Solo (otherwise Sala or Surakarta) was the capital city of the Kingdom or Surakarta. Founded in 1746 it was built on a magical rather than a rational consideration. For it was located in the crosscurrent of two rivers, the Bengawan and the Pepe, believed to have magical content. Moreover, according to the Javanese cosmology at the time the kraton in the capital city was the center of the big universe, the jagat ageng or the macro-cosmos, while man was the small universe, the jagat alti or the micro-cosmos. In the manner of d concentric circle in the big universe outside the kraton there were subsequently the negara (city), the negereagung (outskirts of the city), the moncinegara (faraway regions), and the penisor (coastal areas). Streets in the city were all directed to the kraton, very much like those audienceing the ratu (king).

The inner city comprised of the kraton complex called the haluwarti and the ahun-ahun (palace square), all located inside the beteng (palace wall). Outside the palace wall were houses of the semanu (nobility), the abdi dalem (retainers), and the commoners. The Chinese mostly lived around the Pasar Gede (Great market), the Arabs around the Pasar Kliwon (literally: market held five-daily in the day of Kliwon), and the Europeans around the Dutch fort of Vastenburg and the office of the Resident.

The coming of the Chinese, the Arabs, and the Europeans formerly did not alter the cosmological concept of the city. For more than one and a half centuries they nearly changed nothing. It was only at the beginning of the twentieth century, due to the advance of technology and the expansion of business, service, and leisure that the city was changed. It was in 1900-1915 that most change towards a modern city took place. The alteration was to be described as the change from a cosmological to an ecological concept. The skeleton of the city remained the same, but the environment became entirely different.
Population and administration

In 1900 Solo was already a multiracial city; though the Javanese population dominated the scene. The whole population was 1,049,459, out of which 1,973 were Europeans, 5,129 Chinese, 171 Arabs, 262 Other Foreign Easteas, and the rest 1,042 Javanese. 2 Five years later in 1905 the population increased to 1,158,378, out of which 1,572 were Europeans, 6,532 Chinese, 337 Arabs, 415 Other Foreign Easteas, and 1902,247 Javanese. 3 The same sources showed that at these times the Javanese population of the whole Surakarta was respectively 1,499,458 and 1,577,908, thus it was only about one fifth of the total population of the capital city. The reverse was true for the foreigners. Numbers showed that in 1900 in the whole Surakarta there were 2,657 Europeans, 9,265 Chinese, 171 Arabs, and 262 Other Foreign Easteas; meanwhile in 1905 there were 3,325 Europeans, 19,971 Chinese, 337 Arabs, and 417 Other Foreign Easteas. These numbers meant that the Arabs and Other Foreign Easteas practically all lived in the capital city. However small in number, the role of the foreigners-especially that of the European-in the making of a modern urban society was great. The role of the javanese themselves was only marginal.

Solo with the width of 24 square kilometers (six kilometers times four kilometers) was the capital city of three different governments: the Kasunanan Kingdom of Surakarta, the Kadipaten (principal kingdom) of Mangkangeregam, and the Dutch Residency. It was from Solo that the Sumes reigned over six kabupatenes (regions) (Surakarta, Kartasura, Klaten, Boyolali, Ampel, Sragen) and one kecamatan (district) (Lurangit). Mangkangeregam Kadipaten comprised of three kecamatan (districts): the Capital, Kasunanan, and Wonogiri. The Dutch Residency had five deel (parts) located in the Kasunanan and the Mangkangeregam. These were Surakarta, Klaten, Boyolali, Sragen, and Wonogiri. 4 The city administration was handled by the three rulers. Most of the city belonged to the Kasunanan, one fifth to the Mangkangeregam, and the rest to the Dutch administration (goememaengeheuch), in the surrounding of the office of the Resident and the fort, and the military guard. 5

That under the administration of the Kasunanan Solo, the city comprised of five kepakaran (sub-districts): Kasa, Lurangit, Pasireklawan, Jebres, and Serangan. 6 That under the administration of the Mangkangeregam there was only one kecamatan, Kasunanan Gumug Salembu Kito (district inside the city) with two kepakaran, Kampung Lor (northern kampung) and Kasunang Kidul (southern kampung). In the sub-district Kampung Lor there were kampungs Stabotan, Margareja, and Petar Leti; while kampungs Kaprahan, Tamuran, Karhisan, and Patutan were in the sub-district of Kampung Kidul. The border between the Kasunanan and Mangkangeregam in the city was the main street to Purwosari.
The Dutch administration of the city divided the territory into several wijk (neighbourhood), each with its own wijkmeester (chief). After expansion, there were three wijks in 1915. First, the wijk of South-East. It was with the Pape in the north, the Bangawan in the east, the end of the city in the south, and the street through the Pepe bridge and the Mangkunegara palace to the south up to the southern end of the city. Second, the wijk of the North East. It was with the northern end of the city in the north, the Bangawan in the east, the Pape in the south, and the Pape in the west. Third, the wijk of the Westside. It was with the northern end of the city and the Pape in the north, the Pape and the road through the bridge of the Pepe to the south of the Mangkunegara palace in the east, the end of the city in the south, and the west end of the city to the west. The Chinese were lived in their own wijk with a wijkmeester appointed by the colonial government. Their kampong were lebres (Mawon), Kepatihe, Balapan, and houses along the streets in the Kasunanan part of the city. So did the Arabs lived in their own wijk, Pasar Kidul. Solo at the same time represented three the kinds of urban development, the traditional urbanization, the colonial urbanization, and the modern urbanization. It was called a traditional urbanization because the place of the traditional nobilities developed by its own way. As is known the Kasunanan and the Mangkunegara nobilities lived separately from the rest of the native community. In that kind of traditional urbanization social hierarchy remained to be a dominant classificatory role in the city organization. The social rites influenced also the space allocation and the growth of the respective communities in the city. As a colonial city, Solo became a center of education, economy, and administration. Services, like those of bank, industries, restaurants, shops, and hotels, were flourishing in the city. So did offices of the government and the military. Solo represented a modern urbanization for education and civil bureaucracy instituted new social hierarchy. Modern houses of the new prajurit were reflection of the new hierarchy.

