

The Policy of Bureaucratic and Agrarian Reorganization in Madura until the End of the Nineteenth Century

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Abstract

The traditional agrarian and government bureaucracy system in Madura by placing the role of panembahan is the same as the sultan in Mataram who is considered to have a central position both politically, socially and culturally as well as religiously. Since the mid-19th century on the part of the Dutch East Indies government, there have been indications to realize a change in the bureaucratic system which was originally patrimonial to be rational. The only thing that can be used as a tool to act, is the existence of a constitutional policy of the Dutch kingdom regarding the management of colonized areas, namely the issuance of a Government Regulation in 1854. The success of the Dutch government in reorganizing the bureaucracy and agrarian in Madura by dividing it into four districts, namely Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep are short-term strategies.

Keywords

reorganization;
bureaucracy; agrarian;
Madura; panembahan;
Dutch colonial
government



I. Introduction

The system of government in Madura before the arrival of the VOC which in this case was the territory of the Mataram kingdom under the rule of Sultan Agung since the 17th century, was a direct government under the rule of vassal kings. The relationship between Madura as a vassal and the Mataram kingdom as the center, besides the obligation to pay tribute, was also marked by the marriage bond between Prasena, who later had the title Cakraningrat I, and a princess of the Mataram kingdom. With this, Madura also had a function as a bastion of the power of the Mataram kingdom (Van den Broek, 1893: 23, 50). Thus, the traditional government structure in Madura is to imitate the government structure of the Mataram kingdom and the ruling kings have the titles of Panembahan and Sultan. The organization of government in Madura also uses the pattern of central government, namely the Mataram kingdom (Bramantyo, 1981: 32).

The VOC became aware that the control of the northern and northeastern regions of the island of Java was an ideal target because it could eliminate the long-standing competition with the Mataram kingdom under the leadership of Sultan Agung (Schrieke, 2015: 256). When there was palace intrigue that continued from the Trunajaya uprising until the time of Sunan Paku Buwana II, it seemed as if the VOC had gotten a breath of fresh air because it was given the Madura region in 1743, with a guarantee that it could help political stability in the Mataram kingdom. The realization of political activity began on March 24, 1746 because Gustaf Willem Baron Van Imhoff as Governor General of the VOC had carefully considered that re-activating the Madurese rulers became something conducive to controlling trade in the Madura region.

By entrusting it to Commissioner Hugo Verysel, he first received the support of the Cakranegara regent from Sumenep who was able to provide several places such as; Serako, Telango, Ramaringa, Lubuk, Parin, Duwan, Kudawara, and Legon became the port of the VOC. Then with the ruler of Pamekasan, namely Raden Aria Dikara was able to give up

several places, including; Tijerik, Padelegang, Warenta, Bunder, Temple, Talang, and Kapung to serve as the harbor for the VOC. Followed by Raden Tumenggung Suradiningrat, the ruler of West Madura covering the districts of Bangkalan, Arosbaya, and Sampang was able to hand over Arosbaya, Bangkalan, Seca, Kwanyar, Bobotong, Sukalila, Baliga, Sampang, Labuang, Banyu Sanka, Klampit, Pankinon, Telago, Biru, and Sukawana to become the harbor of the VOC (Stapel, 1955:413-421).

