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### THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT IN THE SUNDANESE LAND (1800-1942)

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#### ABSTRACT

Historically a monumental and strategic region, the Sundanese Land was home to Banten, Batavia, Priangan, and Cirebon, cities which played important roles during the Dutch Indies colonial rule (1800-1942). To develop the Sundanese Land, infrastructure that suited the condition and functional needs of each city had to be constructed. Infrastructure could not have been developed without taking into account the natural environment in which it was to be placed. It is therefore important to describe the geographical and ecological condition of the Sundanese Land. Geographical and ecological conditions had their effects on the socio-economic life of the Sundanese people. It is thus equally important to elaborate on the socio-economic background of the Sundanese people and how it related to the development of infrastructure in the Sundanese Land during the colonial period.

#### INTRODUCTION

The term "Tatar Sunda" (the Sundanese Land) or Pasundan Land refers to a vast region in the western part of Java. Tatar Sunda stretches from Ujung Kulon in the westernmost part of the island to Cipamali River in Brebes. Etymologically, the phrase 'Tatar Sunda' consists of two words, namely 'tatar', meaning region, and 'Sunda', meaning the ethnic group who live in the region. The word 'Sunda' itself also means good, decent, white, and bright. The word 'Sunda' represents anything that embodies goodness. The Sundanese people therefore are believed to be endowed with the ethos, character, and disposition that reflect *Kasundaan* (Sundaneness) as a way

toward virtue in life. The traits that characterize Sundanese are known as *cageur* (healthy), *bageur* (kind), *bener* (true), *singer* (skilful, adept), and *pinter* (smart, clever, intelligent) (Ekadjati, 2009: 5).

Tatar Sunda played a very monumental and strategic role in history. Banten was city where the Dutch first set their feet under the command of Cornelis de Houtman in 1596. Their arrival marked the first wave of the Dutch expedition, which peaked in the establishment of *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) on 20 March 1602 with Batavia as the location of its headquarters. VOC became a trade 'empire' with special rights (Octrooi), giving it privileges to act as if it were a sovereign state. The power and operations of the organization expanded globally to Cape Town in South Africa, Persia, Bengal, Ceylon, Malacca, Siam, the Nusantara Archipelago, Canton, Formosa, and Dejima (Deshima). VOC became the wealthiest trading company during its heyday. Since the official appointment of Batavia as the capital of the Dutch Indies, the city also began to serve as the center of the colonial administration. As for Priangan, especially Bandung City, it was being prepared to replace Batavia as the center of the colonial administration. In 1946, the Dutch Indies decided to move its center of administration to Bandung. The decision to move the capital was triggered among others by health reason.

During the Dutch colonial period, various infrastructures, including roads, bridges, ports, land transport terminals, airports, water channels, dams, sanitation system, schools, hospitals, jails, communication facilities, and power plants, were developed in Tatar Sunda. It is interesting to explore the socio-economic background of the infrastructure development in Tatar Sunda during the Dutch colonial period.

## **DISCUSSION**

### ***Geographical and Ecological Profile***

According to a 19<sup>th</sup>-century colonial report, Banten as the westernmost part of Tatar Sunda had a total area of about 114 square miles. South Banten was a mountainous area which was mostly covered by forests (Kartodirdjo, 1984: 55). In *Kaartcollectie Buitenland Leupe* several names of mounts (*bergen*) in Banten were mentioned, including Poelosarie, Balie, Tjoudong, Pasjeer Tepien, Padang, Aseppan, Doepang, Sangiang Tong, Djoudjieng, Soemboel, Manok, Kentjana, dan Salak. The document mentioned Mt. Poelosarie (Pulosari) in Pandeglang as a volcano (*vulkaan*) (Nationaal Archief, 4.VELH, 426F). Most of the area of north Banten had been cultivated. The ricefield area in the lowlands of north Banten had an irrigation system (Kartodirdjo, 1984: 53-55, 95). Ecologically, the ricefields in Banten could be divided into four categories. The first was irrigated ricefields on the left bank of Ciujung primary channel. The land had been cleared for ricefield by the Dutch. The second was ricefields independently irrigated by the people. The third was rainfed ricefields. The fourth was swamp ricefields (ANRI, 1980: 3). The coastal area was an estuary where rivers ended, carrying sediments from the higher interior areas. The heavy mud sedimentation on the coastal area caused