Technology

In 1900 Solo was a garden city with cool, pleasant, and shady tamarind trees. A traveller who entered the city from the west side witnessed the tamarind trees along the street, from the Kampong Aseo to the city. There was no news when the trees were planted, yet in the end of 1860's a traveller from outside the kingdom called Raden Mas Purwadana who visited the city noted from his carriage that tamarind trees shaded the street as such that a traveller would not feel the sunburn. In 1911 the trees were so thick that a reader of the local newspaper wrote that the roots of those trees emerged above the ground in the dikes along the main street. It seemed that the tamarind trees were so important
for the city, that the reader worried the open roots would cause the death of the trees.

In addition to the trees, it was reported that the city was having large and fine streets. The beautiful houses of the natives were built along the southern part of the main street, in the kampong of Purwasiari. Possibly the houses were the ones mentioned by Ponnalana some thirty years before as houses of the native part of the local dignitaries and the new priyai, for Ponnalana was of the impression that the houses of ordinary men were ugly, shabby, and unordered. The traditional government (i.e. the Kasumanan) and the colonial government cooperated in the making of the modern urban ecology in controlling the yearly flood. The city was threatened from the south and the east by the Bengawan with 2,000 cubic per second. Dams were built in the southern and eastern part of the city in order to prevent flood from sinking the city streets. New river was built in the southern part to connect the Jenes and the Bengawan. So was the Pepe which flowed through the middle of the city with 800 cubic per second. It was partly redirected as flow so that it did not flood the city during the rainy season. Dikes were also directed to redirect the flows of the small rivers in the city. The longest news reported by the media in the beginning of the decade was the construction of canal as long as five kilometers connecting the Pepe and the Bengawan. The decision was made in 1902, through a cooperation of the Kasumanan and the Dutch colonial government. The decision was made due to the fact that in the beginning of the year 1902 the water of the Pepe flooded the city. In January the kampongs of Kebalen, Mangkunegaran, Krapyak, and Balong were full of water. The next month the water flooded the city for two days, including the Dutch residences around the fort. Mangkunegaran, and the main street of Purwasiari. It was reported that those places at the time looked much like river.

A canal would free the above mentioned kampongs from flood. So some 500 people were recruited to work with 30-40 cents a day. While the canal was in the making the flood was still took place. In the year of 1903 on 7 February and again on 20 to 21 December the Bengawan flooded the city, much like the one which occurred in 1886. European residences and other kampongs were full of water. Flood took place again on 29-30 December 1906, in the streets of European residences water was two feet high, while in the native kampongs water seemed higher.

The city was declared to be free from flood when the canal of the Pepe the Bengawan finished in 1910. However, in the meantime the city was never free from the threat of water, for often drainage could not hold the water inside. This what happened in 1908. the drainage of Kepethan to Warunggelen was overloaded so that water inside came out.
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Without flood and unregulated surface water, Solo would be a pleasant place
to stay. The streets were wide and excellent, especially those in European
residences. The longest street was the Residency lane (street) with 595 meter long
and 21 meter wide stretching from the bridge of Gladak to Purbayan. Next was
Voorstraat with 370 meter long and 17 meter wide stretching from the bridge of
Pasar Kliwon to Societeet Harmonie. Not all the streets were having such a size.
Achterstraat in the Dutch settlement had only 4.5 meters in width, Moordanardaanstraat had 3.5 meters. Approximately one half the width of the streets
in the Dutch gouvernementsgebied had been hardened with rocks. 24 The most
popular public transportation means in the city in the beginning of this century
was ambong (two-horse carriage). There were four native entrepreneurs in the
transportation business, the largest of them was one belonged to a noble family
who lived in Gembloek, in the southern part of the city. The driver had his own
uniform, comprising of trousers, a shirt in a mengkok (?) style with orange collar
and orange stripe around the wrist. There was a special horse carriage for the
guests of the oldest Dutch hotel, the Sier Hotel. It seemed that the King himself
was also a customer of a specially arranged hotel horse carriage, the kereta
dekaran. Drivers of both horse carriages of the hotel wore beautiful dresses,
white trousers with light-blue shirt and white stripes in loro (?) style, and rounded
vanished bamboo hat. The daily kraton horse carriage drivers wore white
trousers, red loro shirt, violet ker kepala (head cover), and vernished bamboo
hat. Private horse carriages of the nobilities and government officials were
draged by teji (big imported) horses or ponies distending from teji. One can
imagine how the horse carriages travel in the quiet city. 25

Streets in the centers of the city seemed to be very busy, as such that
accidents could occur, especially those in the city’s crossroads. 26 In the cross-road
of Pasar Gede a guard was in charge of regulating the traffic with a flag in the
hand. 27 Traffic was heavier during the Dutch or the Sunan’s festivities. After the
establishment of Tawun Srowdana (The Royal Garden of Srowdana) as the main
street to Purwakasi traffic therein often so tasy that the course of vehicles,
bicycles, horse carriages, and later cars had to be redirected. 28 The place would
be extra-busy when at the same time the city train—which could not be altered in its
time table or its route—passed by.

In Purwakasi a steam train terminal was built, connecting Surakarta and
Yogyakarta. With a horse train, the terminal also connected the plantations
westward of the city and the city. People who wanted to catch the train of
Surakarta—Surabaya should also travel with the horse train through the city, for
the terminal to Surabaya was located in the eastside of the city, in the kampong of
Jebrar. Other steam train terminal was Balapan, which connected Surakarta and
Semarang in the north coast. Thus. Solo was located in the very heart of the island of Java.

