Introduction

The period of 1870 was the beginning of a glorious era for investors who wanted to invest in the Dutch East Indies. The insistence from investors on the Parliament of the Netherlands Kingdom to have the opportunity to enjoy the profits of tropical plant products (i.e., coffee, sugar, tobacco, and so on), eventually paid off with the issuance of two regulations, namely *Agrarische Wet* and *Agrarische Besluit* (Cremer, 1891; Izzah et al., 2022). These regulations provide guarantees and protection for area leased by investors.

The *Agrarische Wet* Regulation which was passed by parliament on April 9, 1870, contains two main things, namely area ownership by the native population in the Dutch East Indies and the release of area as a form of leasing (*erfpacht*) (Berger, 2003). In its implementation, the Parliament approved the issuance of detailed and complete
regulations which were promulgated on 20 July 1870, under the name *Agrarische Besluit* (Staatsblad 1870). With the enactment of this regulation, the customary rights or values governing area ownership by residents would still be recognized and respected by the Dutch colonial government, and would even be guaranteed by colonial legal institutions by being released in laws and ratified by the highest authority in the Dutch East Indies territory, namely the Governor General (Vollenhoven, 1931).

The previous two regulations can be a magnet for European investors to invest in the Dutch East Indies. They are competing to invest in Besuki Residency. The investors are engaged in the crop business which sells well in the European market (i.e., coffee, sugar cane processed into sugar, tobacco, and so on), by renting area used to establish modern plantations.

Almost the entire area of Besuki Residency offered by the Dutch Colonial government was leased by investors. Starting from 1883-1922, the *Afdeling* Panarukan and *Regentschap* Bondowoso had increasingly become the target of investors when the *Agrarische Wet* and *Agrarische Besluit* regulations were enacted. These European investors were (1) NV "*Cultuur Maatschappij Kajoemaas*" under the flag of H. H. van Kol, in 1883, opened a coffee plantation in Persil Kayumas, Sumberwaru District, Afdeling Panarukan; (2) NV "*Cultuurmaatschappij der Edjinlanden te Djember*" under the flag o. J. F. Couvreur. a., in 1894 opened a coffee plantation in Kalisat 1, 2, 3; (3) A. van Hoboken & Co. o., G. E. H. L. Geul. a., in 1895 opened coffee plantations in Blawan Lor and Blawan Kidoe; (4) NV "*Cultuur Maatschappij Djelboek*" under the flag of A. Van Hoboken & Co., in 1897, opened tobacco, coffee, and rubber plantations; (5) *Landbouw Maatschappij "Soekowono*" under the flag of Jhr. G. C. Quarles van Ufford, in 1898 opened a tobacco plantation in Soekowono; (6) NV "*Landbouw Maatschappij Soekasarie*" under the flag of A. Van Hoboken & Co., vervolg., in 1910, opened a tobacco plantation in Soekasarie; (7) NV Tabakcultuur Maatschappij "*Soembr Sarie*" under the flag of A. Van Hoboken & Co., vervolg., in 1922 opened a tobacco plantation (Bestuur, 1915).

Furthermore, the investors also rented land from indigenous peoples which were used to establish tobacco and sugar cane plantations, including: (1) *Sekarpoeith Tobacco Plantation Company* owned by NV Tabakmaatschappij Sekarpoeith, o., under the flag C. H. F. van Otterloo, a.; (2) *Amsterdam Tobacco Plantation Company Besoeki Tabak Maatschappij* belonged to NV Amsterdam Besoeki Tabak Maatschappij, o., under the flag of C. A. Koniug, Directeur, C. E. Brugman, vertegenwoordiger; (3) *Boendoer Tobacco Plantation Company, Dabasah en Sentong* owned by NV "*Cultuur-maatschappij Sentong*, o., under the flag of J. W. Ch. F. Filet, hoofd a.; (4) *Kalianjar Tobacco Plantation Company owned by NV Besoeki Tabak Maatschappij, o., under the flag of J. C. Caro, a.; (5) *Soembersari Tobacco Plantation Company, Sokkosari en Bonusari* belonged to Firma Larsen en Co., o., under the flag of Th. F. Leijder Havenstroom, a.; (6) *Loetjoe Tobacco Plantation Company belonged to NV Landbouw Maatschappij Loetjoe, o., under the flag of J. A. Arends, a.; (7) Besoeki Tabak-Maatschappij Plantation Company belonged to NV Besoeki Tabak Maatschappij, o., under the flag of J. H. A. Croin, hoofd, a.; (8) *Sugarcane Plantation Company de Maas* belonged to NV *Cultuur Maatschappij de Maas*, o., under the flag of L. Strüben, a.; (9)
Tobacco Plantation Company Boedoean belonged to NV “Cultuur Maatschappij Boedoean”, \( o. \) under the flag G. Selleger, a.; (10) The Tanggarang Tobacco Plantation Company belonged to NV “Cultuur-Maatschappij Pradjekan-Tanggarang”, \( o. \), under the flag of Jhr. M. G. de Seriere, a. (Bestuur, 1915).