After the VOC was dissolved in 1799, Madura became part of the colonial state of the Dutch East Indies and the government in Batavia decided to maintain an indirect system of government in the region. In contrast to Java, beginning in the reign of Governor General Herman Willem Daendels in 1808 to 1811, he continued the direct government system, by placing regents to be appointed as indigenous employees in exchange for a salary. The intention was because they wanted to concentrate power in Batavia and could tighten the control of financial administration on the indigenous leaders. As a realization, he abolished the post of governor of the northeast coast of Java and divided the region into five prefectures. Each prefecture is headed by a prefect or resident of European nationality and is given broad powers under the supervision of the governor-general. Each residency is further divided into administrative *afdeeling* areas headed by a resident and an assistant resident. Residents and assistant residents become heads of government as well as police in their respective offices. Under *afdeeling* there are areas *onderafdeeling* or at the sub-district level. In its function as government, resident assistants are assisted by controllers or those who serve as supervisors (Wijnmalen, 2001: 191). Regarding Madura, Daendels did not have time to include an agenda to change it but focused more on the rulers to meet the need for military assistance, so that they were given military rank and received a permanent hierarchical position as local rulers (Stapel, 1943: 197). During Daendels' reign, apart from the intensive recruitment of military personnel, the local authorities acted arbitrarily, so that many residents decided to leave the island of Madura (Kielstra, 1890: 522; Zainalfattah, 1951:75).

II. Research Methods

To know about the policy of bureaucratic and agrarian reorganization in Madura until the end of the nineteenth century carried out using historical methods or historical research methods which can be interpreted as a systematic collection of principles and rules intended to assist effectively in collecting historical source material, in assessing or critically analyzing source content, and presenting a "synthesis" of the results achieved. This method is qualitative in the form of archive and library studies using written sources from the collections of the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia and libraries in the form of archival materials, books, journals, and other printed sources (Garraghan, 1957:33).

Primary and secondary data collection techniques were carried out through research on Archives and library materials by visiting the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (ANRI) Jakarta and various libraries and institutions that store reference books, articles in magazines and newspapers such as the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia in Jakarta and in other libraries. After the search for written materials has been completed, the next step is to select and verify the data and compile it into an article (Iswahyudi, 2020: 800)

III. Results and Discussion

3.1 Traditional Bureaucratic and Agrarian Systems

When the government of the governor General Van den Bosch began to apply a new view, namely that since the end of the Diponegoro war in 1830 and along with the implementation of the forced cultivation system, the role of the regent became very important as a means of supporting the assistance of both power and influence on the people. Van den Bosch revised the policies of his predecessors, Daendels and Raffles in relation to traditional governance. On January 14, 1831, he wrote a letter to members of the Council of the Indies, that for the sake of peace in Java, only the support of the regents, both economic and political interests, would run smoothly (Schrieke, 2015:279). Regarding Madura, the only hope that Van den Bosch believed was to think about changing the pattern of government by imitating Java, so that the centralization of command was handed over to the assistant resident. In addition, he also realized that applying the forced cultivation system, due to the infertile soil conditions on the island of Madura, forced him to shift to the recruitment of the Barisan corps military unit and the supply of salt to be a hopeful option. Related to the importance of the Barisan corps for the defense and security needs of the Dutch East Indies government, the circulation of recruitment became a systematic agenda in Madura. Each member of the Barisan corps during their service is limited to around 38 years of age, so that to maintain stable regeneration is only the growth of population births (Schoute, 1935 : 406-411; Iswahyudi, 2020).

The first hierarchical structure is called the *Lebet* (internal) Government, which in Madura is simpler in form when compared to that in the Mataram kingdom because it only covers a few parts, namely the *gedong negari* parts, the court court, *kapengulon*, and the palace household. . The state *gedong* section has a function as part of the supplies and treasury of the palace. This section is managed by an official *wedana gedong* whose main task is to take care of the income of the *kepanembahan*, the determination of the *percaton* (apanage land), taxes and several other obligations related to the needs of the palace and the finances of the palace.

The part of the court court is that it is a court institution led by a *panembahan* and if the person concerned is unable to do so, his duties and authorities are represented by the governor who is assisted by the *penghulu*. Then the *kapengulon* section includes a religious court led by a *kraton* chief. His main scope of duties and authority is to handle marriage and divorce while also acting as an *imam* at the palace mosque in the capital city. The head of this palace in carrying out his duties is assisted by people called *ketib*, *modin*, and *merbot* (Rothenbuhler, 1881: 21; Pijper, 1987: 79). The *paseban* section is a place to conduct a trial which is directly led by the *panembahan* himself. The trial was held in the high palace on certain days and was attended by dignitaries. This *paseban* is managed by a large *mantri* official who acts as a liaison between the *panembahan* and the *patih* who is assisted by a *kebayan mantri* official.

