was available for rent plantation was wild land (woeste gronden), or known as a ground that was not worked by the local society for their farming operation [12]. In general, woeste gronden was also located far from local society settlement, but was still reachable by workers who came from the countryside.

David Birnie got Erfpacht Rights from the colonial government in Ijen highland and the north slope of Kendeng Mountain that was far away from rural areas at Bondowoso. The layout of the geographical conditions at elevation levels was between 1050-1550 above sea level, and it led David Birnie to choose coffee plants to be grown in a rented area. The struggle of David Birnie on his business was evidenced by the establishment of the Research Institute for Besuki (Besoekisch Proefstation) that he monitored. The study hall was very beneficial for the planters or the renting of private land in the East Java. The research centers that examined agro-industrial crops such as cocoa, coffee, rubber, quinine, tobacco were well-purchased at that time in the European market.

To support the success of the coffee plantations, David Birnie made residential estates to provided facilities for his workers of the Netherlands as well as from the countryside away from the plantation. A lot of labors were carried outside the region, especially at Madura [13]. It was due to the minimum number of the population in the regency. In 1890, the population density at Besuki was about 65 people per-square kilometer [14]. The workers were treated as factor in the production process to be exploited in the field ballpark to do a process of land clearing, planting beans, coffee plant maintenance, harvesting coffee plants and the processing coffee at the factory that was established around the coffee plantation.

At first, people at Bondowoso were not familiar with coffee plant and the system of labor’s wage. By coffee plantation, society was introduced to a new life climate in the form of labor’s wage and could gather with a lot of people from outside the ethnic (Europe, Madura, China, Java, etc.). Originally, people only knew the relationship of the Master (kawula gusti) on the regents who ruled in-turns at Bondowoso. In 1891-1908, the regents of the ruling was RT. Kertosoebroto was RP. Sentot Sastroprawiro in 1908-1925 [15]. The relationship was based on a dedication to the regents that protected them. So, the labors were charged free.
3.3 The Occurrence of Social Change on Public Bondowoso

3.3.1 Social Structure and Power Structure
According to Sartono Kartodirdjo [16], there was a change in the social structure and power structure in society after the emergence of plantation managed by the privates. In plantation environment, social strata based on the role of society in the settlement of the plantation were automatically constructed. The top layer was occupied by the Europeans as an initiative taker, investors, (David Birnie and his employees along with his families Europe). The below layer was housed by the workers who were exploited in the production process of the plantation (land clearing, planting, maintenance, harvesting and production processes). The manual labor consisted of mostly Javanese and Madurese ethnic [17]. In conducting the industrial relations, intermediary layer was necessary. From the European side was done by helpers (assistant) and supervisor (opzichter). The group was differentiated by working experience, knowledge and length of service in the company [18]. The lowest level of the European side was the young assistant whose position was under the tenure of senior assistant for 6 years were all assistants under opzichter. The highest leader was in administrateur.

The low layer in the production process were the workers on the plantation or called as koeli. Koeli was grouped into team squad (Ploeg) whom were each supervised by a foreman. Some foremen were under the foreman's head, and they were monitored by the assistants and opzichter. The layers in the social structure as well as the power structures were not only in the regency, but also in all areas in the existing plantation company.

The emergence of social structures and power structures in residential plantation was purposed to increase the production of plantation companies. The power structure must be created to discipline the employees to work earnestly to reach big advantage on the plantation business. The imbalances in labor exploitation that occurred in housing plantation was not a matter for the colonial government. There was intent certain intention on the colonial government to let the environmental conditions away, because they also benefitted from the European group on the plantation.

3.3.2 The Lifestyle of Society at Plantation Areas
The settlement of farm workers was not far from the plantation where they worked. Contrary, they were differed on their lifestyles. In residential lifestyle at plantation area showed social status in society. The lifestyle (include wealth, power and authority) became a symbol of the social position of certain groups [18].

In the residential area, there were noticeable differences between the Europeans with the township indigenous workers and other non-European groups. Clearly, the differences could be identified from the type of building, architecture, format, easiness, and others. Occupants who have a high social status as The Master (administrateur) and the assistant (opzichter and assistant) lived in homes with European artistic style that met health standards and equipped with all the ease of convenience.

In the search of entertainment and recreation, Europe group were usually gathered in Societeit to drink, dance, play cards, billiards, etc. [18]. They despised the natives. However, in the matters of biological needs, usually The Master or the assistant took the indigenous woman to be Nyai or concubines. It happened due to the lack of European women in the settlement of the plantation. For example, The Master Versteegh in his coffee plantation in onder-district Sukasari [19] was closed to the plantation area owned by David Birnie had Nyai Wasimah taken as his mistress without matrimony [20]. During the time, his master could leave the native women. At aborigines, woman usually kept away from his family, and thus there was no pride at all,

On the other side, the lives of the natives were very tragic. There was an economic dualism in the production process on the plantation. The European Group received high salaries amenities and facilities, while the natives were exploited as koeli with very low wages, and it was sure that it was not comparable with the energy of their issuance. In these circumstances, koeli wanted to find entertainment such as gambling, smoked opium, and prostitution which plunged them into a very suffocating bond loan, a chance the lender was usually the native foreman who had a higher position than koeli by lending stifling the koeli. This condition was very profitable for the plantation owners, because the koeli would continue to work hard in the plantations to pay off the loan from the foreman.
3.3.3 The emergence of Voyages in the Form of Exhibition

At first, people at Bondowoso had never known vacancy (holiday), because they worked for themselves and their families without a wage. There were plenty of free time in the native families who lived as an agrarian. There was no holiday and any entertainment to unwind the sidelines while waiting for rice growth. However, by the impact of commercial agriculture economic system especially the cultivation of coffee, had brought tremendous changes at Bondowoso. People were familiar with monetization for their work on plantations.

