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Patriotism in Kampak Patik Protests in Ponorogo 1885

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Abstrak

Ketidakpuasan terhadap kebijakan penguasa seringkali menimbulkan protes dari rakyat. Kejadian itu juga terjadi di Ponorogo pada zaman pendudukan Belanda tahun 1885. Rakyat protes dengan cara menjarah gudang kopi Kontrolleur Belanda akibat kebijakan Tanam Paksa dan pengetatan pajak. Aksi itu dikenal dengan sebutan Kampak Patik atau Perampokan Patik. Stigma negatif ini sengaja disebarluaskan oleh pihak Kontrolleur Belanda agar terkesan sebagai perilaku kriminal yang melawan hukum. Tulisan ini merupakan usaha pembelaan historis dengan cara mengkaji nilai patriotisme dan kepahlawanan dalam peristiwa Kampak Patik. Penulis menggunakan tiga langkah penelitian, yaitu mengungkap latar belakang peristiwa, dilanjutkan peristiwa aksi, dan solusi akhir dari aksi

tersebut berupa nilai-nilai patriotisme. Pendekatan yang digunakan adalah sosio-historis dengan sumber data dokumen lokal (babad), buku dan data sejarah lisan. Tulisan ini menyimpulkan bahwa pertama, kebijakan Belanda tanam paksa dan pengetatan pajak telah memiskinkan warga perkebunan. Kedua, aksi protes itu dilakukan oleh pemuka masyarakat, di antaranya adalah patih kabupaten Ponorogo, *lurah*, *carik*, perangkat desa dan anggota masyarakat desa Patik. Ketiga, terdapat nilai Patriotisme, yaitu pembelaan terhadap rakyat kecil, perjuangan tanpa pamrih, pengorbanan dan sifat kekesatriaan. Keempat, protest Kampak Patik berdampak positif berupa naiknya komoditas kopi dan penurunan pajak.

Kata Kunci: Kampak patik, Ponorogo, patriotisme, sejarah sosial

Abstract

Dissatisfaction with the policies often leads to protests from the people. It also took place in Ponorogo during the Dutch colonialization in 1885. Indonesian people protested by looting the Dutch Kontroleur Coffee warehouse due to the policy of forced planting and tax tightening. The action is known as Kampak Patik or Patik Robbery. The Dutch Kontroleur deliberately disseminated this negative stigma to impress as criminal behavior against the law. This paper conducts historical defense attempts by examining the value of Patriotism and heroism in the Kampak Patik event. The researchers use three stages of research, namely revealing the background of events, the action events, and the final solution of the action in the form of patriotism values. The approach of this paper is socio-historical with local document data sources (babad), books, and historical data. This paper concludes *first*, the Dutch policy of forced cultivation and tax tightening had impoverished the citizens in plantations area. *Second*, the protest was carried out by community leaders, including patih Ponorogo regency, *lurah*, *carik*, village staff, and members of Patik village community. *Third*, there is the value of patriotism, namely the defense of the small people, selfless struggle, sacrifice, and the nature of chivalry. Forth, the Kampak Patik protest had a positive impact on rising coffee commodities and tax reductions.

Keywords: Kampak Patik, Ponorogo, patriotism, social history

Introduction

From the end of the XVIII century to the middle of the XIX century, the Netherlands experienced economic bankruptcy due to political crises in Europe. It also exacerbated by the Java War (Diponegoro War) and the Paderi War in Sumatra. The Java War occurred from 1825 to 1830 (Carey, 2012). Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies (Dutch colony consisting of what is now Indonesia) Johannes van den Bosch took the *cultuurstelsel* policy or cultivation system in the colony to overcome economic deviation. Plants were focused on the exploitation of export crops of high economic value. The policy of *cultuurstelsel* gained great success. Between 1831-1871, Batavia (capital city of East Indies) reached an independent economy and generated a net profit of 823 million guilders for cash sent to the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Even in the

1860s, forced cultivation could supply 72% of the Kingdom's revenue sourced from *Oost Indische* (Dutch East Indies) (Shiraishi's, 1997: 12-13). The condition was reversed from what the people of the colony experienced. Cultivation system was extortion, repression, and crisis: multidimensional crises ranging from economic and socio-political to self-confidence. At the end of the XIX century, Dutch relations with the people, especially in Java Island, experienced the most severe escalation of social system relations.