The second hierarchical structure is the *Jawi* (Outer) government. This external government by the *panembahan* is combined with a more complex government under the authority of the *panembahan* itself. In carrying out its routine tasks, this external government is entrusted to the *patih* so that the *patih* is at the same time trusted by the *panembahan* as the supervisor of the day-to-day running of the government. In carrying out this task, the governor is assisted by four officials (*niaka*) who have positions at the same level as the *demang* position.

The traditional government bureaucratic system in Madura by placing the role of *panembahan* is the same as the sultan in Mataram who is considered to have a central position both politically, socially and culturally and religiously. Social organization like this consists of two complex relations, namely the first is the relationship of production which forms a tribute system that regulates the production process and the distribution of various surpluses. The second complex relationship is the administrative relationship which in this case forms a bureaucratic system that manages the state and village. The two networks meet at the lowest level of social organization, namely the village and the farmers (Kuntowijoyo, 1993: 62; Touwen-Bouwsma, 1981:16).

The government organization in village government is closely intertwined with the dependence of additional life on rural communities. Thus, the production organization and the government organization were united into a single unit whose management was borne by the *klebun*. Based on this, there are three kinds of village arrangements, namely *daleman* village, *percaton* village, and *perdikan* village. To obtain an overview of the three types of village arrangements, it is necessary to briefly mention the arrangements of each type of village.

The village of *daleman*, is a village that becomes an additional power and becomes a source of income. From this village, *Panembahan* has effective ownership rights of one-third of the total agricultural land in *daleman* village, which is known as *obang tandun* after mutual agreement. The remaining two-thirds of the yields are given to the sharecroppers and are subject to a tax of one-third of the two-thirds portion of the harvest obtained by the sharecroppers. This tax is called the division tax (*piakan*) and is collected by the *klebun* who then after the harvest in the form of rice is processed in the form of grain which will then be handed over to the *gedong nagari* officials. The farmers in the *daleman* villages are also required to work one-third of the rice fields belonging to *panembahan* and from the harvest they do they only receive wages of one-sixteenth to one-fifteenth of the share. In addition, from three to five farmers from each anching were exempted from the obligation to pay taxes but were required to submit *dedeg* in the amount of 8 money, which was called *dedeg* money (Scheltema, 1985: 136).

Percaton village, is a village whose land is used as appanage or *lungguh* land. It is stated that this land is the main supporter because it is a source of income for the additional, the families, and the officials when it is added. As is the case with appanage land holders in the Mataram kingdom, the holders of the *percaton* land in Madura, both relatives of the *panembahan* and their officials are also subject to the obligation to pay tribute.

3.2 The Dynamics of the Traditional Agrarian and Bureaucratic System

At the time of the government of the governor General Van den Bosch began to apply a new view, namely that since the end of the Diponegoro war in 1830 and along with the implementation of the forced cultivation system, the role of the regent became very important as a means of supporting the assistance of both power and influence on the people. Van den Bosch revised the policies of his predecessors, Daendels and Raffles in relation to the traditional government of the sons of the earth. On January 14, 1831, he wrote a letter to members of the Council of the Indies, that for the sake of peace in Java, only the support of the regents, both economic and political interests, could proceed smoothly (Schrieke, 2015:279). Regarding Madura, the only hope that Van den Bosch believed was to think about changing the pattern of government by imitating Java, so that the centralization of command was handed over to the assistant resident. In addition, he also realized that applying the forced cultivation system, due to the infertile soil conditions

on the island of Madura, forced him to shift to the recruitment of the Barisan corps military unit and the supply of salt to be a hopeful option (Schoute, 1935 :406-411).