The city train was managed by Solosche Tramweg Maatschappij. Established since 1892, the train ran over an iron tracks laid on block of woods, and was dragged by horses. Those who travelled from Surabaya and intended to go to Yogyakarta had to stop at Jebres station and take city train to Purwosari. The city train connected Jebres train station in the eastside of the city with sugar plantations westward of the city. The train stopovers were Javaasche Bank, Coyoan, Mangunjayan, Purwosari, Banaran, Kartasura, Pasar Ngasem, and Bangkak. Bangkak terminal was demolished in 1896, replaced by Banyudono terminal, and at the same time the track went westward up to Boyolali. Most users of the city train went from Purwosari to Javaasche Bank and vice versa which means that the city train was utilized mainly as city transportation means. Those who travelled from the city center in the nearby Javaasche Hank to Jebres seemed to choose other means of transportation. Easily one would planned his journey. For advertisements of the train schedule would be found in the Dutch language local newspaper.

The city train took the southern side of the street along the main street of Purwosari. The train track was in the eastern side along the streets of Gladak, in front of the Dutch fort, crossing the bridge of Pepe forwarding towards Pasar Gede, the Chinese kampong of Warungplem, and advancing to Jebres. Terminals were with fences and roof made from thin metal (seng). The city train was dragged by two or four horses. The driver would always rang the bell which sounded "nueng-nueng-nueng-. The first wagon was imported from Europe, but in 1899 new wagon was made by a local workshop, G. Schelte and the native craftsmen. The new wagon was nicely polished and with silvery iron ornaments. The new wagon seemed larger for its contained 30 seats, with enough room in the middle to stand up.

Attempt to enlarge network of city train had been on the move. In tact Solosche Tramweg Maatschappij had planned in 1895 to replace horses with machine. Especially, when in early 1899 the horse disease threatened the existence of the company. In 1901 the permission to combine horse with machine was granted. However, it was apparent that replacement of horse by machine did not soon take place, for years afterwards there were still reports on buying of horses and making of stables. In 1906 attempt to replace horses with machine was once again tried by the signing of a cooperation between Solosche Tramweg Maatschappij and Nederlandsh-Indische Spoorweg Maatschappij. Local newspaper mentioned that the replacement would took place in 1907. The replacement of horses with machine was declared all finished on 1 May 1908 by inviting 28 government officials to ride the train free of charge.
benefited the commoners, for it lowered the fare considerably. Formerly it was only the foreigner, the priyai, and the merchants who rode the city train, then even the commoner or nanyang alfis could afford to buy the Edre.

In the meantime, while the city train was already run by machine, there was a plan to add up the train services. The government had given permission to build and to manage the train services—either steam or electrical—of the city to a Dutch entrepreneur. Yet the plan was never materialized, although the permit was renewed from time to time. Travel within the city for the native commoners, thus still much depended on traditional andhor (horse carriage). The Dutch, Foreign Easteners, and the rich natives could travel on their own private horse carriages. The local newspaper, were full of Americanische bargig advertisements, workshops of buggy making, and repairment places.

Bridges were also built. The longest metal bridge was built in 1910 in the Juru area to enable people to cross the Bengawan. The bridge connected Solo and the territory across the river, and the farther regions of East Java. It was financed by the three governments of the city, the Kasunanan, the Mangkunegaran, and the Dutch. The metal construction was laid down in 1913, and in the end of the year, 31 December 1913, declared to be ready in a special celebration. A tent was built at the entrance of the bridge to welcome the guests, the Sunan, the Ruler of Mangkunegaran, the Dutch Resident, the Path of the Kasunanan, and other dignitaries. Almost all the dignitaries attended the ceremony, among whom the Military Commandant, the Assistant Resident of Surakarta, the Assistant Resident of Sragen, the colonial government's officials, the native government's officials, the princes, and the representatives of landholders. Also attended the ceremony Sri Pakuålam and Pangeran Notodirjo of the Paku Alam palace in Yogakarta. The ceremony was accompanied by the Orchesta of Kepatiian and the gamelan. An automobile with the Sunan and the Resident in it and other automobiles came at 10:00 AM. They took a photo, then the Sunan walked across the bridge, and they went up to Palur, eastward of the city border.

Other important bridge was the Baceh bridge which connected the city and the southern regions, Wonogiri and Pucatan. The 50,000 guilders bridge was financed by the Kasunanan, with a credit from the colonial government. It was actually started to be built in 1908, but it had been seriously constructed in 1912. Metal for the bridge was ordered from The United States Steel Product Co at the price of 23,000 guilders. The bridge was opened up by the Sunan on 8 January 1915. Those who crossed the bridge had to pay the toll as much as 1 cent for those who walked, and 1 guider for those who rode a automobile.

Automobile was introduced in early 1906. An advertisement in local newspaper offered steam-automobile with a "Speleret" system. 30 h.p., and 9

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It still doubted whether the steam-automobile had a buyer at all, for several months later a benzene (gas) car was introduced. It was reported that the Sunan acquired an automobile in 1907, the time when even the Residen did not. It seemed that market for automobile was prospective, due to the handiwork, that a show was conducted in September 1901. In a few years the new technology became a lucrative business. In 1912 renting an automobile was fashionable, in 1919 people in the smaller cities in Surakarta (Klaten and Boyolali) knew that to hire automobile was as easy as ringing the telephone, and in 1915 in the city there was already an automobile dealer.

