



Agricultural Activities and the Madura Salt Industry in the Late 19th Century to the 1930s

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Abstract: *The colonial government's strong reason for continuing to pay special attention and evaluation to Madura was due to economic factors, namely the potential for large people's salt production and people's agriculture. The agrarian life for the Madurese has become a general trend, as it is widely adopted in the economic system of the Indonesian people. This is evidenced by the fact that since the 17th century, Madura, as a conquered area of the Mataram king Sultan Agung, had the obligation to submit taxes every year in the form of one real, 10 pikul of rice and several pikul of fruit. De Jonge corroborated this by stating that until the next century, the Madurese, who still made a living as farmers, included most of the population, namely around 70% - 80%. In contrast, the rest made a living as fishermen, even though this work required requirements. Capital intensive. There is also the habit of the population to migrate out of the region, especially to plantation areas in Java, as a workforce whose existence is needed by plantation companies.*

Keywords: *madura, people's salt, people's tobacco, salt monopoly, zoutregie.*

I. Introduction

The Madura residency is administratively divided into four districts, namely Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep districts. This area during the Dutch East Indies colonial government was also divided into eight control afdeeling areas, 22 districts, and 1197 villages. (Stübe and J. Stroomberg, 1932). Madura Island is a continuation of the limestone mountains, which are located to the north and south of the Bengawan Solo Valley. The greater part of the island is an undulating hilly area consisting of tertiary corner rock formations, which are deposited in several places along the coast with alluvial channels (Jonge, 1989, pp. 5-6). In the southern part, there are limestone hills that have been damaged, which is probably caused by the influence of the weather, and in the interior, there are clay soils mixed with lime interspersed with soil containing gypsum. Furthermore, in the northern part of the island and a little in the south, the soil conditions are in the form of clay mixed with lime, which is thought to have been combined with a type of granite called gneiss. In contrast, in the south, the soil composition is slightly finer and mixed with old volcanic deposits (Kuntowijoyo, 2002).

Madura Island is known as an area whose soil conditions do not include volcanic soil, so agricultural activities can only develop well in areas where the land is alluvial soil. In the four alluvial plains of the river, which are located near the cities of Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep, there is natural irrigation, and there are some additional irrigation structures that were deliberately built. The rainfall factor, which has an uneven intensity and different soil composition, is a major obstacle to the development of agriculture in Madura (Kuntowijoyo, 2002). Throughout the year there are four months of the dry season where there is absolutely no rain and during the transition to the rainy season, the soil conditions are often still dry (Kartodirdjo, 1978). Only in the plains, which are located rather high with

alluvial clay mixed with lime, sometimes there is sufficient rainfall so that permanent and non-permanent rice fields can be created. Most land processed into dry fields is planted with.

Commodity crops such as corn and cassava. Dry land can be cultivated only during the rainy season, while completely infertile land is used for salt production. Therefore, with such a soil structure, most of the agricultural land in the Madurese residency is moor agricultural land. At the same time, rice fields are only found in the southern part of the region.

Based on geographical location and historical discourse that developed in the local community, the four districts can be grouped into two groups, namely Madura Bora' (West), which includes Bangkalan and Sampang regencies, and Madura Temor (East), which includes Pamekasan and Sumenep regencies. Nevertheless, between the two regional groups, the socio-cultural conditions are similar (Wiyata, 2002, pp. 32-33). The difference that exists between the four districts is related to the area only; namely, in this case, the Sumenep district is the district that has the widest area. The area of each district is as follows: Bangkalan district has an area of 1,260 km², Sampang district has 1,233 km², Pamekasan district has 792 km², and Sumenep district has 1,989 km². The total area of land in the Madura residency area is 469,590 Ha. with the following details, namely Bangkalan Regency covering an area of 116.607 Ha, Sampang Regency covering an area of 123.084 Ha, Pamekasan Regency covering an area of 77.795 Ha, and Sumenep Regency covering an area of 152.104 Ha. (Kuntowijoyo, 2002).

