

THE LIFE OF EUROPEAN SOCIETY IN THE TOENTANGSCHEWEG AREA IN THE CITY OF SALATIGA, 1917-1942

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ABSTRACT

The development of private plantations made Salatiga a magnet for newcomers from outside the city. The population increase forced the government to provide land for settlements. These newcomers were usually Europeans working on the plantations. The land on *Toentangscheweg*, previously used for coffee farming, was transformed into an exclusive settlement for the European elite. *Toentangscheweg* was developed into an area with complete facilities and a beautiful environment, featuring grand and solid European architectural buildings. The purpose of this research is to provide an overview of the *Gemeente* in Salatiga, the characteristics of European settlements on *Toentangscheweg*, and the life of the European community residing there. This study employs a historical research method, including stages such as topic selection, heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The results of this study show that European settlements had many differences from other settlements, particularly indigenous villages. The lives of Europeans on *Toentangscheweg* reflected their higher caste compared to the native population. These differences were especially evident in the building architecture and lifestyle. The conclusion of this research is that the relocation of the administrative center to *Toentangscheweg* turned this area into a European settlement with European-style buildings, which have now become cultural heritage sites in Salatiga that need to be preserved and protected.

Keywords: Salatiga, *Gemeente*, European Settlement, *Toentangscheweg*, Heritage

INTRODUCTION

The enactment of the *Decentralisatie Wet* 1903 or the Decentralization Law of 1903 by the Dutch East Indies Government granted cities in the Dutch East Indies the right to have independent governance, finance, and administration. The duties of the city government included the development and maintenance of the city, covering roads, water channels, building and housing inspections, housing improvements, and city expansion. Based on this law, autonomous governments known as Kota Praja or *Gemeente* were established, both in Java and outside of Java. Shortly after, in 1905, the *Localen-Raden Ordonnantie* was issued, which granted city governments the authority to determine the prerequisites for city development.¹

Based on the contents of *Staatsblad* No. 266 of 1917, the municipal government is responsible for organizing, upgrading, and opening urban roads (including the construction of drainage systems, city parks, bridges, street name signs, etc.), cleaning and beautifying the existing streets, parks, and public squares in the city, as well as providing street lighting for the public.² The funding for the program comes from the *gemeente's* local revenue, which is derived from land taxes, entertainment taxes, advertisement taxes, residential permits, and business activity permits.³ The government carried out extensive development in Salatiga, indirectly introducing various new public facilities previously unknown to the indigenous population. It is undeniable that the development, initially aimed at improving the comfort of the European community, was also indirectly enjoyed by the indigenous people. The road layout was designed in such a way, following a radial concentric pattern or Baroque City style from Europe, characterized by four wide and beautiful streets converging at a central point, marked by a water roundabout that became the city center. With this road pattern, the city center could be accessed from various areas.⁴ The point considered appropriate to serve as the city center is the current Tugu roundabout. This location is the intersection of four roads: *Soloscheweg* (now Jenderal Sudirman Street), *Toentagscheweg* (now Diponegoro Street), *Bringinscheweg* (now Pattimura Street), and *Wilheminalaan* (now Pemuda Street), which emerged in 1917 when Salatiga became a *Gemeente* (municipality).

¹ Jamilus Jamilus, 'Tinjauan Yuridis Konsep Compact City Dalam Mendukung Tata Ruang Kota', *Jurnal Rechts Vinding: Media Pembinaan Hukum Nasional*, 6.2 (2017), 213–26 <<https://doi.org/10.33331/rechtsvinding.v6i2.162>>. hlm. 222

² Firdan Fadlan Sidik, 'Mengkaji Ulang Salatiga Sebagai Kota Toleransi: Masa Kolonial Hingga Pasca-Kemerdekaan', *Al-Qalam*, 25.3 (2020), 457–66 <<https://doi.org/10.31969/alq.v25i3.782>>. hlm. 458

³ Fandy Aprianto Rohman, 'Administrasi Pemerintahan Gemeente Di Salatiga 1917-1942', *Walasuji: Jurnal Sejarah Dan Budaya*, 11.1 (2020), 115–27 <<https://doi.org/10.36869/wjsb>>. hlm. 123

⁴ Muh Khoirul Anwar, 'Rekonstruksi Kota Kolonial Salatiga Dan Kontribusi Teknologi Geographical Information System', *SASDAYA: Gajah Mada Journal of Humanities*, 3.2 (2019), 141–50 <<https://doi.org/10.22146/sasdayajournal.50349>>. hlm. 146

When Salatiga became an *Afdeling*, there was an increase in urbanization, predominantly driven by Europeans. This was because many of them held positions as plantation officials, plantation workers, or workers in other sectors such as government or education. The establishment of a *gemeente* led to a rapid improvement in urban facilities, which in turn increased the flow of urbanization in Salatiga.⁵ Naturally, this led to an increase in the demand for residential land. Consequently, the *Gemeente* Salatiga government utilized the land in *Toentangscheweg* as a special residential area for the European community.