Electrification of Solo took place early in this century. The Dutch government had released a permit to Solosene Electricularit-Maatschappij to establish its factory in 1899. The management of the company was in the hand of Firma Mainie & Co. in Batavia, but it soon established its local subsidiaries in Surakarta for the purpose. The commissioners comprised of all elements in the society, Adipati Surodiningrat (the pathi of Kasunanan), J.A.C de Koek van Leerwaen (supervisor of the Mangkunegara's land), Ke Kwan Koon (the Chinese captain of Solo), and S.J.W. van Buren (a middleman from Jakarta). The attempt was well responded, and many orders came in. The would be customers were the Sunan, the Resident, the Patih, the Chinese captain, and the Dutch businessman. The share was already sold to the amount of 70,000 guilders. The charter of establishment was signed on 12 March 1901 and formally announced in the Javaasche Courant two months later, on 21 May 1901. One can imagine that the lot of the electricity was the same as that of the city train. The first customers were foreigners and the upper layer of society, because the monthly payment of the light was high enough, as much as 20 to 30 cents per lamp. The company built an electricity factory and opened up an office. The factory was built by G. Schutte company, the same one which built the new wagon of the city train, which for off set it still hired a place in the Stier Hotel. One year later, on 19 April 1902 or on 10 Sura Year Be 1832 electricity enlivened the city of Solo. A few days afterwared a feast as held in the electric factor in Purwosari. The feast was attended by representatives of the company from Batavia. Du Mosch, the President of Firma Mainta & Co; and van Buren, the middleman, and the local officials, including the Residents, Mangkunegara, the Military Commissioner, the Assistant Resident of Surakarta, the nobilities of the Kasunanan, Surodiningrat the Patih, and several bugati. After speeches of Du Mosch, the Resident, and van Buren, they drank champagne together.

Soon electricity replaced the position of the former newspapers (natural gas) and petroleum in the main buildings of the city, and houses in the Dutch residences. Since 1902 on one could see the advertisement in the local Dutch newspaper of a poly-technical company, Fabreic C. Sensmus of Semarang.
offering services in installment of electricity, in addition to the installment of natural gas for lighting, heating, and industry. 37 Snow business, Schouwburg, had used electricity for its shows. Projected pictures were used in the dance of serpentine. 38 The Rauuse Hotel renovated its building and installed electricity for its 36 rooms. 39 Within one year the company sold as much as 3,586 lamps. The most abundant user was the Suram, with 260 lamps. The Suram had planned to buy up to 1,000 lamps for street lighting. 40

In the surface, the customer was large enough, nevertheless some more customers were still expected to join in order to enable company to cover exploitation cost. The first year of exploitation it even ran in a loss. In a meeting of shire holders in Hapam the company reported that in the last eight months it lost 8,000 guilders, and it would be amounted to 22,000 in a year. The expectation that in the first year the company would have as much as 23, 000 guilders benefit proved to be wrong. The news dissatisfied the Dutch share holders, while those of the Javanese and the Chinese were reported to be more calm. The loss was due to the potential market did not well respond the new facility. The expected Chinese had failed to be customers, the Suram did not fully buy the electricity, and expenditure for buildings, all contributed to the unbalanced budget. The report was refused by the share holders. It was recommended that the directors be replaced by Solonese who knew well the society. But, at last the directors were still in the hands of the Batavians, and the Solonese were positied as commissaries. 41

Construction of the buildings for the electric company was all finished, and the temporary office in the Sier Hotel was relocated to a building in Purwakarta on 1 January 1916. 42 The loss of the first years of exploitation was then over, and the following years the records of the company were good, as such that it could pay the dividend of 7 to 10 percent. 43

Electricity was on, but in general the housings were wo in responding the new facility. Petroleum lamp was still more attractive. In the Sekaran feast (yearly held feast in commemoration of the birthday of the Prophet) of 1905, petroleum lamp made by Boot Light & Co. was promoted in the palace square, and sold by its representative in the Sier Hotel. 44 When the house of the Chinese Lieutenant, Be Sianu Tjong, was burnt the Dutch local newspaper blamed the petroleum lamps that the Leunann preferred to electricity for its soft yellowish light. 45

Availability of electricity still could not change the face of the larger part of the city. The Suram could not afford to provide lamps for street lighting for the cost was too high, that the streets were dark at night. In many places people put the petroleum lamps. So in general the city was very dark when the houses had
been closed at night. So dark that it was reported that "one could not even see his own hands." 63

It seemed that darkness was still a problem causing the disturbance of public safety. The native governments of Kasunanan and Mangkunegara ordered that night travelers bring their own sari (fire cord made from the momany (cover of would be coconut)). This was due to trespassers. 64 All travelers must obey the rule, even if they traveled in the middle of the city. One such traveler was reported to be caught in the streets of Gajah when walking home to Kasunan with merchandise from a house of a rich Chinese in Pasar Gede. 65 One reason of the tight rule of bringing sari was that the disorder often occurred to electricity during bad weather; news that once in a while took place in the local newspaper. 66 Moreover, small streets in the city were often very dark because the people did not care to set lamps, so that people had difficulty in arranging the right way. 67 People would set lamps in the lampong street, especially only during the Lebaran days. 68 Otherwise darkness was the rule.

Other facilities of the city was clean water taken from a reservoir well. In Jebres, where many landholders lived, there was a well with a reservoir tower as high as 16 meters. It was from this reservoir that clean water made available for houses of the European. 69

With all the facilities, the Dutch in Solo did not lagged behind those lived in the Fatherland. They lived in the streets with Dutch names, they rode the same city train, the same automobiles, and the same horse carriages. They got the same clean water and the same electricity. They did shopping at the same shops, and got the same services.