the coastline to shift further toward the sea. The soil in the coastal area was not very fertile, which explained the fact that only a small part of the area was used for rice cultivation. Much of the land in the area was used for brackish water ponds or for cultivating secondary crops (*palawija*) and coconut trees (Michrob and Chudari, 1993: 19-20).

Tatar Sunda also included Batavia, the center of the Dutch Indies colonial administration. A great portion of Batavia was used as a basis of agriculture, owing to its typically flat lowland contour. Ricefields were found in abundance particularly in Tangerang, Blaraja, Mauk, Bekasi, and Cikarang. In Pasar Minggu, Pasar Rebo, Kebayoran, and Meester Cornelis areas, fruit trees were grown on people's yards and fields. There were also teakwood forests and natural wood tree forests in Batavia. Teakwood forests, though not very large in size, grew on formerly private estates in Sewan Parungkuda and Karangseranglaut. Natural wood tree forests grew near coastal areas both on Dutch-owned and private land. These forests were populated mostly by *Avicennia* (Latin: *Avicennia germinans*; local: *Kayu Api-api*), which were commonly used as fuel for Batavian people and as medicine to prevent malaria (ANRI, 1980: 271-273).

According to a Dutch Indies administration record, in 1820 there were 47 mountains and mountain ranges in Priangan (ANRI: *Preanger*, Number 2C/1). As reflected by Priangan's geographical profile, the mounts and mountain ranges were scattered in the southern part of the region. Among these mountains were Mt. Salak (2,211 m.a.s.l.), Mt. Gede (2,958 m.a.s.l.), and Mt. Pangrango (3,022 m.a.s.l.). The mountain ranges on the southern coast consisted of barren rock formations. The record also mentioned about clustered yet connected mountains in the highland areas of Bogor, Cianjur, Bandung, and Garut. In the prehistoric period, these highlands had been part of the giant Lake of Bandung. These cities were crossed by rivers that carried mud sediments downstream to Java's northern coast lowlands. The rivers that flew across Priangan included Citarum, Cisokan, Cimanuk, and Citanduy Rivers. The lowlands in north Priangan were dominated by ricefields and densely populated settlements. These lowlands, mostly in the north coast area, stretched 250 kilometers wide from Banten to Cirebon (Aartsen, 1953: 51-52; Lombard, 2000: 29-30; Lubis, et al., 2003: 3-42).

### ***Socio-economic Life***

Tatar Sunda's geographical and ecological condition was responsible for its dense population. The scarcely populated mountainous area of south Banten, however, was populated only by 2,787 people per square mile. Meanwhile, during the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century north Banten became even more increasingly populated. Its population reached 10,131 people per square mile (Kartodirdjo, 1984: 53-55, 95; ANRI, 1980: 3). Batavia itself was densely populated. The 1930 census recorded that Batavia was populated by 37,710 European people, 138,098 Chinese people, 8,255 people from other Eastern countries, and 1,444,671 native people. Batavia was the most densely populated area in Java with a density of 300 to 500 people per square

kilometer (ANRI, 1980: 265).

The socio-economic life of Tatar Sunda people had a lot to do with the region's geography and ecology. This was reflected among others in the way the people made their living, the commodities they produced, sold, and consumed, and the policies imposed by the colonial rule.