Soil conditions, as mentioned above, affect the fertility of land in Madura, which is generally considered infertile. This is different from the belief of the people who believe that the island of Madura mythologically in ancient times was known as a very fertile area. This can be proven by a folklore about a character named Bangsacara who was told that once his king ordered him to hunt as many as 40 deer in the forest of Madura. This, of course, provides information that on the island of Madura, there are dense forests full of trees and other plants so that many animals, including deer, can breed well in them (Sadik, 2004, p. 11). Thus, if later it is stated that the island of Madura in ancient times was a dry and infertile area, then referring to the myth mentioned above is something that is not true.

In terms of the existence of this forest, especially for the eastern part of Madura, it experienced a large reduction in area to only 16% due to the *kultuur stelsel* policy implemented by the colonial government in the 19th century (Jonge, 1989, p. 9). This argument is based on the fact that the Dutch government also expanded agricultural lands with the consideration of the availability of a large number of local residents' workforce and accompanied by infrastructure improvements such as building and repairing roads and opening cross-Madura rail transportation facilities (Mrazek, 2006: 8-11). On the islands, which are mainly in the eastern part of Madura, the presence of forest areas is still very wide. In 1927 it was reported that the existence of dense forests on Kangean Island, which covers 48,000 hectares, still covers about half of the island itself. The forest on Sepanjang Island is still 9,900 hectares, on Paleat Island is 5,000 hectares, and on Saobi Island, almost the entire island, which covers 2,800 hectares, is still forest. The existing forest on Kangean Island, which covers 20,807 hectares, is partly covered with teak trees (7,233 hectares), and the remaining 13,574 hectares are wilderness (Kuntowijoyo, 2002: 33; Zulkarnaen et al., 2003: 33-35).

II. Review of Literature

2.1 Demographic Conditions and Agricultural Activities of the Population

New agricultural land on the island of Madura after logging and clearing of forests has caused the land to become increasingly infertile. Thus, it is natural that the development of land in Madura, which is becoming increasingly arid and barren, is the result of soil erosion and deforestation as well as excessive agricultural intensification. This is also coupled with rivers in Madura, which are far fewer in number than those in Java. Most of these rivers in the dry season or numbers become very reduced in water discharge and even to the point where there is no water at all, or it dries up. Among them are rivers with a long flow in the Sampang district, namely the Sodung River, with a length of 22 km. and the Kamuning River, with a length of 20 Km.

Hilly areas and mountain slopes overgrown with perennials such as Kenari, Kesambi, Siwalan, Tamarind, and Teak trees also adorn the Madura region. Most hilly areas and high mountain slopes are found in eastern Madura, especially in the hinterlands. In the western part of Madura, in general, hilly areas and mountain slopes are lower and not higher than 200 meters above sea level. The mountains in the eastern region, especially in Sumenep district, are Mount Gadu, which has a height of 341 meters, Mount Marongan, and Tembuku, which reaches approximately 471 meters. Then, for Pamekasan, the highest mountain in a row is Mt. Pa-nongko, with a height of 310 meters, and Mount Jambangan, with a height of 290 meters (Wiyata, 2013: 247).

These harsh natural conditions demanded that the Madurese always struggle hard in their daily lives, so it is not surprising that later, this had a major influence on their character, such as tenacity, physical strength, craftsmanship, and living frugally (Jonge, 1995, p. 20). With this, the character of the Madurese people can be informally said to be more energetic and independent than the Javanese (Stibbe and J. Stroomberg, 193: 637). Although the condition of the land is known as infertile, Madura is a densely populated island. Up to the first half of the 20th century, as shown in Table 1, it turns out that the island of Madura had a denser population than the population of the island of Java. Based on reports from the colonial government and East Java statistical data, De Jonge then made a comparison table as follows:

Table 1. Population and Population Density in Java and Madura 1890 1940

Year	Population		Population/ Km ²	
	Java	Madura	Java	Madura
1890	22.411.885	1.502.679	173.2	183.3
1930	39.755.389	1.962.611	307.3	370.0

Source: Kolonial verslag 1890, Bijlage A: 2-3; Departement van Landbouw, Nijverheid en Handel (1934), Volkstelling 1930: Inheemsche bevolking Java en Madoera, Deel III. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, pp. 2-5; 40-41

Based on data in 1930, the population of the eastern Madura region was denser than that of the western Madura region. In this case, Sumenep district is a district that has the highest population density. This can happen because of Sumenep's good and strategic position in the trade sector so that economically, it also influences the development of its population. Many foreigners visit the trading ports and transit ports in Sumenep. Many of them find it easy to carry out their trading activities, so this causes them to have the desire to live permanently and become permanent residents.