Business, Service, and Leisure

There were several traditional markets in the city. The biggest one was the Pasar Gede (Pasar Besar, Great Market) in the vicinity of the palace and Dutch residential places. Around the Pasar Gede lived the Chinese who opened shops. The market was different from other markets in the city in that the Pasar Gede was open daily, morning to 5 p.m., while the others opened five daily. The Mangkunegara government had also its own market, the Pasar Teguran. The market developed into a lampong with mostly the Chinese inhabitants, though the government had asked people to return to then former lampongs. The government of Mangkunegara then relocated the market to the Pasar Lego right in the north of the Mangkunegara palace. The Pasar Lego, together with the Pasar Plo which was right in the front of the palace, were both built in 1903. About the same time, development of the market places also took place in the Kasunanan side of the city. Those were the Pasar Kliron, which was formerly a sheep market in the
Arab settlement, and in Gembogan, where the government built new plots to accommodate new traders. There was certainly expansion of the traditional market places, new traders were coming in to do business in the city. The government made the new market places available to traders, that the city looked cleaner. In consequence, the very small traders of kilibekin in the street of Karmen had to move either to the Pasar Pon or to new market place in Surakaton. In the southern part of the city there was the Pasar Gading, a growing market. In 1909 this market was reported to be already full, and the police prohibit people to open their business in the sidewalks of the streets. It was only the Dutch who could afford to buy all the following new facilities of the city. The Dutch landholders from the whole Surakarta came to the city to do shopping, to get services done, and for paying visits to families and friends. They would subscribed to the Dutch newspaper De Nieuw Vorstenlanden to know the world, Netherlands East-Indies, and the local events of the city. The newspaper would informed them on baking, services, and entertainments. It was from the newspaper that they knew business, social, and religious events. Life was easy for the Dutch. The office of the Resident was opened on Monday to Thursday, 9:00 to 12:00 a.m. In the afternoon they would have siesta while in the evening and night there were ample programs of social gatherings and entertainments. There was monthly gathering at the Residency House, on the first date in the late afternoon. The Pathi had a monthly open house on every second Saturday of the month, while Mangkueprgara who was generous to Europeans opened his house every Monday from 18:30 to 20:00 p.m. Meetings in the House of Tj Union Frederic Royal, a Freemasonry Club which was established in 1872, were held in the second Tuesday every month. Social gatherings were held weekly in the houses of the Dutch families, usually on every Friday. Fire extinguishing exercise was held monthly, every second Wednesday. The Catholic Church held catechism every Thursday and Friday and religious instruction was held on every fourth Sunday. The busiest office was certainly the Postal and Telegraphic Service which was opened everyday, Monday to Saturday from 7:00 a.m. to 18:00 p.m. The post office was even opened on Mondays and holidays from 9:00 a.m. to 17:00 p.m. The Dutch had made the city busy with business, social, and religious institutions. Javasche Bank was opened in 1867, especially to do services for the landholders living outside the city. An association of landholders was formed in 1871, Indisch Landhunerder te Soerakarta. Later it was renamed into Solosche Landhuner Vereeniging. Meetings were held in Solo, and deliberately scheduled to enable families outside the city to enjoy the various entertainments. In order to
be able to arrange social, art, leisure time activities a society was founded in 1874, the Société de Harmonie. The society had its own building. Small as it was, the Dutch community of Solo enjoyed the life and culture of European style. The business institutions were more numerous than the social one. Legally recognized business institutions were yearly reported in Handboek voor Culturen en Handels Onderneemingen in Nederlandsch-Indië. The books contained reports on agricultural businesses, plantations, agencies, and others. All agricultural businesses were outside the city, but agencies and other businesses were within the city. In 1905, for instance, there were 13 life and fire insurance agents, representing insurance companies inside and outside the Netherlands East-Indies. There were representatives of international business firms, such as: Standard Oil Company of New York and Nederlandsche Lloyd ship company. Business firms within the country were Telefoon-Maatschappij der Vierkantlanden, Solotsche Tramweg Maatschappij, and Javaasche Bank. There was in the list a Chinese firm, Kwik Hoo Tung Handels Maatschappij. There were still other firms; so the total amount was 21 firms. The list recorded 23 Chinese traders, five plantation agencies, 14 toko (shops), three commissioneer (silkdealer), four pharmacy shops, two book shops, two construction expert, four publisher and graphic arts (printer) experts, two electricity experts, four hotels, two horse-shoe experts, three child-birth experts, two ice and natural water companies, five construction workers, two clock and instrument makers, three slaughter houses, three tailors (including Chinese), one Chinese buggy and horse dealer, two machine dealers, two market, two photo makers, two workshops, one vegetable (supermarket), and 15 Dutch bateau makers. Services were also flourishing. Hulks grew, possibly due to the many landholder living outside the city. In 1900 there were three, in 1905 four, in 1920 three, and in 1916 four hotels. In addition, it was reported that there were also five coffee-houses in 1903. Slaughter houses for Dutch families numbered four in 1905, including one meat house in Hotel Sinther. The Dutch had their own wood trader and saw mill, cattle and milk trader, telephon, photography, public library, bike shop, funfair, auctioneer, and notary public. Like those in Europe, the Dutch in Solo were fond of having dogs in the houses so that when mouthise disease attacked the city, the Assistant Resident in charge announced that dogs should be kept inside the yard. Thus life for the Dutch was a splendid one in Solo, everything was available. Horses, which existent, had a special place in the Dutch community in the Netherlands, so did they in the city. Various services were available for horses and horse carriages. There was advertisements in the local newspaper on the availability of horse cookies, advertisements on repARATION places of horse.
carriages, news on inspection (kemoe) of horses, and advertisement on insurance of horses. 89 Where did the gentlemen go for hair cuts? Though in the city there already barbershops, but in 1906 there were at least two barbershops advertised, 90 one in 1907, and another one in 1910. 91 And where did they go for tailors? There must be several tailors, but we know through advertisements that at the turn of the century in 1900 and 1901 a Dutch tailor family had been in the City. 92 For ladies travelling fashion sellers used to visit the city that they must wore the same fashion as those in Europe. 93 In 1902 one could also buy costume for masked dance in the local Dutch shop. 94 There was a lively social life. The Dutch could go either to Protestant or to Catholic churches which both were available. 95 In the city Vrijmetselarj (Freemasonry) was popular among the military, especially those of the lower, for the institution was active in helping the widows and orphans. In addition the Freemasonry building was a place for recreation and entertainment. In 1903 Loge U’Union Frederic Roijal held a lottery in order to collect money for the needy. 96 The more prestigious social life was held in the Societiet Harmonie, a place where even the Sunan often visited. The club offered music, operetta, orchestra, and dance (including masked-dance). It seemed that the orchestra of the Kepatihan at most of the times was always ready to be there. 97