Since the mid-19th century on the part of the Dutch East Indies government, there have been indications to realize a change in the bureaucratic system which was originally patrimonial to be rational. The only thing that can be used as a tool to act, is the existence of the constitutional policy of the Dutch kingdom regarding the management of colonized areas, namely the issuance of the Regeerings Reglement or Government Regulations in 1854. Especially strengthening the position of the regents is article 67, namely maintaining The position of regent is hereditary and article 69, is elected by the governor-general based on the consent of the people (Sutherland, 1983: 42-47). Regarding the election and appointment of the regent in Bangkalan, it was carried out after the return of the government to the Dutch East Indies government from British rule in 1816. The Dutch East Indies government again appointed Sultan Cakradiningrat to be regent in Bangkalan, on condition that he must submit a contingency fee of f. 13,840,- and preparing assistance for the Barisan troops (ANRI, Besluit 11 Djanuari 1839. No. 8).

Based on this decision, it turned out that the sultan still objected to having to sacrifice the loss of investment with customs taxes, so the Dutch government was forced to wait for the sultan's death due to his age and health. The good opportunity used by the Dutch government was to wait for a change in the position of regent which was estimated to be carried out in 1846. In this case the Dutch government deliberately chose a profitable replacement, with reference to the agreement that had been decided previously. Actually, the candidate to replace the regent has been determined since the British rule in 1815, namely appointing Prince Seca Adiningrat as the second son of the second legal wife of Sultan Cakradiningrat. This decision was taken with various considerations, because the eldest son named Pangeran Nata Adiningrat who according to tradition had the right to replace the position of regent suffered from a physical disability. Then Prince Sasra Adiningrat as the eldest son of the legal first wife of Sultan Cakradiningrat in terms of age is not enough.

While waiting for the decision to change the position of regent in Bangkalan which was held in February 1847, it turned out that Sultan Cakradiningrat had already passed away on January 27, 1847, so that for a while before there was a successor the government was taken over by the Resident of Surabaya. On May 16, 1847 Prince Seca Adiningrat was elected regent of Bangkalan to replace his father Sultan Cakradiningrat and received the title Panembahan Cakradiningrat. Then related to his inauguration, he was inaugurated on October 16, 1847 as regent of Bangkalan, by signing the commitment to submit a contingency money each year to the Dutch government in the amount of f. 6.620,-. Compared to his father with the obligation to submit a contingency to the Dutch government of f. 13,840, is as proof of relief in lieu of withdrawal of trade customs taxes in the Bangkalan area which in the past had never been submitted (ANRI, Geheim 27 November 1847, La. K3).

Related to what happened in Pamekasan, was during the reign of the regent of Panembahan Mangku Adiningrat in 1839. In his position as regent, he was bound by the Dutch government because he had to provide troops consisting of infantry and artillery units. In addition, it is also still burdened annually to submit a contingency of f. 5.020,-. In Pamekasan, the Dutch government assigned the natives to become police officers, under the direct supervision of the resident assistant who was in Sumenep. Another task of the Dutch government, is to collect customs taxes on import-export trade, including also to regulate the salt trade in Pamekasan.

In the case of the change of regent in Pamekasan in 1840, the Dutch government succeeded in resolving the intrigue between the regents of Bangkalan, Sumenep and Pamekasan. This incident began when the regent of Pamekasan Panembahan Mangku Adiningrat had already appointed a potential successor, namely his eldest son named Raden Adipati Prawirodiningrat. However, when helping the Dutch government in the Diponegoro war in 1826, he died on the battlefield, so Raden Banjir was appointed as a candidate for his grandfather's successor and was given the title Prince Suria Kusuma. The decision given by the Dutch government was unacceptable to Panembahan Mangku Adingrat because he had previously planned for his own son, Prince Cokro Winoto, to be his successor. This refusal was based on the fact that Prince Surio Kusuma was the grandson of Sultan Sumenep from the maternal line, so that there were concerns for both the Sultan of Bangkalan and Panembahan Pamekasan regarding the influence of the Sultan of Sumenep on the development of his grandson in Pamekasan (ANRI, Geheim Besluit 29 Juni 1840 , la.R2). On March 25, 1842 Panembahan Mangku Adiningrat died, then on December 21, 1842 Prince Surio Kusumo was officially appointed as regent of Pamekasan, with the ability to provide assistance to the troops. In return, the Dutch government freed Prince Surio Kusumo from the obligation to hand over a contingent of f. 5,920 because it was deemed to reimburse recruitment fees (ANRI, Besluit 19 November 1842. No. 6).