### *Agriculture and Plantation*

Originally, the people of Banten had been sea traders but they changed profession and became pepper farmers. The Dutch interfered into people's life even down to village level. The people's economic condition could be seen, for example, from their rice productions. Between 1860 and 1864 an average of 300 kg of rice per capita was produced in Bandung. During the same period, however, Banten produced only 190 kg of rice per capita in average. Cirebon produced 258 kg per capita (Booth, 1998: 180). Expansion of agricultural area in Banten became more intensive at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when water infrastructure, namely an irrigation system, was built. In some places in Banten, there were people whose ricefields totaled to areas that exceeded their capacity to cultivate them. In Pontang and Serang, for example, about 3,500 *baus* of ricefields (1 bau equals about 7,000-7,400 m<sup>2</sup>) had to be exempted from taxation because they were uncultivated. Even with a crop-sharing system, nobody would want to work on them (ANRI, 1980: 4).

**Table 1** Ricefield and Agricultural Dry Land in Banten between 1925 and 1930

District	1925		1930	
	Rice field	Dry Land	Rice Field	Dry Land
Rangkasbitung	13,461	18,716	13,425	21,335
Lebak	6,254	6,286	6,344	10,181
Parungkujang	5,027	3,794	5,041	6,187
Cilangkahan	5,745	2,779	6,205	4,998
Cibaliung	588	41,584	586	42,087
<b>Total</b>	<b>31,073</b>	<b>73,159</b>	<b>31,601</b>	<b>84,788</b>

(Source: *Memorie Residen Banten*, F.G. Putman Craemer, 24 February 1931, *Mailrapporten No. 935 Geh./31*. (ANRI. 1980. *Memori Serah Jabatan 1931-1940 Jawa Barat (I)*. Jakarta: ANRI, p. 22).

The data in **Table 1** above show that the total area of ricefields was smaller than that of dry land in all districts in Banten except for Cilangkahan. Dry land farming also showed a significant increasing trend within five years from 1925 to 1930. This proved further that Banten was not a center of ricefield farming but of dry land farming (rainfed ricefield or arable land farming). The issuance of *Besluit van den Resident van Bantam* dated 30 July 1896 Number 4046/18 when Resident J. A. Hardeman (1895-1906) was in office reflected a serious intention of the colonial administration to prevent arable land farming because

rather than encouraging people to do intensive farming, it damaged the existing forests and disturbed hydrologic cycle. In addition, the colonial administration was also disadvantaged because they could levy land tax. To prevent dry land farming, the Dutch not only imposed prohibitions but also opened new wet ricefields along with the irrigation system. Slopes were also terraced to make new ricefields (ANRI, 1980: 5-6).

Dry land farming largely adopted was tied to the simple life of Banten people, especially those who lived in South Banten. The people in South Banten were still foreign to plowing. They were not even familiar with hoes. This was because they lived an isolate life. Simple communication and transportation systems did not even exist. The population was still scarce and land was vastly abundant, particularly in Cibaliung. The district had an area of about 154,777 hectares or 217,954 *baus*. In late 1930, ricefields totaled only 79.75 *baus* (ANRI, 1980: 8-9).

Farming was a source of living to not only native people but also people of Chinese descent in Batavia. Like in the lowlands of Java's North Coast, which spanned from Banten to Indramayu, the coastal area was used to rotate between primary and secondary crops. Mountainous areas, especially in Krawang, were used as plantations. In some places around Batavia and Meester Cornelis, for example, there were fruit plantations that yielded significant amounts of crops. For over a century, a private land ownership system had been existing in Batavia. Private lots and estates existed in almost all over Batavia, except in Blaraja (Balaraja). Based on its use, privately owned land could be divided into two types, namely leasehold land (*erfpacht grond*) and tanah kongsi (*kongsigronden*, partnership/commercial land). Leasehold land can be defined as land used for agricultural purposes. This type of land was regulated based on Article 6 of "*Reglement op de particuliere landerijen bewesten de Tjimanoeek*". Commercial rights over such land were generally in the hands of local natives. *Tanah kongsi* could be differentiated into the following four types.

1. Land commercially used by a private land owner (usually called "Landlord"). All costs and risks related were to be incurred by landlord himself.
2. Land used by landlord according to Article 16 of "*Particuliere Landerijen Reglement*".
3. Land not yet commercially used continuously for 1 crop cycle.
4. Shrubland or forested land that had never been used for any purposes (ANRI, 1980: 261).