The modern plantation companies founded by investors certainly have an impact on the lives of the people living around the plantations. The establishment of the coffee plantation company NV “Cultuur Maatschappij Kajoemaas” (Izzah et al., 2022) rented erfpacht land in the Kayumas Persil, Sumberwaru District afdeling Panarukan, had inspired the community to participate in planting Arabica coffee. Arabica coffee has coffee beans that are relatively larger and more oval in shape than Robusta coffee beans (Mihailova et al., 2022). The Arabica coffee bean processing process usually involves a lighter roast to maintain its distinctive flavor and aroma characteristics (Abubakar et al., 2021). Arabica coffee is distinguished by its smooth, balanced, nuanced flavor, and has a more acidic flavor and has less caffeine than other forms of coffee, such as Robusta coffee (Santosa et al., 2020).

This study was conducted in Kayumas Village, Arjasa District, Situbondo Regency. During the Dutch Colonial period, the village was part of the Sumberwaru District, Afdeling Panarukan. The name ‘Kayumas’ had existed before the Dutch investor rented a land in Kayumas. This study aimed to reveal the existence of coffee farmers as smallholders in Kayumas Village from the Dutch colonial era to the formation of a coffee farmer group in 2018. Smallholders can be defined as farmers or owners of small agricultural land who have a relatively small business scale (Agussabti et al., 2020). They often own smaller farms than huge agricultural corporations or large-scale plantations. Smallholders often manage their own land and make use of scarce resources such as land, water, labour, and capital. Kayumas Village is an area where the majority of the farmers were planting Arabica coffee, and the minority of them were planting Robusta coffee. For the farmers as smallholders, they plant Arabica coffee because the position of the area is over 800dpl apart from the price of Arabica coffee that has a high price.

**Method**

This study used the historical method as it had been used by some previous researchers, such as Rochwulaningsih (2016), Maziyah et al. (2016), Treasure (2016), Rinardi et al. (2017), Maziyah (2018), Susilowati & Masruroh (2018), and Puguh & Utama (2018). The historical method is used to reveal the history of Kayumas Village coffee farmers from the Dutch colonial era to the formation of coffee farmer groups in 2018 in detailed and chronological order. There were four stages we carried out in this study, namely: 1) the heuristic stage, namely collecting data sources; 2) the critical stage to sort out the data; 3) the interpretation stage to analyze the data; and 4) the historiography to carry out historical writing into a form of a manuscript (Gottschalk, 1986; Black & MacRaild, 2007).

Furthermore, this study was using primary and secondary sources. The primary source was obtained through observation, participation, and interview
(Rochwulaningsih, 2015; Alamsyah, 2015; Indrahti et al., 2017; Indrahti et al., 2018; Rochwulaningsih 2018; Amaruli et al., 2022), as well as using colonial data sources. In this case, we carried out a series of visits (Basuki, 2006) to Kayumas Village. The interview was used to obtain information about the existence of the coffee farmers in Kayumas Village, with some key informants: coffee farmers, coffee plantation workers, heads of coffee farmer groups, and Kayumas Village officials. Meanwhile, the colonial sources used both primary sources and secondary sources. The contemporary colonial sources included information obtained from a book commemorating the 50th anniversary of the establishment of NV Cultuur Maatschappij Kajoemaas (Lid van de Firma van Heekeren & Co., Naamloze Vennootschap Cultuur Maatschappij Kajoemaas 1883 – 1933) (Amsterdam: Directeuren der NV Cultuur My "Kajoemaas, 1933).

Naamloze Vennootschap (NV) Cultuur Maatschappij Kajoemaas in 1883

Thirteen years after the publication of the Agrarische Wet and Agrarische Besluit regulations by the Dutch Colonial government, two Dutch investors named J. C. Egter van Wissekerke and H. H. van Kol were interested in renting vacant land in Kayumas Persil, Besuki Residency. The application for erfpacht rights (lease rights) was made, starting on July 2, 1881, to the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies (Lid van de Firma van Heekeren & Co., 1933). It spent nearly two years to obtain a permit to establish a new plantation. On March 31, 1883, a permit was obtained with the issuance of a Decree of the Governor General with a 75-year erfpacht right. The record of Deed No. 22 concerning area leases in Kayumas Persil covering an area of 504 bau was made before Resident Besuki on April 19, 1883 (Lijst van: 1. Particuliere Ondernemingen in Nederlandsch-Indie op Gronden door het Gouvernement Afgestaan in Huur (Voor Landbouwdoeleinden) en Erfpacht, 1915). It was only on August 9, 1883, that the NV coffee plantation company “Cultuur Maatschappij Kajoemaas” was established and legalized by notary Al Snouck Hurgronje in Surabaya with a company capital of f 80,000, and divided into four shares with a value of f 20,000/share. On March 29, 1884, he rented area in Afdeling Taman Arum with an area of 545 bau (Lid van de Firma van Heekeren & Co., 1933), and divided it into 4 shares with a value of f 20,000/share.