Where did people go for entertainment? There were public entertainments opened inter-racially, for the Dutch, the Chinese, and the Javanese. So were the cases of the wayang wong Langen Ngesti Soeko which performed from 2-16 April 1900 and two circuses—one Bengalese and the other Western—in the ahan-ahon during the Sekaten feast, July 1903. 98 Indeed, the palace square was the most popular place for entertainments. In 1905 the “Komedi Seri Tjahaja Bintang di Awan” performed in the place. 99 It was not certain that the two groups in 1906—one “masked comedy,” wayang wong and roddedah (roddad)—were playing in the city square. 100 But it was certain that the new bioscope entertainment was first introduced in the ahan-ahon in 1907, and so were the three bioscopes in 1909—during the Sekaten ‘east—and another in 1909. 101 Outside the ahan-ahon the Royal Garden (Stravedier) was later a place for bioscope (including), but it was not as yet a permanent one. 102

The all-European exclusive performances were done in the Schouwburg (Purbaian) by groups from the Netherlands East Indies, the Netherlands, and the international companies. In December 1903 a dramatic company from Surabaya was playing in the city, 103 in March 1907 it showed King Oedipus. 104 and in January 1912 it presented performers from America. 105 In addition, the Schouwburg was some times used for bioscopes. 106
Conclusion

All that has been told was mainly the story of the Dutch. What about the Javanese? The role of the native in the making of modern urban ecology was only marginal, often they had just a dependent place. For instance, the workers in the workshop of G. Scheltes, which among others made the wagon for the city train, were reported to be Javanese. Or, otherwise they were satisfied of being the clients of the Dutch business. The Sunan was regularly supplied by a Dutch pharmacy for wine, liquor, and other alcoholic beverages. The Javanese nobilities were satisfied enough by being able to visit Dutch restaurants, to eat Dutch menu, to consume Dutch cookies, to ride city train, and to have electricity in their house. The native middle class lived their own life as entrepreneurs of the batik industry, like those living in Laweyan, and ran toko jawa (shops). The consumers were happy to buy opium in the government-run shops. It was reported that there were 17 or more opium shops in the city in 1902.

The Javanese governments did contribute something to the city. The Sunan had built three hospitals, in Kandangan (Jebres; already existed in 1910), in Tipes (Serengan; in 1910 was in process), and in Kadipolo (to be built in 1914). It was also reported that the Mangkunegaran had planned to establish a hospital. Moreover the Kasunanan was succeeded in bringing the beggars out. In 1913 the city was reported free from beggars, for a colony of beggars was built in Wangkung, a village just across the Bengawan, paid for by the Kasunanan government. The Javanese governments were mostly responsible in maintaining public order with the Kasunanan had the largest share, compared to that of the Mangkunegaran and the colonial governments. The Javanese still lived in a cosmological, while the Dutch in an ecological world.

In relation with the theme of our Conference it seems to me that local history—as exemplified by Solo—has no connection in any way to the Ethical Policy. It depends more on the development of economy in general rather than to economic policy of the central government.

Notes

(1) See also, Djarati Soeratman, Kendispon Dunia Kraton Sunanarso, 1830-1939 (Unpublished dissertation, UGd, 1989), Chapters IA and IIIA.

(2) Regerings Almenaak voor Nederlands-Indie (RA), 1902.

(3) RA, 1908.
(4) RA. 1900, 102.

(5) "Soerakarta of Solo" in *Encyclopedie van Nederlands-Indie* ('s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1921. LV.

(6) "Memorie van Overgave" (MvO). Resident G.F. van Wijk (19091914), 1914.


(8) This was what happened in 1915, after the Dutch settlement was scattered throughout the city (De Nieuwe Voorstenlanden [DNV], 3 September 1915).

(9) RA. 1906, 272. The Chinese flocked around the kraton and the Pasar Gede. Chinese wijk in the city was only one among twelve wijk in the whole Surakarta.

(10) In 1904 the Arab chief was Mouhamad Akoewan, heroparasek.


(13) DNV. 20 February 1901.

(14) H. van Kol, "Soerakarta", *De Indische Gids* (IG), 1904, II, 1150-1151.

(15) DNV. 20 February 1909.


(19) DNV, 22 January 1902: DNV, 10 February 1902.

(20) DNV, 2 January 1903. It did not mention the time needed.

(21) "Besigtiging van de hoofdplaats Soerakarta tegen overstromingen", Verslag BW, 1904, 140-143. On 7 February the height of water in the surrounding of the Residency House was +88.36 cm and on 20-21 December was +89.38 cm.

(22) Maatrapport (MR) 190/ No. 59. Further report on the flood could be found in Verslag BW 1908 (Batavia: Landdrukarj, 1910), 207-223.

(23) DNV, 9 June and 18 June 1909.

(24) MvO van Wijk, 1914. The names of the streets in the Dutch residences were having Dutch names, such as Sociaatweg, Schoolestraat, Hoornestraat, Koeistraat, Cantoinstraat. The was no information about the date when the streets were hardened with rock, but the fact that in 1906 the hardening of the street using the soomwals (steam machine) was still newsworthy, it was possible that the work had newly begun (See among others, DNV, 29 October 1906).


(26) Dermo Kondo (DG) 9 April 1904 revealed that someone was crushed by a horse train in the crossroad of Waringoelem.

(27) DK, 22 March 1909.

(28) R.M. Sajid, Bobad Solo. 76. The establishment of Taman Srecedari was in 1831 A.J. or 1909 A.D. The condrosengkola was "Luvish Katoen Esthining Wong", showing the year of 1931 A.J. News on the diverged route were shown in local newspapers, see for instance, DNV, 19 August 1913.
(29) See, Namen loaze Vermootschap Solosche Tramweg Mootschappij: Verslag over het jaar 1895 (Verslag STM).

(30) Verslag STM, 1899. It was mentioned that the number of passengers Purwasari-Javasche Bank was 70,568 and Javaasche Bank Purwasari was 80,506. At the same time, travellers from Javaasche Bank-Jebres numbered 8,366 and Jebres-Javasche Bank 1,284 passengers from Javaasche Bank to all directions during the year was 252,666 and from Purwasari to all directions was 94,012 (ever since 1899 there was no detailed report of passengers in the Verslag STM).