There were also types of land called "*tanah merdika*" ("*tanah mardika*"), literally "free land", and "*tanah tidak jelas*" ("*tanah onbekend*") or "land of unknown ownership", which had existed since the first half of the nineteenth century. *Tanah merdika* referred to land whose ownership was listed under the name of a native or a foreigner of an Eastern country origin. These types of land could be found in Weltevreden, Kebayoran, and Meester Cornelis. *Tanah tidak jelas* referred to land owned by an elderly person or land of unclear

ownership. The existence of *tanah tidak jelas* dated back to 1825 and could be found in Batavia, Weltevreden, Meester Cornelis, and Kebayoran (ANRI, 1980: 263-264). As stipulated in *Staatsblad van Nederlandsche Indie* Year 1913 Number 207, private plots that had been bought back by the colonial administration became *tanah negeri* (state land) and therefore could not be given to a citizen who had utilized it based on hereditary individual right. *Tanah kongsi* became free state land. Some of the plots with a previous status as *tanah kongsi* were sold to local natives who had yet owned land. Some were given to newly established villages and some others became official land to be used by village administration officials. Local people used simple techniques to cultivate land. Land was ploughed or simply raked and was rarely weeded. Ricefields were seldom cleared after harvest. There were also plots of dry land where *padi tipar* rain-fed rice was grown (ANRI, 1980: 271-272).

Priangan and its vicinities were a fertile region whose climate was suitable for cultivating various plants. The region was known for its abundant agricultural products. During the VOC period, a forced cultivation policy called *Preanerstelling* was imposed in Priangan. Forced coffee cultivation had been in place since 1707. In 1711, Cianjur Regent Aria Wiratanudatar (1707-1726) became the first regent to hand over coffee product to VOC (de Klein, 1931: 39; Kern, 1898: 31-32). In H.W. Daendels' time (1808-1811), Priangan was divided into two sub-regions based on coffee production. Cianjur, Bandung, Sumedang, and Parakanmuncang were part of the primary coffee-producing sub-region, whereas Limbangan, Sukapura, and Galuh belonged to non-primary coffee-producing sub-region (de Klein, 1931: 45f, 125; Kern, 1898: 34-37; Martanagara, 1923: 21). Table 2 below shows total coffee collected by VOC in Priangan and its vicinities between 1808 and 1821.

**Table 2.** Total Coffee Collected in Priangan and Its Vicinities between 1808 and 1821

Year	Total Collection								Total	
	Priangan		Buitenzorg		Ujungberung		Others			
	Pikul (125)	Pound	Pikul (125)	Pound	Pikul (125)	Pound	Pikul (125)	Pound		
1808	90,029	25	9,767	117	-	-	-	-	99,797	172
1810	92,200	100	8,613	112	-	-	-	-	101,814	87
1812	34,022	1	1,746	19	-	-	-	-	44,768	20
1815	54,283	4	1,767	109	854	104	3,725	88	61,631	55
1816a	15,206	104	512	-	58	110	471	41	61,870	104
181	40,40	40	1,786	81	821	84	2,605	19		

6b	8									
181 7	52,80 4	34	4,146	106	694	85	10,93 2	69	68,5 78	44
181 8	68,43 8	51	5,971	36	763	98	10,46 7	89	85,6 41	18
182 1	82,66 2	83	5,508	76	1,904	5	8,035	82	98,1 10	12 1

(Source: Coffee Collection Report by *Algemeene Rekenkamer* dated 15 April 1822 (ANRI: *Preanger*, bundle Number 9/12))