Actually, when the Dutch government partnered with Sultan Paku Nataningrat, it really needed to keep it running because of the many benefits that were obtained. Compared to a number of good regents in Java, it seems that Sultan Paku Nataningrat has advantages in various aspects including political intelligence and is supported by mastering European and Arabic languages. In terms of government relations with the Netherlands, Sultan Paku Nataningrat is also obliged to submit a contingency fee of f. 24,320,- and members of the Barisan consisting of infantry, artillery, and cavalry troops. Based on the capabilities of Sultan Paku Nataningrat, the Dutch government was very careful when it came to dealing, even considering his services in helping the war in Sulawesi, so being released did not provide contingency in 1825. An example of the concession granted by the Dutch government to Sultan Paku Nataningrat was when the Sultan submitted a request to grant the title of prince to his four sons, namely Raden Ario Surya Adiputra, Raden Aria Kusuma Adiputra, Raden Aria Suria Amijaya, and Raden Aria Suria Mataram. In addition, he also gave the title of *tumenggung* to the Sultan's grandson, namely Raden Panji Mangku Kusuma who would later serve as governor of Sumenep (ANRI, Besluit 7 May 1843. La. Y1).

3.3 The Colonial Government's Bureaucratic and Agrarian System

With the issuance of the *Regeering Reglement* in 1854, in its development, it was a signal that the indigenous government in this case the regent would be directed to be rational in accompanying the Dutch government. However, indigenous officials with the level of *patih*, *wedana*, and assistant *wedana* remained important and even controlled in their territory, so that they interacted with Dutch officials more highly. The change to a modern bureaucracy was one of the most effective options, so the Dutch government immediately established government courses and even up to government educational institutions in the Dutch East Indies. Such implementation is also not easy and must be carried out gradually and carefully, because the position of regent according to the Dutch government's view remains as the *Volkshoofd* or the true leader of the people. The first educational institution established was the *Groot Ambtenaars* diploma with its place in the Gymnasium Willem III Batavia building in 1860, because it was for high-level government employees so it was only for Dutch people. Then, especially the children of indigenous

leaders and indigenous people who are rich in formations for government educational institutions, namely *Hoofden scholen* which was founded in 1872. On the island of Java Hoofden Schollen was simultaneously established in three cities, namely Bandung, Probolinggo, and Magelang. In its development until 1900 Hoofden Schollen changed its statute to OSVIA (*Opleidings School voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren*) which had the aim of being an educational school for prospective indigenous officials (Kat Angelino, 1909: 82-83).

As evidence that the Dutch government has an interest in the island of Madura to realize a rational bureaucratic system, then based on the letter of the Minister of Colonies dated March 8, 1856 La. No. A/136/K on behalf of the King of the Netherlands, stated that the island of Madura would soon be separated from the residency of Surabaya (ANRI, MGS, August 14, 1856, La. No. A3). After obtaining approval from the Council of the Indies and through the resident of Surabaya, on August 31, 1857 Madura became a separate residency with its capital in Pamekasan (Staatsblad No. 44/6 May 1857. 23; ANRI, Verbaal August 24, 1857. No. 362). Starting from the status of such a high level of bureaucracy, in preparation for reorganizing the bureaucracy with a direct government system in Madura it became something conducive. Before the direct government system was implemented, the Dutch government through the Director of the Ministry of Home Affairs had prepared beforehand the recording or controlling of land registration in the form of fields and fields, especially in the Bangkalan and Sumenep afdeeling areas. Such a model of social organization is called an agro-managerial state, in the sense that the relationship between the state and the people has the same natural resources, namely agricultural land (Kuntowijoyo, 1993: 61).