According to Karl Marx and Ralf Dahrendorf, social changes can be formed from conflict. The social conflict stems primarily from class conflict between the ruling group and the oppressed society, generating a social change that can change the social system (Poloma, 2000: 131). This theory can describe the escalation of crises that led to protests and rebellions in colonial societies. Its form can be criminality, delinquency, violent robbery, persecution, and even killing of the Dutch who became plantation administrators (Shiraishi's, 1997: 22-23). Theft, burning, and land grab cases occurred in Java from the west end to the east end, starting from Batavia, Surakarta, Probolinggo, etc around sugarcane plantations, coffee plantations, and tea gardens. Those cases, according to Suhartono W. Pranoto, were better known as rural bandits (Pranoto, 2010). A higher form of protest was a collective protest. The protest had two forms. *First* was *nggogol*, which is a type of protest considered legitimate by the state. The farmers protested in the district and complained about various things, such as heavy forced labor, low wages, or repressive behavior of foremen. If the regent did not listen, then *nggogol* could be done in front of a higher apparatus, namely the royal path. *Second* was *mogok*, which was an effort to collectively refuse to do mandatory work, for both the state and the plantation. The second protest was considered invalid because it violated the rules stated in the *pranatan* (Shiraishi's, 1997: 23).

Besides both protest models, there are still other types of conflict potential, namely resistance and rebellion. The Dutch feared this type because it could develop into a rebellion that brought economic, political, and loss of life. One of the examples was the peasant uprising in Banten in 1888 (Kartodirdjo, 1984). The protest took place at the Ponorogo coffee plantation, precisely in Patik village, Pulung. It is about 25 km to the east from the city center of Ponorogo Regency in 1885 AD, in the era of regent RMAA Tjokronegoro II. The event began with a protest of farmers at a coffee plantation in Sugihan, Pulung due to high taxes and low prices of coffee commodities in coffee factory collectors. It was provoked by the violent and

oppressive repression of foremen. Finally, there was a collective action of strikes, tax-paying strikes, and riots called the Kampak Patik event. This event caused losses for the colonial side by the looting of warehouse contents, burning of control houses, and simultaneous strikes.

The colonial side gave a negative stigma to the people who protested by calling them criminal perpetrators, namely Kampak Patik which means Patik Robbers. Stigmatization was to minimize the meaning of the struggle of the Patik people, only limited to criminality and treason, not a struggle that deserves to be proud. This article reveals clearly and correctly the events of Kampak Patik as a struggle of the people who were full of the spirit of patriotism. This paper uses the framework of three stages of events. First, the reconstruction of events related to the background of social conditions, economy, and culture of society, related to the policy of the Dutch government in 1885. Second, the actor of the events involved, whether the criminals or the honorable. Third, the values promoted by the actors at the protest in Patik village, Pulung, Ponorogo in 1885.

Method

This research uses historical research methods, following Luis Gottschalk's theory which consists of four stages: (1) selection of themes; (2) heuristic (gathering sources); (3) criticism of the text (the use of some sources to test its validity); and (4) the choreography (credible picking of the elements) from those sources to be assembled in historical writings (Gottschalk, 1984). The data sources that are the object of this research divided into primary and secondary data sources. The primary source is *Babad Ponorogo*, volume 6 B written by Poerwowijoyo. The book is initially written in Javanese, and later translated into Indonesian. Authors also use *The Thugs*, *The Curtain Thief*, and *The Sugar Lord* by Onghokham as primary data. The secondary sources are supporting data sources, including Patik people's memory, or in folklore such as *ketoprak* and *ludruk* which usually still stores memory about an event in the lower society and community documents.

Literature Review

Denis Lombard (Lombard, 2000: 159) supported by Agus Budi Purwanto's research wrote *Kausalitas Gerakan Samin*. The rebellion in Ponorogo, Banten (Kartodirdjo, 1984) and Samin Blora had high and equivalent historical value. He wrote about the Patik event that at the end of November

1885, a controller in Pulung, Karesidenan Madiun, was saved from the raging period, and his house was destroyed. The government had raised the land tax by 10 percent and would rise again for years afterward. The villagers were angry and then complained to *carik* or the secretary of Patik village. Subsequently, the villagers appointed *carik* as Ratu Adil with the title “Prince Lelono”. This statement showed that *Kampak Patik* has heroism, struggle, and Indonesian values that could be equated with the resistance movement against colonialism in other areas that are equivalent to social protests such as the Muslim protest in Banten and the Samin protest in Blora.