Coffee farmers received four silver ringgit (f.10) for every *pikul* of coffee weighing 225 pounds (112.50 kg). A regent received a share of one ringgit for each 128-pound (64-kg) *pikul* of coffee collected (de Haan, I, 1910: 456-457; II, 1911: 718; de Klein, 1931: 61-62). At the end of 1810, the average price of rice in Priangan was 2 silver ringgits (f.5) per light *caeng* (10 *pikuls* or 620 kg). The price then rose to four ringgits (f.10) per *caeng* in 1812 (de Haan, IV, 1912: 451, 469). Thus, by comparing prices of coffee and rice, with money worth f.1, a farmer could buy 124 kg of rice at the end of 1810 and 62 kg of rice in 1812. During coffee harvest, particularly during grand harvest, farmers could still get rice and secondary crops from the ricefields and dry land fields they cultivated. Based on the above assumption, farmers as well as regents and the colonial administration were able to gain profit from *Preangerstelsel*. Whereas regents received earnings from the percentage of coffee collected in every harvest, the colonial administration, used the profit for governmental and defense purposes. It was for this reason that *Preangerstelsel* was maintained by both Daendels and Raffles. When T.S. Raffles (1811-1816) came to office and imposed a land rent system in Java, Priangan was exempted from the system. The colonial administration continued *Preangerstelsel* because the policy gave them enormous profits (Lubis, et al., 2003: 355-356). In Priangan, tea was also produced intensively. Extensive tea plantations had been in operation since around the 1830s. Prior to extensive tea cultivation, the Dutch administration issued Consideration and Advice Number 207 dated 19 February 1832, which gave a permit to J. J. L. Jacobson to sail to China, obtain tea seeds from there, and brought some Chinese people to work in Dutch-owned tea plantations. Lured by the prospect of profits that could be reaped from tea as a favorite commodity in the international trade market, the colonial rule then gave Jacobson a loan to open tea plantations. Jacobson was also appointed as Tea Plantation Inspector. After tea seeds and some Chinese plantation workers had been obtained from China, it was then decided that about 1 million tea seeds were to be planted in Bojonegara and 50,000 seeds in Cisurupan. Both regions were part of Priangan (*Preanger Regentschappen*) (ANRI, *Cultures*, No. 627).

Before the tea seeds were planted, the Dutch Indies colonial ruler had prepared the land and other matters required for land clearing. A letter from the Dutch Indies Governor-General dated 18 April 1833 mentioned that to plant one million tea seeds in Cisurupan and Bojonegara, they needed to buy 220 water

buffalos to plough the land, 16 water buffalos to mill rice, and 36 water buffalos to transport rice to tea plantations. It followed that 272 water buffalos were bought at 22 guilders each. To clear the land, various tools, namely 160 iron ploughs, 25 machetes, 50 Chinese hoes, and 500 *parangs* (large chopping knives) also had to be bought. Plantation workers' wages were also set. Head foremen, foremen, workers, and coolies received 12 guilders, 3 guilders, 3 guilders, and 2 guilders each respectively a month. In addition, everyone had a right to 3 bushels of rice, one-tenth bushels of salt, half a bushel of salted fish, and lamp oil (ANRI, *Cultures*, No. 629). The land clearing process needed a lot of workers, most of whom were at first transported from China. Every Chinese worker employed was paid 35 silver guilder a month plus 3 bushels of rice (ANRI, *Cultures*, No. 628).

When tea crops were considered sufficient to meet export demands, the colonial administration decided to expand tea plantations to, among others, Ciumbuleuit and Cikajang in order to increase productions in the subsequent years. In 1838, tea productions were satisfactory. Ciumbuleuit produced 2,577 pounds and Cikajang 80950 pounds, exceeding the 9,464 pounds produced in the previous year. It was expected that in 1839 tea crops would reach 17,450 pounds. To meet the target, the Plantation Director issued a mandate to clear 34 hectares of land in Cikajang to be converted to tea plantations (ANRI, *Preanger*, No. 3/5). With increasing crop estimation each year, more land had to be cleared and new plantations opened. In Priangan in March 1853, about 1,422 *baus* of scrubland was cleared, 7,480,000 tea seeds were planted. With this new expansion, it was projected that tea productions would reach 1,450,000 pounds (ANRI, *Preanger*, No. 5/2).