European settlements are more based on logical considerations such as infrastructure completeness, environmental health, and guaranteed comfort aspects.⁶ This can be seen in the policy of selecting locations used for European settlements, which were isolated from other ethnic groups. Consequently, the European settlements marginalized the traditional settlements that had existed earlier. This became more evident with several policies related to territorial planning, one of which was the *Decentraliewet* (decentralization of governance).

Many *Gemeente* cities established new government centers by constructing buildings with modern colonial architecture in the city center (not around the town square). The Dutch colonial government wanted to demonstrate its authority in the newly built city centers. In addition, the colonial government also aimed to present a modern image, free from the traditional Javanese influences, such as the town square and the surrounding buildings.⁷ The center of government developed around the fort. This statement is presumed to be due to factors of security and governmental coordination. As more Europeans arrived, the area around the fort transformed into a European settlement.⁸ This also happened in Salatiga. During the *gemeente* period, elite settlements developed around the official residence of the Salatiga assistant, located near *Fort Hock*. People competed to build European-style houses. The city center of Salatiga was moved from the town square to the elite European residential area along *Toentangscheweg*. This is evidenced by the numerous colonial-style houses along *Toentangscheweg*, which is now known as Diponegoro Street. The establishment of *Europesche Wijk*, or the European settlement on *Toentangscheweg*, was not only due to the fact that this road was the main route connecting Salatiga with Semarang, but also because of its proximity to plantations in the Salatiga *Afdeling*,

⁵ Darto Harnoko, 'Pembangunan Infrastruktur Salatiga Pada Masa Gemeente Awal Abad XX', *Patra Widya: Seri Penerbitan Penelitian Sejarah Dan Budaya*, 14.1 (2013), 75–98. hlm. 86

⁶ Dimas Wihardyanto and Ikaputra Ikaputra, 'Pembangunan Permukiman Kolonial Belanda Di Jawa : Sebuah Tinjauan Teori', *Nature: National Academic Journal of Architecture*, 6.2 (2019), 146–61 <<https://doi.org/10.24252/nature.v6i2a5>>. hlm. 147

⁷ Ruli Muji Astutik, 'Gemeente Probolinggo 1918-1926', *AVATARA, e-Journal Pendidikan Sejarah*, 1.3 (2013). hlm. 525

⁸ Dimas Wihardyanto and Dwita Hadi Rahmi, 'Pengaruh Kolonialisasi Belanda Di Kawasan Pusat Kota Pulau Jawa : Sebuah Kajian Literatur', *Nature: National Academic Journal of Architecture*, 7.1 (2020), 15–35 <<https://doi.org/10.24252/nature.v7i1a2>>. hlm. 29

such as Assinan, Banaran, Tlogo, Sembir, Malambong, Plaur, Golli, Getas, Gesangan, Jatirunggo, Ampel, and Ampel Gading.⁹

The control center of colonial city governments was located in the city center. Government buildings such as offices, prisons, and forts were constructed in the heart of the city. Meanwhile, the settlement patterns of the city were formed around the city center based on the grouping of communities, with the pluralistic society being the inhabitants of the city.¹⁰ Although elite residential areas, particularly for European communities, expanded beyond just *Toentangscheweg*, this road had its own advantages. As a governmental center, the residential areas along *Toentangscheweg* provided various facilities for the residents living on this road. The road was paved with asphalt and beautified with the construction of sidewalks, as well as the improvement of fences for houses and offices along *Toentangscheweg*. Specifically, many intercity public vehicles passed through *Toentangscheweg*. To maintain the area's lush greenery, the *gemeente* government planted walnut, mahogany, and tamarind trees along the road, and encouraged residents to plant flowers and ornamental plants in their yards. This green area was also equipped with adequate drainage. Other facilities that complemented *Toentangscheweg* included a well-maintained park, an electrical network, and a water supply system. The European residential area was very close to public facilities such as the post office, pharmacy, schools, hotels, churches, traditional markets, swimming pools, and shopping areas owned by the Chinese ethnic community. The rapid growth of the urban middle class led the European community to demand sufficient city facilities. They yearned for cities in Indonesia to be built like their hometowns in Europe. This resulted in the development of major Indonesian cities transforming into modern cities with modern Western-style architectural buildings.¹¹ The aforementioned points indicate that European settlements developed significantly because they were prioritized in terms of infrastructure development.