Foreign residents in Madura are only a minority group compared to the original population. The foreign population comprises Europeans, Chinese, Arabs, and other Eastern Foreigners. Among them, the Arab community is the largest after the Chinese (Kuntowijoyo, 2002: 81). At the time of the population census in 1930, Madura had a population of 4,398 Chinese and 2,719 residents of other Eastern Foreign countries, the majority of whom were Arabs (Jonge, 1989, p. 29). The comparison of the total population can be seen in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Madurese population based on ethnicity in 1930

Population	Bangkalan	Sampang	Pamekasan	Sumenep
Indigenous	502.854	470.035	354.041	626.882
European	311	94	301	345
China	1.741	525	910	1.853
Another foreign East	295	103	697	1.624
Total	505.201	470.757	353.949	630.704

Source: Departement van Landbouw, Nijverheid en Handel (1934), Volkstelling 1930: Inheemsche bevolking Java en Madoera, Deel III. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, pp. 2-5; 40-41

The arrival of foreigners in Madura had occurred several centuries before, which usually occurred at the same time as their trading activities. Those with large capital then appear as parties who provide money loans and act as tenants of land rights, market tax rights, and ports. The number of Chinese people living in rural areas is decreasing, mainly due to population migration. Most Chinese and Arabs live mainly in big cities (Raffles, 1817, p. 57; Kartodirdjo, 1978: CXXXVIII).

Due to the unfavorable nature of Madura, the movement of the Madurese population to the island of Java had also occurred during the previous centuries. The number of these migrations has continuously increased, especially since the 19th century, when the Dutch colonial government provided opportunities for private parties to invest by opening plantation lands through the Agrarian Law, which came into force in 1870. Various plantations, which were later opened in the eastern corner of the island of Java, were mainly planted with the commodities of tobacco, coffee, indigo, and sugar cane. In these plantations, the Madurese are always involved as cheap labor, either permanent or seasonal.

Moreover, this wave of population movement has also expanded, not only to the island of Java but also to outside Java, including the islands of Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Sumatra. The largest wave of population movements occurred in 1930, together with the world economic crisis. This has had a major impact on decreasing the activity of plantations in Java so that the demand for seasonal workers from Madura is less than in previous periods. As a result, many of these workers choose to live in the area around the plantation and look for any job to be able to make ends meet (Jonge, 1989, pp. 24-25). According to a population census conducted in 1930, more than half of the Madurese population lived in Java, especially in the eastern tip of the island of Java. Census data also shows that the total ethnic population of Madurese is 4,287,276 people, including those living on small islands east of Madura Island. Of this number, 1,940,567 people, or 45%, lived in Madura, while the remaining 2,346,707 people, or 55%, crossed the Madura Strait to live on the island of Java (Volkstelling, 1930, pp. 16-17).

The agrarian life for the Madurese has become a general trend, as it is widely adopted in the economic system of the Indonesian people. This is evidenced by the fact that since the

17th century, Madura as a conquered area of the king of Mataram, Sultan Agung, must submit taxes every year in the form of one real, 10 pikuls of rice, and several pikul of fruit (Ras, 1987). This was corroborated by De Jonge, who stated that until the next century, the Madurese, who still made a living as farmers, included most of the population, namely around 70% - 80% of the total population. In contrast, the rest made a living as fishermen, even though this work required requirements. Capital intensive (Jonge, 1985, p. 11). Residents who have a permanent livelihood as fishermen live in coastal areas. They, with their Mayang boats, can carry out fishing activities in the ocean for quite a long time so that the toughness they have is known as "abhantal ombha asapo angen apajong lange" (sea-covered waves) (Rifai, 2007, p. 353).