There are two history books about *Kampak Patik*. First was written by Poerwowijoyo, under the title *Babad Ponorogo* volume 6 B. The book was written in Javanese and then translated into Indonesian. It is found in the *Babad Ponorogo* group and is expressly written under the title “Pemberontak *Kampak Patik Pulung*”, described in 16 pages (Poerwowijoyo, 1985). This book consists of interviews with people who are considered to know the story of the Patik event so that more come from oral history. This book is essential as a reference related to data from the community, memory of the Patik people, and institutions found at the grassroots level. The evidences in this book are the underneath data that becomes the people’s memory.

Second, *The Thugs, The Curtain Thief, and The Sugar Lord* by Onghokham. There is a subtitle *A Tax-Payer’s Revolt from Patik - Aspect of Nineteenth-Century Rural Politics in Java*, as many as 32 pages discuss the Patik event (Poerwowijoyo, 1985). Onghokham took data from Dutch resident reports stored in archives and literature. These data are important because related to the ruler and valid data from the government. With the view of the upper class and the stakeholders of the ruler, in the data, there is a stigmatization of Patik events as ordinary treason acts.

Onghokham’s latest publication in 2018 entitled *Madiun dalam Kemelut Sejarah: Priyayi dan Petani di Karesidenan Madiun Abad XIX* published by Gramedia (Onghokham, 2003). This book is a translation of his dissertation entitled *The Residency of Madiun, Priyai, and Peasant in the Nineteenth Century*, which was defended at Yale University in 1975. This dissertation also alludes to the events of the Patik rebellion at a glance. The study refers to both primary sources by enriching information through interviews with people who have a social memory of the event. Thus, the study used data from colonial and grassroots perspectives in a balanced and comprehensive manner.

Ahmad Choirul Rofiq wrote the *Patriotism of the Ponorogo People*. Some of his descriptions examined Kampak Patik and attributed it to the spirit of struggle of the contemporary Ponorogo community (Rofiq, 2016: 135-157). The research sought to make past events a role model for the young generation. His analysis used diachronic socio-history and had not involved the current memory obtained from interviews.

Kampak Patik Event

Kampak Patik's events are retold based on the chronology of events in Poerwowidjojo's manuscript "Babad Ponorogo" and Ongokham's *The Thugs, The Curtain Thief and The Sugar Lord*. In the series of historical events, the Kampak Patik movement obtained the following storyline:

The first stage, since the first half of the 19th century, a policy had been established by the colonial government for the maximum possible exploitation of the production of the native people. It aimed to pursue the highest profit to fill the void of the treasury of the Netherlands as a result of the European and the Java war. This policy was in the form of *cultuurstelsel* and tax withdrawal as much as possible. The implementation of this policy did not always run smoothly for a coffee plantation in Patik, Pulung, Ponorogo. This policy made farmers experience poverty and oppression. It caused by the produce that they planted had to be sold to the Dutch at very cheap prices below the market price. The farmers did not receive any profit margins, even still coupled with colossal tax levies. This policy made people whose land was wide become poor. They even could not wear pants since the money was used to pay very high taxes. Society was increasingly oppressed because of the behavior of tax collectors who used violence, coercion, torture, and punishment.

In the second stage, motivated by the above conditions (impoverishment and oppression), the residents of the coffee plantation of Patik village held a movement of "People's resistance" designed to kill the controllers and the Dutch in the Pulung region in particular and Ponorogo in general. It also looted the warehouse owned by the occupiers to be distributed to the people. The movement was supported by Patih Jilitheng (the older brother of the regent of Ponorogo) by giving them heirloom *piandel* (magical power) in the form of a spear of the regency family heritage. They appointed carik Raden Martorejo (descendant of Tegalsari) as Joko Lelono and decided to immediately move and take action in September 1885 (Saroso, 2020).