Based on the description above, the researcher can formulate three scientific questions: 1) What is the general overview of *Gemeente Salatiga*? 2) What are the characteristics of the European settlement in *Toentangscheweg*? 3) What was life like for the European community in *Toentangscheweg*? The objectives of this research include describing and explaining the general overview of *Gemeente Salatiga* from 1917 to 1942, explaining the characteristics of the European residential environment in *Toentangscheweg*, and explaining the life of the European community residing in *Toentangscheweg*.

The spatial scope of this research is the *Toentangscheweg* area in Salatiga, which is now known as Diponegoro Street, while the temporal scope is from 1917 to

⁹ Aprianto Rohman. hlm. 122

¹⁰ Siti Syuhada, Supian Ramli, and Reka Seprina, 'Sejarah Kota Modern Masa Kolonial Belanda: Studi Kasus Kota Tua Di Muaro Tembesi Batang Hari', *Titian: Jurnal Ilmu Humaniora*, 1.2 (2017), 172–90 <<https://doi.org/10.22437/titian.v1i2.4226>>. hlm. 184

¹¹ Chandra Fandy Ashidiqi, 'Perkembangan Pemukiman Eropa Di Surabaya Tahun 1910-1930', *AVATARA, e-Journal Pendidikan Sejarah*, 5.3 (2017). hlm. 6

1942, based on the establishment of the *Gemeente* Salatiga in 1917 and its continuation until 1942.

In the book titled *The Modernization of the Indonesian City, 1920-1960* by Freek Colombijn, the author explains the Dutch colonial urban planning or the modernization of cities in Indonesia, which was influenced by urban planning policies implemented by the Dutch colonial government. The planning of cities such as Batavia (Jakarta), Bandung, and Surabaya was based on European principles but adapted to the needs and conditions of the tropics. One of the focuses was the separation of spaces between Europeans, Chinese, and native inhabitants (inlanders), creating social and spatial segregation.¹² This is similar to what occurred in Salatiga, a city shaped according to Dutch colonial city planning, where residential areas were divided according to social classes.

Previous research conducted by Karyono (2002) in his thesis titled "Kota Salatiga: A Study on the Development of the Colonial City 1917-1942" explains the history of the city of Salatiga during the *gemeente* period, focusing on governmental, economic, and social developments. Meanwhile, the research by Emy Wuryani and Djoko Suryo (2006) titled "Distrik Salatiga 1900-1942" discusses the socio-economic developments in Salatiga during the *Afdeling* Salatiga period until it became *Gemeente* Salatiga. Both writings do not focus on the development of European life in Salatiga, particularly in the European settlement of *Toentangscheweg*. So far, the researcher has not found studies on the lives of Europeans in *Toentangscheweg*. For this reason, the researcher is interested in studying what happened in the European settlement area of *Toentangscheweg*, Salatiga, during the years 1917-1942.

METHOD

In this study, the researcher employed the historical research method. The historical research method is a systematic collection of principles and rules intended to assist in the gathering of historical sources, critically assessing those sources, and presenting the findings in written form based on what has been achieved. From this definition, it can be concluded that conducting historical research requires several steps: (1) Topic Selection, (2) Heuristics, (3) Source Criticism, (4) Interpretation, (5) Historiography.¹³

The first step taken was the selection of a topic. Within the scope of location and time period, this research focuses on *Toentangscheweg*, located in the city of Salatiga, during the period of the *gemeente* government from 1917 to 1942.

In the heuristic phase (source search), the researcher seeks sources related to the topic, namely the European settlements in the *Gemeente* Salatiga. The primary sources obtained include archives from the National Archives of the Republic of

¹² Freek Colombijn and Joost Johannes Cote, *The Modernization of The Indonesian City, 1920-1960* (Netherlands: Brill, 2015).

¹³ Wasino and Endah Sri Hartatik, *Metode Penelitian Sejarah: Dari Riset Hingga Penulisan*, 1st edn (Yogyakarta: Magnum Pustaka Utama, 2018). hlm. 11

Indonesia (ANRI), such as *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1917 No. 266 on the Establishment of the Salatiga Municipal Council (*Instelling Van Een Gemeenteraad Van Salatiga*), as well as contemporary newspapers like *De Koerier*, *De Locomotief*, and *Algemeen Handelsblad voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, which were retrieved from delpher.nl/kranten. Secondary sources in this research utilize previous studies related to the topic of European settlements in *Gemeente Salatiga* and the history of Salatiga from 1917 to 1942. The next stage is source criticism. This process aims to determine which facts are true and which are not. It involves reviewing whether the sources are accurate, whether they are original or derived. The interpretation stage involves analyzing data by combining facts to provide an interpretation. The final step is historiography. Historiography refers to the writing of historical events based on research and interpretation while adhering to the principles of realization or by arranging events in a chronological and interrelated sequence.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Colonial City Salatiga