### ***Fishery and Animal Husbandry***

Until the 1930s, despite significant fishing activities, there were no boatyards in Banten. The boats used in Lada Bay came from boatyards in Indramayu. These boats were brought by fishermen from Indramayu during fishing season and when fishing season was over, they were sold to Banten people. In 1930, fish was caught by 501 large boats and 1,136 small boats. Of the total number of boats, 188 large boats and 350 small boats came from South Banten. Other boats came from Cirebon, Indramayu, Juwana, Rembang, and Madura. The following are the types of boats used by the local fishermen.

1. *Mayang* boat, for 10-14 people, used to catch fish in deep waters. A *mayang* boat cost f.150-f.200.
2. *Sero* boat, for 6-8 people. A *sero* boat cost f.150-f.200.
3. *Ngarad* boat, for 3-4 people, used to catch fish in shallow waters near the coast. A *ngarad* boat cost f.75-f.100.
4. *Ampak* boat, for 2-3 people, used only on shallow waters near the coast. An *ampak* boat cost f.50.
5. *Maring* boat, for 1 person, used only to catch fish in calm waters near coast area. A *maring* boat cost f.25.
6. *Tegur* boat, for 1 person, used to catch fish near coast area. A *tegur* boat cost f.25.



7. *Mancing*/fishing boat, for 2-3 people, used to catch fish in slightly deeper waters. A fishing boat cost f.50.
8. *Rewed* boat, used by fish wholesaler (*tukang palele*) to buy fish on the sea from *mayang*, *sero*, and other types of boats (ANRI, 1980: 151-152).

From the above description it can be concluded that the fishermen from west to east along Java's North Coast had been connected. They sailed up to Banten to catch fish using boats of varying types and sizes depending on their needs. In addition to catching fish from the sea, aquaculture also developed on land. Fish farms, particularly milkfish farms, could be found only in coastal areas where the water was brackish. Fish farmers could harvest milkfish twice a year from their brackish water ponds. With expenditures of about f.300 per season, farmers could harvest 2,000 to over 3,000 milkfish worth about f.600, giving them a two-fold profit. River fishing was not a significant activity. In some places like Ciomas, Pandeglang, Menes, Caringin, Rangkasbitung, and Lebak, people farmed fish in ricefields after harvest (ANRI, 1980: 155).

Compared to agriculture and trading, raising farm animals was not a very important source of living for Batavian people. There were, however, people who kept farm animals purpose of plowing, drawing loads, transportation, or to be slaughtered for their meat. Some kept them for their milk. An economic depression caused livestock prices to go down. Horse, cattle, water buffalo, sheep, and goat were among the animals Batavians reared as livestock (ANRI, 1980: 310). In Priangan, people reared water buffalo, cattle, sheep, and horse, as can be seen in Table 3 below.

**Table 3.** Livestock Population in Priangan and Its Vicinities between 1808 and 1812

Area	1808			1809			1812		
	Water Buffalo	Cattle	Sheep	Water Buffalo	Cattle	Sheep	Water Buffalo	Cattle	Sheep
Buitenzorg	3,178	-	96	8,614	17	225	-	-	-
Cianjur	9,846	158	2,654	6,493	147	526	6,854	233	1,202
Bandung	21,163	577	745	15,952	1,443	338	11,690	1,600	1,111
Parakanmuncang	3,234	81	67	6,941	457	262	-	-	-
Sumedang	8,735	714	568	9,613	780	632	10,086	538	1,176
<b>Total</b>	<b>46,157</b>	<b>1,530</b>	<b>4,130</b>	<b>47,613</b>	<b>2,844</b>	<b>1,983</b>	<b>28,630</b>	<b>2,371</b>	<b>3,489</b>

(Source: de Haan, Frederick. 1912. *Priangan: De Preanger Regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch Bestuur tot 1811*. IV. Batavia: BGKW, p. 959)