In the third stage, the action took place in October 1885 calculated a month retreated from the plan to finalize preparations. The action began by deploying 100 people to visit the controller's house. The goal was to kill the controller, but the house and archives were burned because the man did not show up. Then they broke down the factory door and asked all farmers to loot its contents and distributed them to all residents.

The next day, they attacked the *kawedanan* office blatantly during the day and hit the *bende* (announcement sign) for citizens to watch their movements while looting and burning the office. They told *kanjeng wedana* to step aside because its *wedana* was Javanese named Raden Sastrorejo and his clerk was Raden Wiryodiguno. After that, the movement was divided in two, some of which led Ponorogo to surround the house of the Dutch assistant, while the other part moved towards the Dutch-owned warehouse in Balong region, south of Ponorogo. The fourth stage, is the end of the action itself. The group that was pounding the city of Ponorogo was quickly extinguished by police and district soldiers who had been patrolling and guarding the border leading to the city. While the rest of the movement led by Joko Lelono headed to Balong and faced with a strategy by three people from the Tegalsari descendant's family (Raden Mas Joyohadikusumo (*Wedana* Balong), the Head of Bekel Karanggebang village Raden Martodipuro and the Head of Balong religious affairs office, they trapped *kampak* perpetrators who walked at night by intercepting them in a stall in Bajang Kidul village or west of Ngasinan. They were not intercepted by the troops but stopped off in the stall to be treated to coffee and snacks. The meals served had been mixed with powder of dried *genje* leaves. After they drank, they all felt drunk and sedated, then *Wedana* Balong's troops captured the group and transported it to Ponorogo district prison. When the members of the *kampak* woke up, they found themselves in prison. This is the end of the story of the *Kampak Patik* movement.

The fifth stage, the results of *Kampak Patik* investigation concluded that the movement involved Patih Jliteng because the spear was on them. The incident was carried out by important figures of the village: *lurah* Wiryodikromo and *carik* Raden Martorejo, not carried out by criminals. As a result, they were sentenced to different burdens. The punishment for Raden Mas Martoredjo (Joko Lelono) was moved forever to Sawahlunto West Sumatera, *lurah* Wiryodikromo was sentenced to 29 years, three people were sentenced to 10 years, and the rest who were considered only followers were released by mandatory reporting to the local police.

Actors Involved in the *Kampak Patik*

The case of *Kampak Patik*, if examined correctly, turns out to involve the elite figures of Ponorogo. Moreover, they all come from the descendants of Tegalsari Islamic boarding house: *Kyai* Muhammad Besari and *Kyai* Kasan Besari. Besides, it involved village figures, namely *lurah* and *carik*, also involved regency figures: Patih Jliteng, whose real name was Ibn Hasan.

Ibn Hasan Cokrodipuro (Patih Jliteng)

A pedigree of Ibn Hasan can be traced from his ancestor, *Kangjeng Kyai* Kasan Besari Tegalsari (1799–1862), who had 7 wives and 16 children. The seven wives were: 1) The daughter of *Kyai* Tuban (a sister of *Penguhulu* Kalangbret, Tulungagung), had 3 children; 2) Daughter of R.Ng. Prawiropuro (Nglorog, Pacitan), had 2 children; 3) The daughter of *Demang* Gayuhan, Pacitan, had 1 child; 4) R.Aj. Moertosijah (the daughter of King of Surakarta Paku Buwana VI), had 6 children; 5) Nyai Rasinah, Tegalsari, had 1 child; 6) Nyai M.Aj. Demang, Tegalsari, had 3 children; and 7) the widow of R.T. Jagakarya (Regent of Pacitan, some said from Ngayogyakarta), did not give birth.

The marriage of *Kyai* Kasan Besari with his 4th wife, R.Aj. Moertosijah, gave birth:

1. R.M. Martopoero (*Wedono* Maospati, Magetan).
2. R.Aj. Saribanun, wife of *Kyai* Kasan Ripangi, Karanggebang.
3. R.Aj. Martoredjo, Coper.
4. R.M. Koesen (Lantjoer)/ R.M.T. Tjokronegoro (Regent of Ponorogo).
5. R.M. Bawadi (died in infancy).
6. R.Aj. Andawiyah (Salamah).