(31) Advertisement in DNV, 2 January 1899, for instance, showed that there were 13 times train travel from Purwasari to Javaasche Bank, and vice versa, there were 12 times from Javaasche Bank to Purwasari in a day. Jebres to Javaasche Bank vice versa was 20 times. A traveller who arrived from Medan in Jebres at 9.41 and wished to go to Yogyakarta on the same day could take the 9.45 train from Jebres, reaching Purwasari at 10.20. Then one could take train to Yogyakarta at 11.30. Reversely, someone who arrived from Yogyakarta in Purwasari at 10.42, could go with city train at 10.45, arrived in Jebres at 11.25, and traveled by 11.27 train to Medan.

(32) Tiknopranoto and Mardisuwignya, Sejarah, 19. See also Sajid, Bobad Solo. 68. Tiknopranoto mentioned that the train was dragged by two horses, while Sajid mentioned four horses with only one wagon containing 20 to 25 seats.

(33) DNV, 2 January 1899. It was mentioned that Solo was ready to set up an iron factory, for the plantations in the surroundings needed much iron works.

(34) Verhaal (Vb), 19 August 1902 No. 32. Decision was made on August 1901 No. 40.

(35) Verslag STM 1906.

(36) DK, 20 December 1906.

(37) DNV, 20 August 1909.

(38) Sajid, Bobad Solo, 69.
(39) MR 1904/709. By: besluit of 12 July 1903 No. 27 and 31 July 1904 the government gave the rights to W.D. van Nisper, the President of Solische Landhuurder Vereeniging. There were seven railways in the plan: (1) Balapan-Adikusuman-Joyovingratan-Gading,(2)Balapan-Jogohayan-Warangetem-Kalangan-Betom-Gandekan-Suroprajan,(3)Coyudan-Gandekan-Tegalsari-Laweanan,(4)Coyudan-Jahidan-Gembelegen-Kedawung-Munggung-Kalimungko-Klasemgakan-Baki,(5)Margarejo-Modoekan-Jehres.(6) Vastenburg (Benteng)Par Par Klinton-Gading.(7) Grogol-Baki (See also, DK, 27 February 1905). The ambitious plan had been refused in the past (DNY, 5 May 1902).

(40) MR 1905/2, Vb 5 April 1901 No. 52.

(41) In addition to the Dutch, the Javanese was also active in the business of workshop, sale, and reparation. In 1900's the Javane name of one R.Ng Jaya opusito was often advertised in the newspaper, see for instance, DNV. 27 March 1903.

(42) DNV. 25 May 1913: NV. 31: Des 91.

(43) DNV. 14 July 1909: DNV, 8 January 1915.

(44) DNV. 27 February 1906. It had 9 seats, ran h 5 km/hour in flat land and 25 km/hour in hilly land.

(45) DNV. 26 September 1906. Cadillac Automobile was advertised by C. Senius & Co.

(46) MvO van Wijk.

(47) DNV. 7 September 1907. The show was conducted in the Hotel Slier. 19 September 1907, featuring Fiat (12-18 h.p.), Spyker (10-15 h.p), and V.lcam (8 h.p.)

(48) DNV. 16 December 1912 NV Hotel Slier opened an automobile rental company. DNV. 6 May 1914, the was an automobile rental company managed by a Javanese, Djopjoep spitio, Handboek voor Cultuur en Handels-Onderneemingen (Amsterdam: J.H. de huss, yearly). 1915: 1916. C. Senius was registered as an automobile dealer.
(49) MR 1899/183; DNV, 13 August 1900.

(50) DNV, 13 March 1901.

(51) DNV, 15 May 1901.

(52) Sajid, Bahad Salo, 74.

(53) DNV, 28 April 1902.

(54) Advertisement, DNV, 15 December 1902.

(55) Advertisement, DNV, 15 October 1902.

(56) Advertisement, DNV, 6 November 1903.

(57) DNV, 6 May 1903.

(58) DNV, 6 May 1903.

(59) DNV, 1 December 1905.

(60) In Hordbok 1915:1001, it was reported that the dividends were consecutively in 1909 7.5%, in 1910 8%, in 1911 8.5%, in 1912 8%, and in 1913 10%.

(61) DNV, 15 May 1905.

(62) DNV, 26 July 1905.

(63) DNV, 20 May 1903.

(64) DK, 4 April 1904.

(65) DK, 8 February 1906.

(66) DNV, 10 February 1905.

(67) Baumgarten, 4 January 1911 reported the darkness of the small streets in Kratonan Kidul.
(68) DK. 13 November 1906.

(69) Verslag Bf. 1903.

(70) DNV. 24 June 1903.

(71) DK. 14 January 1964.

(72) DK. 15 September 1904.

(73) DK. 28 September 1905. It was also reported that the Pasar Totoog had been abandoned by the traders whose traders moved to the Pasar Legi.

(74) See agenda of the events, e.g., DNV. 2 January 1899; DNV. 1 January 1900.

(75) Information on the date of birth of an institution could be found in J.C. Palu, Albrecht's Klapper op de Wetboeken en het Staatsblad van Nederlandsch. Indië benevens op het Bijblad op der Staatsblad van het Jaar 1916 tot en met het Jaar 1917 (Leiden: A.W. Stijthoff's Uitgevers-Maatschappij, nd.).

(76) The Handboek revealed that in 1900 there were only seven European shops, while they were 14 in 1905. In 1900 Chinese shops numbered seven, while it was 23 in 1905.

(77) DNV. 2 January 1899; 4 April 1900, 17 July 1900; Handboek 1905, 1906, and 1915. In 1901 there was advertisement of Schoenborg Hotel, (advertisement, DNV, January 1901), but the name of the hotel did not appear in the Handboek. The hotels served take-out meal, monthly subscription with or without breakfast, lunch, and supper (DNV, 2 January 1905; see advertisement Hotel Dolme), beside hotel there was pension (in-house stay with breakfast), see Handboek 1905: 554.

(78) DNV. 22 April 1903.