Up to 1906, the cultivated land area in West Madura reached 89.8% and 72.5% in East Madura, while on the island of Java itself at that time, it only reached 58%. The area of paddy-type land planted in West Madura is in Bangkalan, covering an area of 39,017 bau, and in Sampang, covering an area of 29,225 bau, while in East Madura, it is in Pamekasan, covering an area of 13,397 bau and in Sumenep covering an area of 23,734 bau. Furthermore, the dry-type land in West Madura is in Bangkalan, with an area of 60,872 bau, and in Sampang, an area of 41,661 bau. At the same time, East Madura includes Pamekasan, with an area of 39,099 bau, and Sumenep, with 41,661 bau. Then, when viewed from the ownership of rice fields per capita, the figures obtained are 0.07 bau for West Madura and 0.04 bau for East Madura, while the figures for Java and Madura together are 0.11 bau. Then, for land with the status of dry land, the ownership figure is 0.26 bau for West Madura and 0.27 bau for East Madura, while 0.15 bau for Java and Madura.

Specifically, there are more farmers in East Madura than in West Madura. Since the beginning of the 19th century, various staple crops such as rice, cassava, and corn have been cultivated and increasing yearly. In 1916, the yield of rice was 84,065 bau (one bau = 0.7096 hectares), corn 342,852 bau, and cassava 35,734 bau. Five years later, in 1921, the rice yield increased to 93,876 bau, corn 391,314 bau, and cassava 152,194 bau. Compared with the yields of the same crops in Java as a whole, of course, yields in Madura still need to catch up. Even so, Madura still had a large share in corn production, especially for the Java and Madura regions, which reached more than 50% (Kuntowijoyo, 2002, pp. 39-58).

It is estimated that the total yield of rice, corn, and cassava shows that the total area of land in West Madura, especially in Bangkalan and in Sampang, is very large when compared to that in East Madura, namely in Sumenep and in Pamekasan. This is, of course, influenced by the determining factor, namely that paddy field soil is more dominant in West Madura, while dry land is more dominant in East Madura. This situation is possible because the rivers with long river flows and large rainfall are in the West Madura region. Meanwhile, the existence of forests in East Madura began to decrease due to the large number of teak forests, which were cut down to make boats for the benefit of the colonial government.

Based on the land elevation factor, the land elevation in the West Madura region is higher than that in the East Madura region, so in the West Madura region, there is a higher volume of rain. Thus, the land located in the East Madura region is considered more suitable for use in the cultivation of commercial plant species such as tobacco plants. This trend is based on a Madurese proverb: "monnamenna bako ango' an neng temoretembang ne bere" (it is better to grow tobacco in the East than in the West). This plant was first introduced to Madura in 1861 by three Dutch businessmen who conducted a trial planting of tobacco in the Pradipo area, which is close to Pamekasan. The condition of the land in East Madura, which

they considered suitable for the cultivation of tobacco, was then used as a large tobacco plantation area.

In its development, the production of tobacco produced from the Madura region has never reached the European market because its quality is still not good. Even so, Madura tobacco was still a local trading commodity that benefited the colonial government. As an illustration, it can be seen that in 1927, the area of tobacco cultivation in Madura reached 4000 bau, and in the same year, this number increased to 8000 bau. Each smell, on average, can produce 10 pikuls of cut tobacco (kertiabak) and as much as 1.5 pikuls of tobacco (krosok). The price difference between the two is quite large, where the price of cut tobacco is 10 guilders for each pikul, while the price of leaf tobacco is 10 guilders for each pikul. Thus, the average in one bau can generate money of 415 guilders.

The amount of Madura tobacco production can be seen from the amount of tobacco exported abroad, for example, from the Madura railroad company indicating that between 1920 and 1924, each year 911, 725, 181, 537, and 1248 tons of tobacco were sent successively.

Table 3. Indigenous People's Tobacco Farming in Madura (in *bau*)

Year	Sumenep	Pamekasan	Sampang	Bangkalan	Total
1917	2.121	1.643	289	-	4.053
1918	2.488	1.618	712	-	4.818
1919	2.782	1.221	163	12	4.178
1920	2.782	2.094	191	5	5.001
1921	3.679	1.946	235	14	5.874
1922	4.657	2.845	433	22	7.960
1923	3.485	2.229	396	10	6.120
1924	4.066	3.589	402	130	8.183
1925	3.851	3.788	384	50	7.993
1926	4.098	2.726	323	27	7.174
1927	4.492	3.169	280	90	9.019

Source: E.W. Wijers, "De Bevolking-Tabakscultur op Madoera", *Landbouw* (Buitenzorg, Java), IV, 1928/1929 No. 2, p.122.

