

VILLAGES AND "CULTIVATORS" IN THE CRADLE OF MODERN RURAL JAVA : AN ANALYSIS OF THE DETAILED SETTLEMENT REPORT OF BANGIL REGENCY

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This paper tries to depict the states of villages and peasants in an East Java district at the beginning of the 19th century. Its major source of research is the so-called "detailed settlement report" which was compiled by British colonial officials in the middle of the 1810s by orders of T. S. Raffles. The purpose of this settlement survey was to fix the cultivators of farmland in each region and to assess the land tax (or "land rent" according to the contemporary official term) levied on them. This report recorded the size of plots of farmland which were cultivated by more than four thousand farmers in nearly five hundred villages (*desa* or *kampung*) and the amount of "land rent" levied on each plot. Those data have been analyzed in this paper in comparison with the similar data on the neighboring Malang regency which I examined several years ago in another paper. The major findings in this paper are as follows :

a. In reality, the settlement survey in both regencies seems to have covered a part of farmers and their farmland. In addition, it could not fix the real size of farmland by carrying out its actual measurement. This was evidenced by the fact that the land holding size (by the unit of *bau*) of great majority of cultivators were recorded with exact figures of integer of fraction.

b. In contrast with Malang where only the money tax was introduced and its amount per unit area was fixed for every kind of farmland, tax in kind (paddy rent) was levied on irrigated fields (*sawah*) in Bangil together with the money tax (money rent) which was levied on both irrigated fields

and non-irrigated fields (*tegal*). In addition, the amount of tax per unit area was meticulously differentiated according to the productivity of each field. It shows that the farmland in Bangil had been developed earlier than in Malang so that its conditions were more precisely grasped by the colonial government.

c. The number of present administrative villages (*desa* or *kelurahan*) whose name could be identified with the old villages recorded by the settlement report is relatively larger in Bangil than in Malang. It means that the relative number of villages and farmland which were earlier developed and well-established was greater in Bangil. In the meantime, the majority of those established villages in Bangil were concentrated in its northern part which is located at riverside plains but far enough from the coastal swamp. This fact also suggests that the existence of village communities were already stable in such earlier developed zone.

d. Similar to Malang, there was a big variety in the size of villages, both in the total area of farmland and the number of population. It means that Javanese villages in this period were still quite malleable in its social boundary.

e. At the level of district or regency, two peaks are found in the class distribution of "cultivators" according to the size of their land holding, namely a *bau* holders and a half *bau* holders. However, if examined for each individual village, such double-pole pattern of distribution can be rarely found out. The major pattern of distribution is flat and egalitarian. In other words, distinct differentiation of landholding had not yet taken place in the majority of villages. However, in some particular areas there were fairly large number of villages where the land holding size was scattered, thus rather differentiated in class structure. Further research would be needed to clarify the factors which had caused such difference.