R.M. Koesen, *Kyai* Kasan Besari's fourth child, was the regent of Ponorogo who had the title R.M.T. Tjokronegoro and was known as Gusti Lider. From the Dutch government, he received the gift of *Gouvernement Star Goud Ster Order Van Orange Nasau Koninklyke Nederlansche Leger* (G.G.St.O.ON.K.N.L). From the Palace, he got a golden umbrella gift (Poerwowidjojo, 1985). The name Gusti Lider or Gusti Sepuh came from the community. He had four wives and 21 children. He died on March 20, 1900 and was buried behind the Kauman Ponorogo mosque in the Purnomosari Cemetery area in honor of his glory.

The eldest son of the Regent of Tjokronagoro I was Raden Mas Ibn Hasan. He was supposed to serve as regent in his father's place. He was known as Patih Jlitheng for serving as Patih. Patih Jlitheng was close to the people, all the people's problems are considered. He was close to the farmers, and doing farming. Due to his closeness to the people, his attitude was critical to the Dutch government, and that what prevented him from becoming regent in place of his father. At the time of the protest agreement in Patik, he became the intellectual actor, even giving spear heirlooms for Patik fighters to carry as a magical force.

Carik Raden Martoredjo

Carik Martoredjo was actually had a *Raden* title. The title showed that he was a *trah ing kusumo rembesing madu wijining atopo tedhake andana warih*, meaning it was still a noble descendant. When traced the genealogy path of Raden Martoredjo, he was a son of Raden Ayu Martoredjo I of Coper (Saroso, 2020). She was the daughter of RA. Moertosiyah fourth wife Kyai Kasan Besari Tegalsari from solo princess track. She was still the nephew of Gusti Lider, or cousin of the regent RMT Cokronegoro II and Patih Jlitheng's cousin.

Therefore, Gusti Wedono Balong and Bekel Karanggebang was Carik Martoredjo's relatives. They agreed not to be handled him with violence but in a subtle way, *ora buthek banyune nanging kena iwake*, like when catching fish how to catch it by not murky water but get fish. Raden Martoredjo was sentenced to life and banished to Sawahlunto West Sumatera. However, because he was a descendant of Tegalsari and was still a great-grandson of the *Kanjeng Susuhunan Pakubuwana VI*, the Dutch Government pardoned him by returning to his village in Patik, Pulung, until his death.

Village Figures

Other figures involved in Kampak Patik activities included: *lurah* Wiryodikromo, *kamituwa gani*, *samat and gunaji* (Pulung, 2020). The story of their struggle was after the arrest of actor Patik, so far there was no clear information. Only *lurah* was eventually punished, as mentioned in the chronological events above.

The Patriotism Values in the Kampak Patik

Defending People's Suffering Against Tyranny

The protests started from a conversation between village officials and farmers of Patik in responding to plantation controller's policies that impoverish and oppress the people in cases of forced cultivation, falling coffee prices, and taxes that suppress the people. Their agreement unanimously wanted to free the people from such oppression.

The society formed movements that were protesting in order to defend and uphold justice. Then, after careful review, it was proven that in the plantation administration records found the mark up of tax levies by a conspiracy of plantation controllers and foremen. The tax collectors who should have taken 6% proved to be raised to reach 16% so it is very burdensome for the people. After the events of Kampak Patik, the colonial government revised the number of coffee tax levies in Patik and surrounding areas more rationally.

Selfless Sincerity (not personal interests)

The Kampak Patik movement did not target the general public in carrying out the activities. Still, only officials related to the implementation of coffee garden activities and the results of *Kampak* were distributed to the people (Samto, 2020). They sincerely fought with no personal selflessness. Patih Jilitheng advised that this event did not damage the property rights of citizens, did not interfere with the natives, and wherever possible, did not cause murder except to the Dutch Controller who had been the target of public anger for his inhumane actions.