In addition to showing this related to the extent of tobacco cultivation, the problem of cost and maintenance, the farmers also receive assistance from the government's credit loan money.

Table 4. Tobacco farmer credit loans (in guilders)

Year	Number of borrowers	Number of Loan
1916	597	37.789
1917	151	6.508
1918	141	5.549
1919	83	3.147
1920	127	6.492
1921	297	17.765
1922	520	36.384
1923	389	31.666
1924	279	17.434
1925	149	9.347

1926	349	19.371
1927	79	6.080

Source: J.L. Leming, *Tabaks-cultuur en Tabaksproducten van Nederlandsch-Indie* (Weltvreeden: Diens der Belastingen, 1925):166 ;E.W. Wijers, “De Bevolking –Tabakscultuur op Madoera”, *Landbouw* (Buitenzorg, Java), IV, 1928/1929. No. 2,p.132.

The profits derived from the tobacco harvest can give rise to the middle-class population in Madura, most of whom can carry out the pilgrimage. Among the tobacco traders who were considered successful were Haji Baidawi and Umar Said, who made great contributions to the development of Islamic institutions in Sumenep (Jonge, 1989, p. 206). In addition to the tobacco plant, the types of trading commodities coveted by the colonial government were the monopoly of the population's salt production. According to Van der Kemp, in the *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch Indie* (State Gazette) No. 73 of 1882 paragraph 1, regarding the products of salt farmers, cultivating salt is a matter for the government. Salt production in Madura is located in three places, namely in Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep. The size of the landowner also determines the place for making salt, as the landlord owns the salt field.

III. Research Method

3.1 The Indigenous People's Salt Industry and the Government's Salt Monopoly

In general, the business of making salt can only be carried out during the dry season, and this is the opposite of planting rice, which is carried out during the rainy season. Making salt during the dry season is an alternative business, especially for people who live in villages near the coast, because there are allegations that people living in inland areas cannot carry out farming activities. On the other hand, during the rainy season, many emigrants from Java took the time to return to their hometowns in Madura to cultivate their rice fields.

The salt monopoly policy in Madura by the colonial government was the enactment of the monopoly law in 1882, which aimed to increase the salt production of the native people due to the salt crisis in 1909. Along with this, the colonial government in 1915 formed a body that dealt with salt at the top level, which is called Zoutregie, and the implementation of the structure underneath is carried out by regie. One of the positive results of the formation of zoutregie, is that, based on his research, it was stated that salt production at that time was still categorized as dirty salt. Hence, it had to be converted into proper salt, called briquette or clean salt, which was processed using drying technology and packaged like bricks. The first place for making salt briquettes in 1889 was in Kalianget, and then in 1903, it followed in Krampon. When the briquette salt factory was first established, it was still under trial, so the results were only considered satisfactory from 1904 to 1911.

Related the addition of salt, besides ordinary salt, also in the form of briquette salt, turned out to add big profits because it could be used and was always needed by fishermen as a fish preservative when fishing was booming in Dutch East Indies waters. It is just that the existence of the salt monopoly by the colonial government was intentionally not intended to increase the welfare of the indigenous population (Parwata, 2010, p. 118; Masyhuri, 1996).

Table 5. Total ownership of salt fields in 1920

∑ Plot	Sumenep	Pamekasan	Sampang	Total
1	664 (39 %)	819 (52.6 %)	815 (68.8)	2.336
2	138	64	58	(50.48%)

3	17	29	13	260
4	27	8	5	59
5	10	4	3	40
6	6	2	1	17
7	4	1	-	9
8	1	1	2	5
9	6	1	-	4
10	3	1	1	7
14	-	1	-	5
16	4	1	-	1
18	-	-	1	5
23	1	-	-	1
28	1	-	-	1
29	1	-	-	1
34	1	-	-	1
44	-	1	-	1
Unlimited combined family-owned.	198(11.72%)	359 (23%)	386 (20%)	843
Not in use	30	-	-	(13.23%)
Total	1.719	1.557(including 41 new plots)	1.337 (which was first used in 1919)	30
		-		4.653

Source: Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Agraris Madura 1850-1940*. Yogyakarta: Matabangsa,2002, p. 414

Table 6. Production of Salt Briquettes in Kalianget and Krampon Years 1904 – 1911 (in *Koyang*)