The Kayumas coffee plantation in 1883 consisted of eight sections, including (1) Pondok; (2) Raja; (3) Sabrang; (4) Kidang; (5) Kidul; (6) Taman; (7) Kendeng; dan (8) Sukmailang. The Taman Arum plantation in 1884 consisted of six sections, including (1) Plampang; (2) Kidul; (3) Taman; (4) Taman Dadar; (5) Kacep, dan (6) Kendeng (Lid van de Firma van Heekeren & Co., 1933). Kayumas coffee plantation area as reflected in Figure 1.
The plantation map belonged to the plantation company “Naamloze Vennootschap (N.V.) Cultuur Maatschappij Kajoemaas, located in Afdeling Kayumas and Taman Arum

Source: Lid van de Firma van Heekeren & Co., 1933, p. 133.

The plantation companies established by investors do not always get profits immediately. It takes patience, tenacity, and struggle, as an investor who owns an occupant company like George Birnie (Izzah, 2021). At the beginning of the business to develop tobacco plantations, he also experienced losses since the tobacco business began in 1859-1861. These consecutive losses did not dampen George Birnie’s enthusiasm to stop trying. Likewise, the coffee plantation business opened by J. C. Egter van Wissekerke and H. H. van Kol in Persil Kayumas suffered losses several years after it was founded in 1883-1898. It was only in 1899 that there were not so many profits, only 5% from 2,996 kilograms of HS-type coffee. In that year, the price of coffee/kilograms f was 35, so the profit was only f 5,243. New increased profits were obtained between 1907-1931 (see Appendix 3 in Lid van de Firma van Heekeren & Co., 1933).

On the other hand, the former indigenous people around the NV Cultuur Maatschappij Kajoemaas coffee plantations had planted coffee in their gardens and fields. They learned to grow coffee when they became plantation workers in Regentschap Banyuwangi. The residents’ coffee production was purchased by the company NV Cultuur Maatschappij Kajoemaas. The owners of coffee area in the gardens and fields included Wariati, Soeki, Pa Poernam, and Poerdjo with a total of 102 bau and 172 Rr of coffee being planted (Lid van de Firma van Heekeren & Co., 1933).
The Great Role of Panarukan Port

The most important ports on the North Coast of Java during the Dutch colonial period were Besuki Port, Panarukan Port, and Jangkar Port. Besuki Port is used for boat voyages to Madura and for ships carrying sugar from the Boedoean and De Maas factories. Jangkar Port is only useful for the export of sugar from the Asembagus Factory. Panarukan Port is the most important port. In 1928, Panaroekan Maatschappij built a new warehouse to store sugar with a capacity of 100,000 kilograms. The shipping company "Bodemeijer" organized shipping from Sumenep to Panarukan every day. People from Madura and Sapudi who came to Afdeling Panarukan and Regentschap Bondowoso to find work used this shipping traffic. When a ship arrived at the port, buses were available to transport them to Panarukan, Bondowoso, Jember, and Banyuwangi. The transportation facilities and infrastructures made by the Dutch Colonial government become an economic node that made it easier to bring the people’s crops, as well as the results of plantation companies inland.

On the other hand, the Dutch Colonial government also provided road facilities from Kayumas plantation to Situbondo (Lid van de Firma van Heekeren & Co., 1933). This facility was to make it easier for plantation companies to bring plantation products into Panarukan Port. From the Panarukan Port, the plantation product was brought to Batavia to go to Rotterdam, the Netherlands by the steamship "Rotterdamsche Lloyd" (De Indische Mercuur, 47e Jaargang No. 47, 21 November 1924: 824). Arabica coffee products from the plantation company NV Cultuur Maatschappij Kajoemaas which were exported to Europe were known as Javakoffie-land Kajoemaas, because they had a unique and delicious taste.

Arabica Coffee Plantation: A Generational Business

The people living in Persil Kayumas existed in 1883, before being rented by J. C. Egter van Wissekerke and H. H. van Kol. They supported their economy by growing Arabica coffee. In the end, the production results were sold to both investors. The opening of the Arabica Coffee plantation company NV Cultuur Maatschappij Kajoemaas certainly requires a large number of workers, because the area that was leased in Persil Kayumas was 504 bau, and 545 bau in Persil Taman Arum. The workers were brought in from the Madura region through Panarukan Port. Certainly, this evidence was inseparable from the contribution of the indigenous people around the plantation, where the majority of the people were Madurese. They brought their relatives from Madura Island to work on the plantations.