### *Trade and Handicrafts*

Rice stems and grains were traded on a large scale. The target market was Batavia. Commodities were traded through markets and other trading facilities at ports. Karangantu, Merak, Anyerlor, and Labuan ports were used for general trade. The commodities commonly traded were rice, copra, leather, fabric, livestock, and eggs. From the perspective of trade, Batavia played a crucial role not only because of its function as the capital of the Dutch Indies administration, but also because of the existence of Tanjung Priok as a major port. Big trading companies and banks had their headquarters in Batavia. The impact of the global Economic Depression of 1929 was also felt by these Batavia-based trading companies and banks. Although none of them were liquidated, they were forced to downsize their businesses. As a result, many employees lost their jobs and those who were retained had to accept lower salaries. Unemployment rose, although not to a level that would have caused social unrest. Many native people who had lost their jobs returned to their villages and reunited with their families. A number of social organizations also extended efforts to help the unemployed. Big companies like *Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij* (KPM), *Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij* (BPM), *Socony*, *General Motors*, and shipyards, and government agencies did not offer job opportunities, but new companies emerged during the crisis. Among these new companies were paint, beer, and soap factories (ANRI, 1980: 306). Handicraft sector was quite vital for Batavian people. Important handicrafts included woven hats, produced in Tangerang and various household utensils, produced in Pondok Pinang (Kebayoran) and Jatinegara (Meester Cornelis). The importance of woven hats industry in Tangerang can be seen in Table 4 below, which presents the value of woven hat export through Tanjung Priok Port.

**Table 4.** Quantities and Values of Woven Bamboo Hat Exports from Tangerang through Tanjung Priok Port between 1913 and 1931

Year	Quantity	Value (in f.)	Value per hat (in cents)
1913	5,495,394	1,328,820	26
1917	2,573,033	668,983	26
1922	2,826,058	847,817	30
1928	4,947,104	2,044,889	41
1929	4,436,568	1,009,878	23
1930	2,935,745	445,165	16
1931 (Mei)	1,163,307	147,529	13

(Source: *Memorie Residen Batavia, P.H. Willemse, 26 October 1931* (ANRI, 1980. *Memori Serah Jabatan 1931-1940 Jawa Barat (I)*. Jakarta: ANRI, p. CXV))

As the table shows, due to the crisis, the volume of woven hat export in Batavia continued to decrease from 1929 to 1931. Woven hats were bought by

Chinese traders to be sold in domestic markets. For foreign markets, they were exported by European traders. Woven hat prices went down and the effect severely hit the craftspeople in Tangerang. The price of woven pandan hat produced in Kebayoran did not suffer that significantly, but the production volume was not as big as that of woven bamboo hats from Tangerang. Small-scale trading activities of local natives could be found only in Batavia City. In other places, such activities were dominated by the Chinese and traders from other Eastern countries. Large-scale industries, dominated by European and Chinese people, existed only in Batavia City and Tanjung Priok (ANRI, 1980: 274).

## CONCLUSION

Based on the above description, it can be concluded that areas in the eastern region of Tatar Sunda varied in geographical contour and ecology. The south was dominated by mountains, mountain ranges, plateaus, and forests. The north was dominated by lowlands. Tatar Sunda was crossed by rivers that flowed to either north coasts of Java or the Indian Ocean. The geography and ecology of Tatar Sunda determined the types of infrastructure developed there. Agriculture was the main source of living of the people in Tatar Sunda. From Banten to Batavia, Priangan, and Cirebon, people did all sorts of agricultural activities with varying intensities. The economic life in Banten and Cirebon, however, was not as stable as that in Priangan. Due to their geographical and ecological condition, Banten, Batavia, and Cirebon relied more on trade than on agriculture. Other sources of living among Tatar Sunda people during the colonial period included fishery, animal husbandry, and handicraft production. All these different activities provided a socio-economic background for infrastructure development in Tatar Sunda. The development of infrastructure in Tatar Sunda during the colonial period was intended to support its people's socio-economic life.

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