(79) DNV. 26 December 1903, advertisement. The meat house in Hotel Skor was to be operated by 1 January 1904 and could bring fresh meat to the house. The European slaughter houses were one in Kebales, one in Kveteg-gang- and one in Achtersstraat (see advertisement pages on DNV 2 January 1903, DNV 3 July 1903, DNV along the year 1903, and DNV 25 May 1905.)
(80) DNV, 31 July 1907, advertisement.

(81) DNV 18 December 1909, advertisement. Milk was under inspection of Laboratorium der Vorstenlanden.

(82) DNV 3 January 1900, advertisement

(83) The public library was located in Batangan; it had 2,000 copies, comprising of novels, journals, and others. It was opened on Sundays from 8:00 to 10:00 in the morning and Thursdays from 17:00 to 19:00 in the evening. See DNV in November 1902.

(84) See advertisements of DNV 7 June 1909, 30 December 1910.

(85) Dutch, Chinese, and Japanese dentist were in the city at different times. See advertisements in DNV 9 July 1902, DNV 24 November 1902, and DNV 25 January 1909.

(86) DNV 23 January 1899, DNV 12 March 1900, and DNV 26 April 1905. The most famous auctioner was Th. Rouland Landouw. An auctioner was needed especially by those who wanted to leave the city, for instance, on Monday and Tuesday, j 31 January 1899, furniture an goods in the toko of Mrs. Lecluse were auctioned due to the owner was leaving.

(87) RA 1905, the notary public (HFF Hultmaan) was appointed on 2 April 1901.

(88) DNV, 23 April 1909, advertisement.

(89) See advertisement on DNV 17 January 1901 for cookies; advertisements of carriage's repair on DNV 16 February 1903, DNV 26 June 1903, DNV 27 January 1909, and DNV 31 May 1913; news for inspection of horses on DNV 18 March 1907; and advertisement on insurance on DNV 15 April 1910.

(90) It was advertised on DNV 1 June 1906 an opening of "Grand Salon de Coiffeure" run by d person with "Diplome de l'école professionelle de Marseilles"; advertisement, DNV 5 Noember 1906.

(91) Advertisements of DNV 21 August 1907 and DNV 6 January 1910.
(92) DNV 3 January 1900 and DNV 2 January 1901. The family seemed to experience upward mobility. In 1900 a person was advertising himself as a mere tailor. In 1901 another person with the same surname—possibly father or brother—advertised himself to have moved to a new place apparently for there was enlargement of the tailor business. He owned—in addition to tailor—a stuff store and ready-to-wear factory-made dresses. This fact showed that Solo was an open society for those who wanted progress.

(93) DNV 6 April 1901 contained an advertisement of one "Madame Parizene" selling ladies' fashions who visited the city for several days.

(64) See advertisement of masked-dance and ladies' shoes on DNV 24 January 1902.

(55) Religious services could be seen in the local newspapers. See, for instance, DNV 2 January 1900 for Protestant church and DNV 23 March 1903 for Catholicism.

(96) DNV 26 April 1905. The Freemasonry established an insurance policy for the children of the officials of Dutch companies (RA 1912: 372).

(67) DNV 12 March 1900; DNV 14 December 1901; DNV 1 March 1907; DNV 4 April 1912. Members were free of charge, while non-members paid 2.50 guilders. Usually the club would begin at 5:00.

(98) Advertisement DNV 2 April 1900. The wearing wrong performance was held at Garuda (Ceylon) on behalf of the Transvaal Committee—formed in defense of the Dutch interests during the Boer War. The tickets ranged from 2, 1, 0.50, and 0.20 guilders; the lowest price being for the native. The two circuses were performed in the alun-alun. The ticket ranged from 1, 2, 1, and 50 guilders; the lowest being for the native. The Balinese and the Resident saw both in different days.

(99) DK 27 February 1905 and DK 13 March 1905. The group seemed to be very popular, so that it performed for so long in the city. Before it moved to alun-alun it had performed somewhere else in the city. It was famous for its excellent players, funny clown's new costumes, and new curtain. The favourite play was "Russia versus Japan".

(100) DK 25 July 1905. "Redwood or rented" was possibly, the former of laksuk, for it was mentioned that it was very popular in Java.
(101) DNV 9 August 1907 reported that the Ned. Ind. Biograph Cie. performed "Dr. Faust in 8 Tabletten" in the palace square. DNV JL March 1909 reported that the Wilhelmina Bioscope, the Flying Bioscope, and the De Johannes Biograph were performed in the ohun-ahun. The De Johannes Biograph again was in the ohun-ahun not during the Sekaten feast (DNV 5 November 1909).

(102) DNV 1 July 3910. the Apollo Biograph was performing on 1-2 July 1910.

(103) DNV 14 December 1903.

(104) DNV 18 March 1907.

(105) DNV 23 January 1912.

(106) DNV 25 April 1913.

(107) DNV, 25 January 1909. Supplier of the Sunan was Apotheek A Coenen.

(108) Javanese shops usually sold Javanese things such as batik, wayang, topeng (mask), lupis (fan), tobacco, mats, ketupat, and variety of cigarettes. Coyadan and Kemlayan were famous of such shops (See advertisements in DK, 1906's and DNV, 22 June 1906).

(109) MR 1902/335. they were in Wananggelem, Widuran, Mesen, Linolasar, Belon, Saragenen (formerly in Jagalan), Coyadan, Pasar Pon, Pasar Klitong, Gading, Gemblongan, Lawejan, Panualan, Gilingan, Tetojan, Purwani, and one other. There were two other places, Lejiwurung and Kawaiatan.

(110) DK, 10 March 1910; DNV, 30 June 1914.

(111) DNV, 20 December 1913: DNV, 29 August 1915.

(112) In 1914 the police system had 41 personals of the colonial government. 150 personals of the Margkun-graran, and 277 personals of the Kasunanan (DNV, 22 August 1914). The shift was five hours: 7:00 AM to 15:00 PM and 16:00 PM to 21:00 PM (DK, 14 January 1904).