The enforcement consists of three types, namely land ownership records, land taxes, and land registration. In Bangkalan a panembahan mastered the certificate of ownership of the fields and dry land. However, if the resident who has used the land wants a tax exemption for a period of three years, then the addition must confiscate it first. Thus, if the first cultivator is willing to pay the rent as requested by the panembahan in accordance with the regulations, it will be prioritized to continue working on the land. All rice fields and dry land whose leases are not continued will be returned to the panembahan. Regarding individual property rights, it only applies to dry land, yards, palm tree forests, and fishing ponds. All of this can also be transferred to another party with various terms and habits that apply.

In the Bangkalan area, as in the districts of Kanang, Bilang, Banyuwatep, and Prancak, there has been a change in the decline in the number of cultivators, as a result of land rents being too expensive. This situation has an impact on apanage land holders often taking turns renting out land to residents outside the Bangkalan afdeeling, so it is considered dangerous because residents are unable to pay land rent.

Table 1. Cultivated land in the *Afdeeling* Bangkalan

No.	Village	Cultivated land area (hectare)	Cultivators from within the village (hectare)	Cultivators from outside the village (hectare)
1.	Separtak	135	68	93
2.	Lintang	25	19	5
3.	Balapara	615	290	125
4.	Kwanger	300	140	70
5.	Saras	150	71	50
6.	Darko	84	6	51
7.	Ketapang	166	119	7
8.	Prapat	76	46	7
9.	Takai	36	116	5
10.	Sakabana	37	85	9
11.	Laeran	55	45	7
12.	Bataipo	41	65	2

Source: ANRI, *Rapport Over Bangkallang* 1883

Starting from the table, the number of the first six villages mentioned, namely villages numbered 1 to 6, is included in the villages in *Afdeeling* Bangkalan. Furthermore, the villages from number 7 to 12 are included in the villages in *afdeeling* Sampang. From these figures, it can be concluded that the regulation requiring cultivators to live in the village is more emphasized in the six villages included in the *Sampang afdeeling*, compared to the six villages included in the *Bangkalan afdeeling*. Regarding the distance of the cultivated rice fields from the village where the cultivators live, it is estimated that there are about half to three pals away. Then for dry land, it is determined by a size called *kattako*, which in this case varies in size because it depends on the location, condition and fertility of the soil.

Table 2. Area of Rice fields in *Afdeeling* villages Bangkalan and Sampang (*ancang*)

No.	Village	Amount (<i>ancang</i>)	Amount (<i>bau</i>)
1.	Behan	27,5	31
2.	Ranjat	148	159
3.	Separtak	137	189
4.	Labuan	29	20
5.	Barakeleng	192	184
6.	Dalpenang	13	22,5
7.	Raebaran	1	4,25
8.	Pandian	9	19,25
9.	Rawik	91,5	209,5
10.	Gardiba	14	45

Source: ANRI, *Rapport Over Bangkallang* 1883

From the table above, it is known that five consecutive villages (village number 1 to village number 5) are included in the village located in *afdeeling* Bangkalan, then the next five villages, namely village number 6 to village number 10 are included in the villages in *afdeeling* Sampang. From these data, it can be seen that there are far fewer *ancang* in the *afdeeling* Bangkalan that deviates from the size of the odor compared to those in the *afdeeling* Sampang.