Year	Factory production in Kalianget	Factory production in Krampon	Total production
1904	14.732	-	14.732
1905	14.730	8.129	22.859
1906	8.765	12.547	21.312
1907	8.783	11.948	20.731
1908	11.364	12.139	23.503
1909	17.580	14.353	31.933
1910	17.716	20.885	38.601
1911	22.469	21.089	43.558

Source: Jaarverslag Van de Dienst der Zoutverpakking, 1910 – 1911 (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1912) p. 6

The implementation of the salt monopoly in Madura by the government is a reflection of the nature of the colonial system applied in the colonies. The Dutch government, in carrying out the monopoly, was always delegated by contracting out to other parties, who were usually groups of Chinese or other Asian people (*Vreemde Oosterlingen*). The various monopolies contracted apart from salt include the sale of opium, the production of wine, pawnshops, gambling management, bird nests, road taxes, tobacco excise, and livestock slaughter (Stibbe & J. Stroomberg,1932, pp. 157-163). The salt monopoly was formally formed with a law in which the Dutch East Indies government appointed one of its territories, namely

the island of Madura, obliging its people to not only produce salt for the benefit of the population but also the government. This is based on the fact that after the Dutch government took over power in Madura, residents who were formerly sharecroppers for native rulers were also delegated to work in the salt fields. In this case, the people were prohibited from selling salt but only received a license (pepel) to produce salt (Staatsblad et al. No 73 of 1882). One of the institutions that handles salt production is the Salt Bureau under the Department of Van Onderwijs Eeredients en Nijverheid (Ministry of Education, Religion and Craft Industry), which is directly under the supervision of the Madurese resident official. In order to avoid maladministration and achieve professionalism, salt management was handed over to a salt company organization called Zoutregie (Braam, 1916-1917: 100).

The structure of the salt service bureaucracy (zoutregie) from the center to the bottom is shown according to the level of power of each. In this case, the head of the salt service has the highest position. Under him is the head of the salt factory, whose powers cover all the salt production areas in Madura. The level below them is the administrator (beheerder); they are the head of salt production at the district level, namely those in Sumenep, Pamekasan, and Sampang. In carrying out their duties, they are assisted by a deputy administrator. The level below it is the supervisor, the leader of the manufacture of salt, which is at the lowest unit. In carrying out their duties, supervisors are assisted by Mantri. The positions of orderlies and above are permanent personnel, and this position is the highest for the natives. The position under the Mantri is the mandor, which is chosen by residents who live in the salt-making area. This position of mandor made it possible to have a close relationship with the salt makers, thus facilitating monopoly practices (Braam, 1916-1917:90). The tendency to monopolize salt, especially on the island of Madura, was considered very profitable because the net profits in each year from 1916 to 1920 averaged 9 million guilders

Table 7
Net profit of the salt monopoly on Madura Island in 1916 – 1920 (in guilders)

Year	Profit
1916	9.220.205,9
1917	9.958.217,69
1918	10.274.753,37
1919	10.083.605,29
1920	9.304.698,00

Source: Robert Cribb, *The Late Colonial State In Indonesia, Political and Economic Foundations of the Netherlands Indies 1880 – 1942* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994) p. 196

There is no significant relationship between the profits obtained by the Dutch government from monopoly results and the welfare of the salt farming population in Madura. Various sources state that salt farmers believe that income through salt production is four times higher than agricultural produce. With a capital of one *bau*, a salt field can produce approximately 20 *koyang* of salt once a season at a price of f. 200,-. After deducting wages for field workers f.60,-, the annual income of the owner of the salt fields is f.140,-. This differs from one *bau* of the best rice fields, which only produces 20 *pikul* of rice, and each pikul costs f 4,- so that the total becomes f.80,-.

Not to mention that the owners of the rice fields still had to pay land taxes and labor wages (Kemp, 1894, p. 283). It has even been recorded in Madura that in 1917, the amount of income from one *bau* of a rice field was f.60, while for one shoulder of a salt field, it was between f. 155,- to f.223,-. Regarding risk, there is no difference between salt production and

agriculture because both are determined by natural factors and weather (Braam, 1916-1917:108). With a higher ratio of salt profits to agriculture, it also affects the price of salt field land when compared to agricultural land. Until 1917, in Madura, in general, the price of one *bau* of salt fields was f. 1,000 - when compared with agricultural yields of approximately five times the harvest in one year (Braam, 1916-1917: 107).