The large number of people who work as laborers on plantations owned by J. C. Egter van Wissekerke and H. H. van Kol will later inspire them to participate in planting coffee in their gardens or fields. This is evident from their descendants continuing to grow coffee plants in the gardens they have inherited (interview with Edianto, head of the “Delima” coffee farmer group, May 20, 2022). Likewise, with the coffee farmers in Kayumas Village, the majority continued the coffee plantation business from their parents or grandfathers (interview with Mulyono, head of the “Mulya Jaya” coffee farmer group, June 1, 2022). Similarly to this evidence, a study on
Guatemala’s coffee farmers indicated that they also cultivated a high-quality coffee in their own area using family labor and hiring day workers, thus selling the coffee to the cooperative (Fischer & Victor, 2014).

In 2018, there were around 410 coffee farmers in Kayumas Village who joined eight coffee farmer groups, including: (a) “Delima” coffee farmer group consisted of 20 farmers; (b) “Mulya Jaya” coffee farmer group consisted of 131 farmers; (c) “Sukmaelang Jaya” coffee farmer group consisted of 17 farmers; (d) “Delima 2” coffee farmer group consisted of 32 farmers; (e) “Sumber Kayu Putih 2” coffee farmer group consisted of 77 farmers; (f) “Sumber Kayu Putih 3” coffee farmer group consisted of 66 farmers; (h) “Sejahtera” coffee farmer group consisted of 20 members (interview with Edianto as the head of “Delima” coffee farmer group on May 20, 2022.). Details of the group information can be seen in Table 1. Meanwhile, coffee plantation area can be seen in Table 2.

Table 1. List of Coffee Farmers Group 2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of Coffee Farmers Group</th>
<th>Chief Name</th>
<th>Number of Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sukmaelang Jaya</td>
<td>Ahmad Imam Miftahul Arifin</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mulya Jaya</td>
<td>Mulyono</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sumber Kayu Putih 2</td>
<td>Herman Rahman</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Delima</td>
<td>Edianto</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Delima 2</td>
<td>Markus</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sumber Kayu Putih 3</td>
<td>Hariyono</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sukma Jaya</td>
<td>Iwan Kurniawan</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sejahtera</td>
<td>Siswono</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>410</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Agriculture Office of Situbondo Regency.

Table 2. Coffee Plantation Area of Kayumas Village Coffee Farmers Group in 2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Farmer Group Name</th>
<th>Plantation Area (Hectares)</th>
<th>Coffee Plantation Area (Hectares)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sukmaelang Jaya</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mulya Jaya</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sumber Kayu Putih 2</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Delima</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Delima 2</td>
<td>87.6</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sumber Kayu Putih 3</td>
<td>92.7</td>
<td>92.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sukma Jaya</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>90.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sejahtera</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>61.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1488</strong></td>
<td><strong>912.7</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Agriculture Office of Situbondo Regency.
The coffee farmers in Kayumas Village produced their crops in the form of OSE and coffee powder. Each group had products with different brands. Delima group with its product “Talimas”, Sukmaelang Jaya with “Maeja”, Sumber Kayu Putih 3 with “Masbro”, Sumber Kayu Putih 2 with “Segitiga Emas”, Delima 2 with “Anugrah”, and Mulya Jaya with “Mulya”. Several products of coffee powder belonged to a group of coffee farmers in Kayumas Village can be seen in the following figures.

![Figure 2](image1.png)  
**Figure 2. Coffee Products from Kayumas Village Farmers in 2018**  
Source: Research Documentation.

![Figure 3](image2.png)  
**Figure 3. Coffee Products from Kayumas Village Farmers in 2018**  
Source: Research Documentation.

**Conclusion**  
The Dutch colonial exploitation did not always have a negative impact on Dutch East Indies society. As an illustration, a coffee plantation founded by a Dutch investor turned out to have a positive impact on the people of Kayumas Village. Kayumas Village community is able to think critically by participating in planting coffee in their gardens and fields. The production results are sold to investors. The inspiration to
participate in growing coffee during the Dutch colonial period continued to their descendants by continuing to plant Arabica coffee. In 2018, there was awareness from the coffee farmers to form coffee farmer groups. This was done to minimize unfair competition, as well as make it easier for the group to get assistance from the regional and central governments. In this context, the existence of eight coffee farmer groups consisting of 410 coffee farmers, has become evidence of the coffee farmers population in Kayumas Village whose geographical location is difficult to reach.

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