The morphology of Salatiga influences the selection of residential areas, traffic infrastructure, and the use of agricultural land. The fertility of Salatiga's soil, which is affected by volcanic activity and sufficient rainfall, has made the city a magnet for people to settle there. In their efforts to develop plantations, private entrepreneurs employed local villagers and Dutch settlers living in Salatiga. These Dutch residents were often agricultural and plantation experts brought directly from the Netherlands. This contributed to the increase in the European population in Salatiga. Besides Europeans, there was also an influx of migrants from outside Salatiga, including Chinese, Middle Eastern, and indigenous people from nearby cities such as Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Initially, these immigrants arrived as traders and later settled in Salatiga. This population growth affected the transformation of land use, with plantations gradually giving way to residential areas, such as in *Toentangscheweg* and *Bringinscheweg*. The attraction of Salatiga for immigrants, in addition to job opportunities, was due to the city's low property and personal taxes, which were set to be further reduced. Moreover, there were no land, road, business, or street lighting taxes.¹⁴

The settlement in Salatiga during the *Gemeente* era was divided into three categories based on the economic class of the community. The first group consisted of the indigenous people or local residents. The second group, known as "*Vreemde Oosterlingen*" (Foreign Easterners), was made up of Chinese, Arab, and other Asian people. The third group consisted of Europeans, most of whom were prominent figures in Salatiga. According to the *Wijkenstelsel* law, the city center was designated for the European community, while the eastern side of this area housed the Chinese ethnic community, and on the eastern outskirts of the city, the indigenous people resided. Due to this structure, colonial cities in Indonesia, such as Salatiga, were referred to as

¹⁴ 'Vestigt U Te Salatiga', 1936.

tripartite cities, as they involved three elements: the indigenous component comprising the royal court and villages, the Chinese ethnic component with their homes and shops, and the Western component with forts and colonial-style houses.



Figure 1. Map of *Gemeente Salatiga* in 1940.
Source: Salatiga - Geschiedenis

Towards *Gemeente Salatiga*

Salatiga is an important location due to its strategic position between Semarang and Surakarta, making it one of the areas included in the agreement between the VOC and Mataram on January 15, 1678. This agreement concerned the cession of the Semarang region. Sultan Amangkurat II granted the port of Semarang and the monopoly rights for textile and madat trade to the VOC.¹⁵ In maintaining its power, the VOC built the *de Hersteleer Fort*, or *Fort de Hersteller*, which was conceived by Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff during his journey through the Semarang-Ungaran-Salatiga region to Surakarta. Besides serving to defend its position, this fort was also

¹⁵ Abdul Syukur, "Historiografi Belandasentris," *Jurnal Sejarah Lontar* 7, no. 2 (2010): 41–49, doi:10.21009/LONTAR.072.04. hlm. 42

used to monitor the activities of the Mataram Kingdom. The location of *Fort de Hersteller* is approximately where the *Berg en Dal* Hotel is currently situated.¹⁶

During the Diponegoro War from 1825 to 1830, Salatiga became the site of negotiations among the regional residents whose areas were involved in the Diponegoro War in 1826. After the Diponegoro War ended, specifically in 1835, the Dutch built military barracks for the cavalry and office buildings in the western part of the field. In addition to constructing military barracks, the Dutch also built a military hospital and housing for medical personnel around the hospital. A cemetery was also established near the hospital, organized according to nationality.

According to *Staatsblad* No. 35 dated February 13, 1895, Salatiga was part of Semarang Regency. Until the end of 1901, Salatiga no longer held the status of a control *afdeling* and began to merge with Ambarawa. Two years later, Salatiga became an administrative city led by an assistant resident. The *afdeling* of Salatiga was divided into two control *afdelingen*, namely Salatiga and Ambarawa. The *afdeling* of Salatiga supervised the districts of Salatiga and Tengaran, while the *afdeling* of Ambarawa oversaw the districts of Ambarawa and Ungaran.

In 1917, through the *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1917 No. 266, Salatiga was designated as an autonomous region by the Dutch East Indies government. The *Gemeente* of Salatiga was led by a mayor or *burgermester* who was directly appointed by the central government. However, at that time, Salatiga was still governed by the *Assistant Resident*, J.H.J. Sigal. The *burgermester* was assisted by *de Gemeenteraad*, which consisted of eleven members made up of 8 Europeans, 1 Asian, and 2 Bumiputra.¹⁷ The *Gemeente* status assigned to the city of Salatiga encourages the government to make improvements in various fields, such as enhancing economic resources to fund government operations and meet the needs of its citizens. Several facilities and infrastructures that have been built and improved include:

- 1) Government Building
- 2) Telecommunications Office (Post and Telegraph)
- 3) Educational Institution
- 4) Market
- 5) Military Barracks
- 6) Clean Water Facilities and Street Lighting
- 7) Increasing the number of general practitioners, veterinarians, medical personnel, and notaries
- 8) Public and Private Hospitals
- 9) State Cash Office
- 10) Coffee Warehouse
- 11) Area Planning for Housing
- 12) Entertainment Venues and Recreational Parks.¹⁸

However, in practice, the development and organization of the city of Salatiga have not been fully realized effectively. As reported in *De Locomotief* dated March 31, 1919, there are still many piles of garbage in the Kali Taman river that is located in the

¹⁶ 'Salatiga Nummer', *De Locomotief*, 27 March 1936.