Based on this table, the level of salt consumption in Madura per head per year was 2.26 kg. If the population was 1,748,956 people, then the overall need for salt in 1905 was 3,952,640.56 kg. Then, compared to other areas, such as the Madiun Residency with the highest score, followed by the Kedu, Pasuruan, and Surabaya Residencies, it shows that Madura is the lowest. However, if this is related to the need for salt according to international standards, it must still show something ideal. Then, the latest reports, namely that in 1916 and 1917, the level of salt consumption in Madura was 66,129 *pikul* or 4,084,127 kg and 72,175 *pikul* or 4,457,528 kg, respectively. If the population in 1916 was 1,741,601, then the need for salt for one person in one year was 2.34 kg. Then, in 1917, the population was 1,740,933, so the need was 2.56 kg. The development of this consumption showed a slight increase from 1905, so that related to the level of welfare of the Madurese according to international standards remained unfulfilled (Arsip et al. Indonesia (ANRI), 1916-1917: 9)

Crop failures also determine the decline in the welfare of salt farmers due to natural factors such as dry seasons that are too long and excessive rains. Fluctuations in salt production are also associated with crop failures due to bad or erratic weather. The decline in the welfare of salt farmers is also determined because there are no other livelihoods, so if there is a crop failure, it is a disaster. Usually, the downfall of salt farmers can be seen if they are going to return the capital to start production; they are forced to borrow loans from loan sharks, usually Chinese and Arab people with high interest. A report shows that in 1915 each salt farmer borrowed money f.10,-, f.17,- and f.60,- and then had to repay it in multiples of f.14,-, f.34,- and f. 100,-. These loan sharks often cheat because they claim to be traders who buy salt at low prices from producers and sell it to the government at official prices. As happened in Pamekasan, buying salt for f. 7- each *keoyang* and selling it to the government at a standard price of f.10- (Droste, 1921, p. 215).

On the other side, namely from the labor group, there is also a decline in life that is inhumane because salt production is not only capital intensive but also labor intensive, so salt farming in Madura shows the true exploitation of colonialism. The labor group or often called salt porters in the distribution of time tasks assigned to them, is divided into three groups, namely 1. coolies who work from 06.00 am to 04.00 pm, 2. coolies who are on duty from 04.00 pm to 10.00 pm, 3. coolies who are on duty from 22-00 pm to 06.00 am. Regarding the work and the number of wages, male coolies in Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep are paid a wage of f. 0.23- to f. 0.35 - with the type of work is printing, cooking, selecting, and transporting both raw and cooked salt. For eight hours, they worked continuously, and only a few minutes were given rest time. While working, he was always under strict supervision from Dutch supervisors who received a salary of f. 150, - and home facilities. If they stop smoking or do not want to work, they will be punished; that is, in addition to being insulted, they are fined, their wages reduced, and they do not even get paid (Droste,1921).

Due to the difficulties faced by the salt makers, the Madurese Islamic Sarekat emerged as a mediator to convey these demands to the colonial government. The person considered responsible was Haji Ahmad Sadzali, so thanks to his agreement with H.O.S. Cokroaminoto. After conducting a poll with salt producers throughout Madura, Cokroaminoto wanted to

increase the purchase price of salt from f.10,- to f.20,- each *koyang* (Arsip et al. Indonesia (ANRI), 1975 314). In the meeting, which was held at Duko on December 16, 1916, the results would be presented by H.O.S. Cokroaminoto to the People's Council (Volksraad). Then, in early 1917, H.O.S. Cokroaminoto met the Governor General to discuss the price of salt in Madura (Surat kabar Oetoesan Hindia 8 Maret 1917 No, 47).