To obtain certainty about the land they work on, they are also required to make a registration payment. Regarding registration, it is not carried out directly by the local authorities who are usually represented by the *patih*, but is carried out by people who are trusted to be in charge. As it is known that this registration is carried out at the house of the *panembahan* or the sultanate starting from the month of *Muharram* until the next month of *Muharram* or one year of Javanese calculation. This registration contains a list of the names of both the renter and the lessor, including the land area, soil type, soil condition, harvest time, and the price of the harvest. As a follow-up to the minimal number of parties who carried out this registration, on March 23, 1875 the *Panembahan* party ordered and authorized the *ronggo* officials in Sampang to carry out the registration en masse and by coercion if the tenants and those who rented out the land were not willing to register. then it will be sanctioned not allowed to work on the land and must pay a fine because it is considered debt.

The implementation of land control in Madura is not easy because some of them are also rented out to Chinese people, so that land users reach third parties even more complicated when the land is still being transferred as collateral, other of which are debts. Based on this, the *Panembahan* party gave a too long time limit, namely until November 1884, while the Dutch Resident gave a deadline until November 1885.

Table 3. Upland land and the number of Panembahan villages

Year	Amount of rented land	Amount of villages	Amount of anching	Rental price
1878	73	73	1142	10.487
1879	90	90	1168	12.832
1880	78	78	1439	11.832
1881	107	107	1833	18.275
1882	98	98	1575	11.615
1883	82	82	1422	15.135

Source: ANRI, *Rapport Over Bangkallang 1883*

Table 4. Rice fields in the *Kepanembahan* area

Year	Amount of rented land	Rice field (anching)	Rental price
1878	750	2340	24.478
1879	799	2554	25.839
1880	799	2446	29.671
1881	839	2692	26.338
1882	860	2876	30.381
1883	444	1624	18.224

Source: ANRI, *Rapport Over Bangkallang 1883*

Starting from the two tables, based on the number of rice fields in *Afdeeling* Bangkalan there are 650 villages and 46,600 *anching* rice fields, so that by 1884 there had been registrations of one-seventh of all villages and one-tenth of all *anching* rice fields. Then in 1885 the number of villages and paddy fields that had been registered increased to six-sevenths of the total villages and nine-tenths of the total anching rice fields (ANRI, *Rapport over Bangkallang 1883*).

The first direct government to be implemented in Madura was in Pamekasan in 1858. At that time, Prince Aria Suriakusuma was the beneficiary. According to the Dutch government's assessment, he was considered incompetent and accused of corruption

because in 1852 and 1853 he had not paid contingency payments, so his position was deposed and replaced by a resident assistant with the help of a *patih* (ANRI, Staatsblad No. 54/1858). With these changes, a number of indigenous personnel are retained, but do not have special privileges of a traditional nature. In addition, by being under the direct government of the Dutch East Indies, all ranks of the bureaucracy were paid in cash (ANRI, Staatsblad No. 54/1858).

The reorganization of the bureaucracy in Sumenep, the Dutch government deliberately postponed waiting for the right situation, because it avoided the risk by still being loyal to Panembahan Sumenep. Starting in 1854 Sultan Abdurrachman died, resulting in a change of power that fell to his son, Prince Noto Kusumo. The Dutch government at that time also did not dare to carry out a reorganization, but could approach Sultan Abdurrachman. At that time the Dutch government began to take over the *kepatihan* office (*rijksbestierder*) as a multipurpose building for the benefit of the government. It is suspected that this infrastructure facility was taken because the Dutch deliberately controlled the courts, so it was necessary to appoint new positions, namely chief prosecutor and assistant prosecutor. Then all the personnel began to be replaced with salaries and were given the title *tumenggung* which at that time was a special honor (ANRI, Exhibitum 23 September 1864. No. 553).