¹⁷ 'Staatsblad Van Nederlandsch-Indie No. 266', 1917.

¹⁸ Emy Wuryani and Prof. Dr. Djoko Suryo, 'Distrik Salatiga 1900-1942' (Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2006). hlm. 61

city center.¹⁹ In addition, in the Salatiga news column for the June 1919 edition, it was reported that Salatiga was facing various problems regarding the poor condition of the city's roads. One of the roads in poor condition was "*Toentangscheweg*." This road was muddy and rocky, so red flags were often placed as a warning that the road was under repair.²⁰ In addition to the road issues, there are sanitation problems with the ditches that are rarely cleaned. However, amidst this problem, Salatiga was crowned the most beautiful city in Central Java or *De Schoonste Staat van Midden Java*. Salatiga gained a new status as a *stadsgemeente* in 1926, granting the city full autonomy, thereby accelerating urban development. For example, at that time, Salatiga already had paved roads and sidewalks for pedestrians. Certainly, facilities like this benefit not only white people but all residents of Salatiga.

The Urban Planning of Gemeente Salatiga

The *Gemeente* Salatiga is organizing the city using the Baroque City concept.²¹ The Baroque City emphasizes strong central control and hierarchy. Cities with this concept have strict zoning with separate areas for public space, privacy, housing, and industry. The zoning point chosen by the government at that time was the roundabout at the current monument, which used to be the meeting point of three main roads: the intersection of the roads from Solo-Semarang and Bringin. To prepare this point as the city center, a new road was constructed heading east towards Kalitaman. With the addition of this new road, Salatiga has a European-style intersection. The road to Semarang was named *Toentangscheweg* (now Diponegoro Street). The road to Solo was called *Soloscheweg* (now Jendral Sudirman Street). The road to Bringin was named *Bringinscheweg* (now Patimura Street). Meanwhile, the new road leading to Kalitaman was named *Wilheminalaan* (now Pemuda Street).

During that period, the streets in *Gemeente* Salatiga were named after Dutch names. Some streets used the names of the Dutch royal family, such as *Wilheminalaan*, which was intended to honor Queen Wilhelmina. Below are the street names that use Dutch terms: *Kerkhofweg* (now Taman Pahlawan Street), *Prinsenlaan* (now Tentara Pelajar Street), *Prins Hendriklaan* (now Yos Sudarso Street), *Julianalaan* (now Langensuko Street), *Villa Park* (now Lapangan Kridanggo Street), *Kampementsweg* (now Ahmad Yani Street), *Emmalaan* (now Adisucipto Street), *Willemslaan* (now Ledoksari Street), *Achterweg* (now Pungkursari Street), *Normaalschoollaan* (now Kartini Street), *Cavalariweg* (now Veteran Street), *Verbindingsweg* (now Kalinongko Street), *De Witteweg* (now Dr. Soemadi Street), and *Kweekschoolaan* (now Osamaliki Street).²²

Around the 1920s, Salatiga had already enjoyed electricity, and its residents had experienced street lighting, although it was still limited to the main roads. The source of electricity in Salatiga came from a power plant in Desa Jelok, located a few kilometers north of Salatiga. Many supporting facilities and infrastructure were built at the point designated as the city center, with the aim of making this area an elite zone. Across the street to the east of the *Assistant Resident's* house, Taman Sari was constructed.

¹⁹ Karyono, 'Kota Salatiga: Studi Tentang Perkembangan Kota Kolonial 1917-1942' (Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2002). hlm. 77

²⁰ 'Uit Salatiga', *De Locomotief*, 12 March 1936.

²¹ Harnoko. hlm. 97

²² Harnoko. hlm. 87

The Taman Sari area serves as the central point for governance and the economy. The government center of Salatiga was moved from Alun-Alun Salatiga to the vicinity of Taman Sari or the *Toentangscheweg* area. The alun-alun typically served as the control center for colonial cities in Java. Thus, the alun-alun is designated as a Civic Center.²³

Tamansari, commonly referred to as Oei Tiong Ham Tuin, is a lush garden utilized as a public space for the community of Salatiga. This park offers a vacation experience with a natural ambiance set against the backdrop of Mount Merbabu and Telomoyo. In Tamansari, there are many plants, such as Bougainvillea and Allamanda, which enhance the beauty of this garden. The Tamansari area is prohibited for entry by locals.