The response of government officials to requests for demands for price increases submitted at the end of 1917 came from the Director of the Salt Bureau, W. van Braam. The government, through Van Braam, rejected Centraal Sarekat Islam's application and stated that the research conducted by Haji Ahmad Sadzali could not be trusted. The government considers that Haji Ahmad Sadzali only represents the interests of the owners of the salt fields but forgets about the interests of the mostly poor workers. This rejection was continued at the second *Volksraad* meeting, which discussed salt politics; it took place in Sampang on January 18, 1918. The essence of the meeting was a debate between the two groups, namely between the Van Hinloopen Laberton group and the Abdul Muis group. The Hinloopen Laberton group wants an increase in salt to f. 15,- each *koyang*, while the Abdul Muis group wants f. 25,- each *koyang*. Both had their alibis for the Laberton group, and this profit was sufficient. In contrast, the Abdul Muis group preferred developing a free labor market because the Madurese were used to creating regional economic stability, for example, by having to go abroad to fulfill their needs (Rapport et al., 1920, p. 28).

The issue of salt politics was brought up to the *Volksraad*, as was to be expected because the Dutch were stronger in the trial, so with various reasons accusing the commission of being ineffective, it resulted in an arbitrary decision. The problem became complicated because there was an issue of revenge from one of the members of Sarekat Islam Madura, Sosrodanukusumo, who refused and doubted Haji Ahmad Syadzali in fighting for salt politics in Madura. Furthermore, after waiting until 1920, a petition from CSI and Sarekat Islam Madura regarding increasing the purchase price of salt from f .10- to f.25- was never realized, so it had an impact on signs of the decline of Sarekat Islam in Madura (Kuntowijoyo, 1989, p. 70).

Even though land in Madura is not included in the agenda of implementing forced cultivation, it is evident that Sarekat Islam Madura is still practicing the anti-capitalist movement. The movement can be in the form of outbursts of hostility aimed at personal representatives of the population groups, Dutch and native officials, Chinese people, and European nations (Korver, 1985: 129). Such ethnic categorization is one of the supporters of Volksraad's performance in dividing the ethnic groups in the Dutch East Indies into three, namely European, foreign, Eastern, and indigenous groups (Sutherland, 1983, p. 180). In addition, according to the colonial view, Madura was not a destination for exploiting the application of stelsel culture as in Java, but because it was supported by a population that was devout in the religious field and penetration of capitalism such as the introduction of irrigation systems and the development of transportation made it possible for Madurese society to be easily integrated.

IV. Conclusion

The harsh natural conditions demanded that the Madurese always struggle hard in their daily lives, so it is not surprising that this later had a big influence on the various agricultural activities they carried out. The yields of various agricultural products, such as rice, corn, and cassava, show that the total area of land in West Madura, especially in Bangkalan and in Sampang, is very large when compared to that in East Madura, namely in Sumenep and in

Pamekasan. This is, of course, influenced by the determining factor, namely that the paddy field type of land is more dominant in West Madura, while the upland type is more dominant in East Madura. This situation is possible because the rivers with long river flows and large rainfall are in the West Madura region. The profits derived from the harvest of various agricultural products and, later, tobacco gave rise to a middle-class population group in Madura.

In addition to the tobacco plant, the types of trading commodities coveted by the colonial government were the monopoly of the population's salt production. Salt production in Madura mainly occurs in three regions, namely Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep. The size of the landowner also determines the place for making salt, as the landlord owns the salt field. In general, the business of making salt can only be carried out during the dry season, and this is the opposite of planting rice, which is carried out during the rainy season. Making salt during the dry season is an alternative business, especially for people who live in villages near the coast, because there are allegations that people living in inland areas cannot carry out farming activities. In contrast, during the rainy season, many emigrants from Java took the time to return to their hometowns in Madura to cultivate their rice fields.

The implementation of the salt monopoly in Madura by the government is a reflection of the nature of the colonial system applied in the colonies. The Dutch government, in carrying out the monopoly, was always delegated by contracting out to other parties, who were usually groups of Chinese or other Asian people (*Vreemde Oosterlingen*). The various contracted monopolies besides salt include opium sales, wine production, pawnshops, gambling management, bird nests, road tax, tobacco excise, and livestock slaughter. The salt monopoly was formally formed with a law in which the Dutch East Indies government appointed one of its territories, namely the island of Madura, obliging its people to not only produce salt for the benefit of the population but also the government. This is based on the fact that after the Dutch government took over power in Madura, the people who used to be cultivators of the native rulers were also delegated to work in the salt fields. In this case, the people are prohibited from selling salt but only get a license (*pepel*) to produce salt.

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