The opportunity for the Dutch government to immediately organize a reorganization of the bureaucracy was possible to be granted, because in 1873 Panembahan Noto Kusumo was seriously ill. At first there was a difference of opinion between the Madurese and former residents regarding the timing, the Governor-General was neutral and only accepted complaints to be submitted to the Minister for Colonial Affairs. After Panembahan Noto Kusumo died on May 26, 1879, the implementation of reorganizing the bureaucracy in Sumenep was approved by the Minister for Colonial Affairs. The Dutch government appointed Prince Ario Mangku Adiningrat as regent in Sumenep in 1881, but on the condition that the tradition was not allowed, because he was only a Dutch employee (ANRI, Besluit Gouverneur Generaal, 22 Oktober 1881. No. 1. Geheim).

At the same time, the highest government in The Hague, the Netherlands, determined that Sumenep and Bangkalan were under direct control of the Dutch East Indies government. With the Governor General's Decree dated October 18, 1883. No. 8, the kingdom of Sumenep was abolished (ANRI, Staatsblad. No. 242. 1883. Verbaal December 19, 1883. No. 54). Starting November 1, 1883, when the new administration added offices, all tribute institutions were revoked except for the *perdikan* villages and the *percaton* for the ranks and *kliwon*. Land taxes are permitted and their arrangements are handled by government controllers. Indigenous personnel in the new administration were all paid cash, with monetary compensation in exchange for loss of privileges (Ranneft, 1974: 63-64).

Compared to other Madura *afdeeling* areas, the Dutch government in reorganizing the bureaucracy in Bangkalan, was deliberately late. In 1861 there was a conflict, because the *patih* Ario Noto Adinegoro was accused of corruption of apanage rent by Prince Adinegoro, so the Dutch government sided with the *patih* to neutralize the case. A good opportunity to reorganize the bureaucracy in Bangkalan, was when Panembahan Cakra Adiningrat died in 1863. His successor was Prince Suryonegoro and later the title Prince Cakra Adiningrat (Massink, 1880: 15). Panembahan Bangkalan died in 1882, and had no children so that his successor was Prince Suryonegoro and the title Prince Cakra Adiningrat. With the death of Panembahan, the Dutch were able to control Bangkalan and take it under the direct control of the Dutch government. In the meeting it was explained that the Bangkalan kingdom was abolished on November 1, 1885 and the two districts were separated. Sampang and Bangkalan will be formed (Kuntowijoyo, 2002:175-176).

IV. Conclusion

The success of the Dutch government in reorganizing the bureaucracy and agrarian affairs in Madura by dividing it into four districts, namely Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep is a short-term strategy. Along with the realization of the *beambtenstaat* concept, the division of the region still entrusts the regent as the administrator of the government. Slowly but surely the change towards a rational bureaucracy was successfully carried out, so that in its development the position of regent had to fulfill the educational requirements of pangreh praja at the same level as the *Opleiding School Voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren* (OSVIA). The agrarian reorganization policy aims to obtain certainty over the lands being worked on by the farmers. To do this, at first the colonial government held a registration of the resident's land. This registration is not carried out directly by the local authorities who are usually represented by the patih, but is carried out by people who are trusted by the *Kepanembahan*.

In 1875, information was obtained from the resident, that the practice of leasing villages and rice fields without being accompanied by registration was considered an illegal act and it was considered a debt. To overcome this, it is very urgent to conduct socialization to know quickly and continuously, so that all parties, both as tenants and renters, must know and understand the importance of registering. There is an impression that the tenants and those who lease the land do not register regularly from year to year because they already feel certain that the land they are working on is not going to be a problem.

The direct government system in Madura was not a long-term goal in the view of the central government in the Netherlands, so that the Staatsblad 1905 No. 181 is that as a Decentralization Law, with the formation of *locale raden* or local councils, local tasks can be resolved. The luck of the Dutch government in Madura in placing the original *Bupati's* role to help defend the criticism of the national movement as happened on the island of Java did not work in Madura. The policy applied to educate indigenous people in realizing rational bureaucratic standards is a guardianship system or coaching with strict supervision, because it is also difficult to obtain resources that are ideally conditional in accordance with education. The pilot in the online voting policy in Madura was the establishment of district councils in 1918.

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