A swimming pool measuring 20 x 15 meters, famously known as *badplaats* Kalitaman, was built as a sports facility. In addition to the swimming pool, a tennis court was also constructed within the Taman Sari complex, located to the west of Kalitaman. Still within the Taman Sari complex, precisely to the west of the tennis court, a powder house was built and converted into a church (*Indische Krek*) to enhance the city's aesthetics.

To the south and north of Tamansari, two luxury hotels were built named *Berg en Dal* on the southern side and Kalitaman on the northern side. Other city facilities that were built include office facilities such as *Algemeene Volksch Bank*, *Post Telefoon Telegram Kantoor*, and *Assistant Resident*, which are located in one location with its official residence. These three offices are located in close proximity to one another.

The recreation building for Europeans was also constructed by the municipal government, known as *Societeit Harmonie*, located to the east of Hotel Kalitaman. To support other recreational facilities, several villas were built, such as *Villa Vacantie Oord* (located to the west of Pancasila Field) and *Villa Wilantianna* (which now serves as the official residence of the commander of the Korem). In addition to the villas, *Kinder Vacantie Colonie* was established a few dozen meters in front of *Kerkhof*. Another entertainment facility built by the government was a cinema. The first cinema in Salatiga was *Rex*, which later changed its name to *Reksa*. Local residents commonly referred to it as "*gambar sorot*."²⁴

Another equally important development is educational facilities. The educational facilities in Salatiga at that time were adequate and could accommodate all three segments of society. Schools in Salatiga were established by both the government and private entities. In the southern region of Blauran, the municipal government built educational institutions known as the *Eerste Europeesche Lagere School* and *Tweede Europeesche Lagere School* on *Toentangscheweg*. Additionally, the government established the *Hollandsche Chinese School (HCS)* in Margosari to specifically serve the Chinese ethnic group. Furthermore, the *Normaalschool* and *Kweekschool* were also built, along with five village schools and a *Vervolgschool* facility in Sinoman Tempel, which served as an extension of the village school. Mission schools were established between 1921 and 1930, in line with the increasing number of adherents to Christianity, Catholicism, and the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

In the field of health, the government built several hospitals. The hospitals established at that time included a Military Hospital located behind *Kerkoof* and a

²³ Handinoto, *Arsitektur Dan Kota-Kota Di Jawa Pada Masa Kolonial*, 1st edn (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2012). hlm. 238

²⁴ Eddy Supangkat, *Salatiga Sketsa Kota Lama*, Special (Salatiga: Griya Media, 2014). hlm. 26

tuberculosis hospital situated outside the city towards Kopeng. These two hospitals provided significant benefits for both white people and indigenous communities. The indigenous population tended to be vulnerable to diseases due to their economically disadvantaged status. They were able to receive free treatment provided by medical personnel, most of whom were Europeans. These medical staff also conducted visits to villages in open jeeps for health check-ups. At certain times, health officials would carry out spraying to prevent mosquitoes from nesting in residents' homes and to combat plague outbreaks caused by rats. The improvement of roads in the villages, such as reinforcing the roads with stone tiles, facilitated *jeep* access into the village areas, thereby speeding up the delivery of healthcare services.

In the economic facility, the Kalicacing Market located on *Soloscheweg* was renovated by the municipal government in 1928. At this time, the Kalicacing Market was renowned for its cleanliness, with clean floors, excellent air circulation, good lighting, and a well-organized arrangement of goods according to their types. In addition to rebuilding the Kalicacing Market, the government also constructed a livestock market and a slaughterhouse. This was done to meet the meat needs of the Europeans, which had become a daily part of their diet.

Surrounding the market, residents can establish stalls with the permission of *Burgermeester*. Many Chinese vendors open shops offering a variety of products such as fabrics, groceries, and household items. Initially, only a few Chinese individuals owned shops around the market, but as the Salatiga Market or Kalicacing became increasingly busy, many Chinese immigrants from outside Salatiga came to start businesses catering to the daily needs of both the indigenous people and white residents.