Knighthood (dare to be blatant)

Kampak Patik was carried out by people who had magic power and a high *kanuragan* ability (*warokan*) because only elite people with high ability of self-defense and mysticism were willing to participate in the protest. In fact, among them there are sharp immune weapons and rifle bullets (Pulung, 2020). Besides Patik residents, it was evident when investigating the perpetrators after their arrest at the Genje stall, there were from far-reaching areas: Banyuwangi, Surabaya, Jombang where they have still had family relationships and close relatives with *Kampak* Patik figures. According to Mbah Sobikan, the

political spirit was more visible in that event, where jealousy and the desire to kill the Regent became the main goal of the Kampak Patik event (Sobikan, 2020). Kampak Patik actors did not always act at night. They attacked *kawedanan* Pulung's office at noon around 9:00 a.m. They began with *bende* and *gong* were raised repeatedly for the community to gather, and it was broadcast that they demanded people's rights and exemption from taxes. They told Kanjeng Wedana not to hinder them because they would be challenged to a knightly duel if they were blocked, and there could be bloodshed. But they didn't want bloodshed among the natives. They just wanted the Dutch who oppressed the people. This open and forthright attitude to defending the people can be interpreted as chivalry.

Public Resistance to Colonialism

The main issue of the conspiracy was social justice. Plantation communities in Patik village feel heavy a burden on two plantation policies carried out by the government, namely *cultuurstelsel* (forced planting), and *land rent system* (land rent tax). The landing system had been formulated by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles in the early 1800s when he was governor-general of England (Ng, 2018). The policy was based on the reason that the colony belonged to the state (Weber, 2019). Anyone who controlled or cultivated it must pay certain taxes as rent on the land. If the people did not have property, they must pay with produces such as rice, wheat, etc. Even the local rulers were also considered to be renting to the invaders. The policy continued to be imposed until the country was handed over again to the Netherlands through an agreement. The next policy, namely *cultuurstelsel* or forced planting. This policy had been established since 1830 the time of Governor Van den Bosch. This policy was taken to meet export commodities which results were tremendous to meet the state treasury (Fahmi, 2020). Among these export goods were teak wood, coffee, tea, sugar, sugar cane and the like. Both of these policies are also applied on Patik village plantations. So that, the opportunities to improve personal wealth become narrow. Furthermore, communities were burdened with taxes and impoverished by forced cultivation. It was exacerbated by the pressure of controllers and billing foreman, giving rise to social protests.

The village leaders were concerned about the condition, so discussions were held between village officials attended by district leaders, namely Patih Jlitheng. Eventually, the spirit of protest increased to the point of assault and looting. According to Karl Marx, this condition often occurred as a result of the

inequality of the social system (Javed MIA, 2017). So, that dissatisfaction gave birth to movements, both social protests and rebellions. The people feel called to defend the weak people. Although its form turned into “violence”, it was essentially an attempt at the struggle of social revolution produced by the values of defense and patriotism.

The tax and coffee price problem finally received special attention from the central government. The Governor-General of Batavia sent a special investigation into the people’s demand. This is important because it is concerned with the main state income which was then a pillar of economic support of the economic government. Coffee plantations were an expensive export commodity in the European market, so all things led to disruption of the exploitation of plantation areas became a significant problem for the State. It proved that tax withdrawals in the Pulung experienced a very significant increase. From the supposed 6.1%, in the field has risen to 16%, then the policy was reset on the withdrawal of taxes and prices of coffee commodities not to burden the people too much. Although the fall still felt heavy for the people, it was lighter when compared to previous policies. The citizens respect the Kampak Patik event as a struggle, sacrifice, courage, and knighthood carried out by their ancestors who deserve respect and traced to be recorded using gold ink in their hearts as an attitude of “patriotism and heroism”.

Conclusion

Based on the results of theory in research and referring to the issues raised in this article, it can be concluded that the Dutch government’s policy in the plantation area of Patik village of Pulung subdistrict Ponorogo had caused poverty for farmers, and triggering the birth of protests. *First*, the policy is forced planting and monopoly of crop prices that harm farmers. *Second*, the tax is above the fairness and ability of the people. *Third*, it embraces the repressive and oppressive tax pullers.

Kampak Patik movement has heroism value for some reasons. *First*, Kampak Patik defended the small people due to conflict with the ruler. *Second*, although looting property in the warehouse, the loot was distributed to the people that the Dutch harmed. *Third*, it will be led by elite figures of power who were honorable people, making it impossible to aim criminally. *Fourth*, it left a spirit of patriotism for the citizens of Patik, Pulung, and Ponorogo.

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