Indirectly, people at Bondowoso had been introduced by European culture, because in the event exhibition all Europeans who worked on the plantation were present. Exhibition was also held in commemoration birthday of Queen Wilhelmina. Society at Bondowoso had never known "birthday commemoration" during their life. Usually, they only performed the ritual of birth to make red porridge (made of glutinous rice cooked in a way given sufficient water and stirred constantly while mixed with brown sugar until it became mush, then served with coconut milk). The anniversary of Queen Wilhelmina was a novelty in the community at Bondowoso.

In the exhibition, people at Bondowoso usually flocked to the public center of Bondowoso or places that had been determined by the colonial government to witness the expo. At the time, public were given an opportunity to display the culture they had.

![Figure 1. Bondowoso society flocked to watch exhibition in 1898](Source: Collection of Leiden KITLV)

A culture in the form of art owned by Bondowoso had variety. It was not inseparable from the historical process that most people at Bondowoso came from Madura, part of them were Javanese (originally from East Java), Chinese and Arab. Madura became the dominant culture, and Madurese were talented in breeding, because they were motivated by their culture *Karapan Sapi*, and it made the number of bulls at Bondowoso reached a high number of breeding. The ox/bulls were the results of import. See Table 1 below:
Table 1. Cattle Breeding at Bondowoso

| No | Year | Total of Ox    |
|----|------|----------------|
| 1  | 1927 | 181,412 ekor   |
| 2  | 1928 | 194,040 ekor   |
| 3  | 1929 | 194,269 ekor   |

Source: ANRI 1978, Report Memory of Bondowoso Regent (A.H Neys) 25 April 1929

Actually, Karapan Sapi, cockfight, and Gemak had already existed at the era of Mas Astrotruno, who was appointed to be Demang Blindungan in 1808 [21]. Karapan Sapi was very popular on Blindungan’s society before it varied to be Bondowoso city. This event is usually held regularly at certain times. At the time, Bondowoso Ijen plateau especially was hired by David Birnie, Karapan Sapi was regularly performed to provide entertainment to the community at plantation environment. Contrary, it was different atmosphere at Mas Astrotruno’s era in 1907. At the time, it was not only the workers of plantation (koeli) who came to see Karapan Sapi, but also the administrateur to meet the residents. Here was the proof of the exhibition that was regularly performed since 1907 as an entertainment for plantation workers. The purpose of this performed entertainment was to give an entertainment and happiness on people at Bondowoso that mostly were plantation workers to behave well towards their masters.

Figure 2. Karapan Sapi in 1907
Source: Collection of Leiden KITLV

Not only Madurese, the Chinese ethnic had existed since the VOC era; especially when VOC appointed the regent of Besuki in the first time Tjing Sin (Chinese blood) with an honor “Ronggo Suranolo” in 1768. The regent Ronggo Suranolo was a moslem, and was one of family member at Kesepuhan Dynasty at Surabaya who was recognized as well-honored scholar at the time [21]. The arts of Chinese ethnic at Bondowoso exhibition could be seen in the following picture.
The presence of Chinese in the regency had already been started in 1768 when VOC put Tjin Sin as first regent of Besuki. Then, it was continued with the migration of Chinese to the region of Besuki. VOC was very dependent on Chinese in the financial sector. It was because a lot of corruptions within the VOC. Chinese ethnic had been long time to settle in Besuki region and spread to other regions, especially Bondowoso. It became usual phenomenon for people to accept and welcomed Chinese to be part of them. Naturally, when the exhibition was routinely held in 1898, the Chinese was given an opportunity to perform their arts.

4. Conclusions
From the above description, there was a remarkable progress in the area of Bondowoso as the excesses of the Opened Political policy adopted by the Dutch colonial government. The policy was able to bring David Birnie as one of the owners of big capital from Netherlands who was fascinated with the geographical conditions of Ijen plateau that would be used as money machine for his business interests. David Birnie's interest to lease land in the regency was due to the recommendation of his cousin George Birnie who first rented a land at Jember. The instinct of his business said that the fertile highland of Ijen was suitable to plant coffee which was then sold in Europe. The application of commercial agricultural economy (commercial agriculture) by David Birnie was able to bring any social change in society at Bondowoso. Society was introduced about the monetization system that originally was not a concern of the society. They were also offered to work at a coffee plantation owned by David Birnie.

The gathering of workers of Javanese, Madurese and European in the plantation owned by David Birnie caused the mutual relationship. Europe needed the indigenous group both Javanese and Madurese in the context of the employment relationship. The relationship between koeli with his employer addressed social change in society at plantation. The social change was manifested in the form of social structure, the structure of power, people's lifestyle farms, and entertainment that were regularly held by the colonial government in the form of exhibitions.

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