Economic activities are clearly interconnected with transportation. Salatiga had a well-developed transportation network in 1917. Even before motorized vehicles arrived in Salatiga, traditional transportation was already in operation. The transportation options available in Salatiga at that time were quite diverse, including traditional horse-drawn carriages known as dokars. It is said that during the *gemeente* government, the dokars were relatively orderly and well-maintained. Owners of dokar rental businesses had to comply with regulations set by the Salatiga *gemeente* government. The first motorized transportation in Salatiga was the ESTO (*Eerste Salatigasche Transport Onderneming*) bus company, founded by Kwa Tjwan Ing in 1923. Before establishing ESTO, Kwa Tjwan Ing purchased small cars in 1920, which were used as taxis.²⁵

Quoted from *De Locomotief*, during the tenure of Mayor Dr. A.L.A. Van Unen (1928-1933), Salatiga developed rapidly compared to the situation before Van Unen took office. During his five years in office, the main roads such as *Toentangscheweg* and *Solocheweg* had sidewalks constructed, additional drainage pipes installed along the main roads, corridors built, markets improved, a terminal and bus stops established, parking spaces provided, water supply increased, and asphalt and paving laid on roads such as *Toentangscheweg*, *Prinsenlaan*, *Kweekschoolaan*, *Salatigalaan*, part of *De Witteweg*, *Bringinscheweg*, *Koffiestraat*, *Missigitlaan*, and *Normaalschoolaan*.²⁶

²⁵ Eni Setyowati, Arif Purnomo, and Abdul Mutholib, 'Sejarah Transportasi Bus Esto Dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Perkembangan Kota Salatiga Tahun 1923-1942', *Journal of Indonesian History (JIH)*, 6.1 (2017), 21–28. hlm. 22

²⁶ 'Vertrek van Salatiga's Burgemeester', *De Locomotief*, 4 April 1934.

European Settlement of Salatiga City

The diversity of the population in Salatiga is a result of many Dutch and European individuals working as officials in the Dutch East Indies government and plantation owners who settled in Salatiga. The residents of Salatiga can be classified based on their livelihoods. For example, the European elite group was responsible for government and military affairs. Additionally, Europeans were wealthy entrepreneurs and plantation employees. Meanwhile, individuals from China and the Middle East were involved in trade and acted as intermediaries between Europeans and the local population. Indigenous people typically earned their livelihoods as farmers, plantation laborers, and manual workers, generally living in lower social strata due to the social discrimination imposed by the Dutch East Indies government.

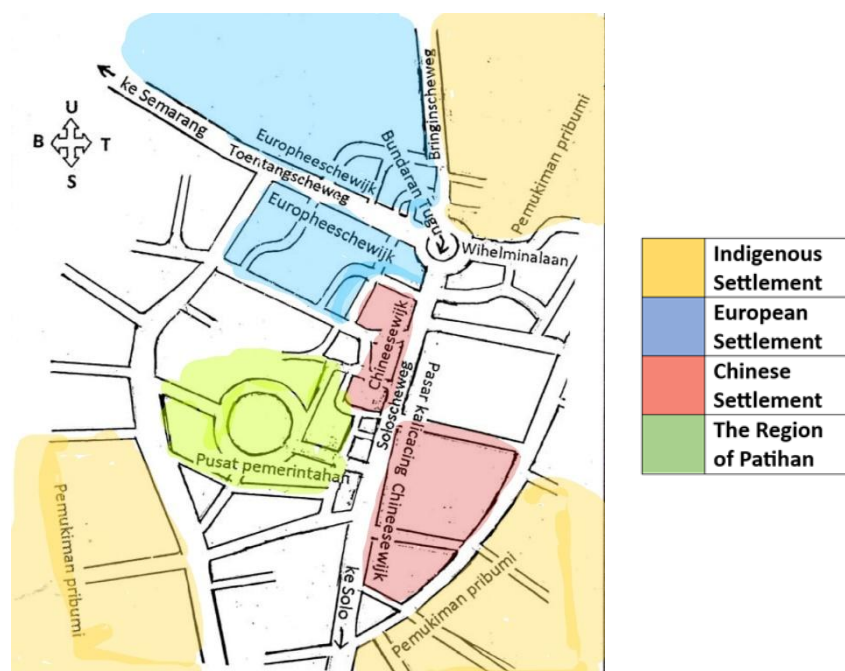


Figure 2. Map of the Settlement Division of Gemeente Salatiga

Source : Maharani, Lutvia. 2009. Pengambilalihan Kota Salatiga Dari Kekuasaan Belanda Ke Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945-1950

Since the establishment of *gemeente*, residential settlements have been classified into several regions grouped according to the ethnicities established in the *Wijkenstelsel* law.²⁷ With the classification of social groups during the colonial period, the residential settlement patterns were categorized as follows: first, in the administrative center (city), there were complexes of houses with permanent walls owned by the Dutch and the indigenous elite. Second, the Chinese district consisted of densely populated buildings that were closely packed together, used as shops, marketplaces, or other service locations situated near the market or along the main road. Third, the indigenous villages had houses with different designs and materials

²⁷ Diana Thamrin, 'Tata Bangunan Rumah Tinggal Daerah Pecinan Di Kota Probolinggo Jawa Timur', *Dimensi Interior: Jurnal Desain Interior*, 8.1 (2010), 1–14 <<https://doi.org/10.9744/interior.8.1.1-14>>. hlm. 2

compared to those of the European or Chinese settlements.²⁸ Based on the concentric radial pattern in Europe, there are four main roads radiating from a single point, which is now the *Tugu* roundabout. Along these four roads, there are residential areas of the Salatiga community according to their respective social groups.

In maintaining power over Java, Daendeles established an elite battalion in Salatiga called "Batalyon A II Bg" (Mountain Artillery Battalion II), which was equipped with heavy weaponry. The presence of this battalion attracted the European community to settle in Salatiga. With the existence of this elite force, they felt safer. Toentangscheweg was chosen as the European settlement, which is also commonly referred to as "*Europesche wijk*." This area was selected because the Tuntang road connected Salatiga to Semarang. Additionally, this road is close to the *Afdeling* plantations in Salatiga, namely the Assinan, Sembir, Banaran, Tlogo plantations, and other plantations.

The European settlement is an elite and exclusive place inhabited only by the elite European community and the elite indigenous group or priyayi. The European settlement area in Salatiga extends to *Banjoebiroeweg* and *Bringinscheweg*.²⁹ This settlement is situated in a strategic location with complete facilities. The roads here are wider than in other places, paved, and lined with shady trees such as walnut, mahogany, and tamarind. These roads also have good drainage. As an elite settlement, this area is equipped with facilities such as parks, an electricity network, *waterleiding*, and transportation services. In particular, *Toentangscheweg* is the route used by intercity public transportation. However, even so, buses coming from Semarang are prohibited from picking up and dropping off passengers along this road, considering that this area is a restricted zone.³⁰ Located in a strategic area, the European settlement is close to the post office, pharmacy, school, hotel, swimming pool, church, traditional market, and a shopping complex owned by the Chinese.

²⁸ Lenrawati Lenrawati, 'Pemukiman Masa Kolonial Di Kota Benteng Selayar', *WALENNAE: Jurnal Arkeologi Sulawesi Selatan Dan Tenggara*, 14.2 (2016), 111–26 <<https://doi.org/10.24832/wln.v14i2.381>>. hlm.120

²⁹ Abel Jatayu Prakosa, *Diskriminasi Rasial Di Kota Kolonial : Salatiga 1917-1942*, 1st edn (Semarang: Sinar Hidoep, 2017). hlm.81

³⁰ Karyono. hlm.135



Figure 3. The Shape of Houses on *Toentangscheweg*
Source: Digital Collection of Leiden University Libraries

Physically, the houses on *Toentangscheweg* are permanent structures that have spacious yards filled with many ornamental plants. The construction of European-style houses features thick, sturdy walls, large double-layer windows and doors (with the outer part made of wood and the inner part made of layered glass), and a front yard serving as a garden. There is a division of rooms including bedrooms, a living room, a family room, a kitchen, and so on. These houses reflect Western architectural styles adapted to the local climate, weather, and customs. The design of the houses on *Toentangscheweg* includes verandas at both the front and back, which are commonly used to enjoy the view of Mount Merbabu in the morning. Waking up early and savoring the morning atmosphere is a customary practice among Europeans in Salatiga. The architecture of European settlements in Salatiga is classified as bungalow architecture, which is a layout designed for recreation and vacation purposes.³¹ The architecture of the European settlements in Salatiga maintains the European building form suitable for tropical areas, characterized by a Deco style that was prevalent during Salatiga's era as a military town. Beginning with the early *Gemeente* Salatiga, buildings featuring Doric style emerged, characterized by homes with terraces, large rooms, and long corridors leading to the kitchen. Between 1923 and 1937, various new tropical-style buildings began to be constructed, representing a blend of modern Western architecture and indigenous traditional architecture. Europeans assessed an individual's social status based on their place of residence, as they believed that houses made of brick were a symbol of prosperity.³²

³¹ Prakosa. hlm. 83

³² Purnawan Basundoro, 'Dari Kampung Desa Ke Kampung Kota : Perubahan Ekologi Kota Surabaya Dalam Perspektif Permukiman Pada Masa Kolonial', *Jantra Jurnal Sejarah Dan Budaya*, 5.10 (2010), 845–61. hlm. 852

The life of the residents of this elite European settlement reflects their high social status. They enjoy luxury goods, unique fashion styles, a diverse food culture, and social activities that reflect their wealth and prosperity. The culture they brought from their home countries, such as recreational trips to tourist destinations, has become a necessity even while they are in a colonized country. For Europeans, *plezier* or leisure is divided into two spaces: indoor and outdoor.³³ The indoor leisure activities they can do in the city of Salatiga include visiting *societiet* or social gatherings, watching movies at the cinema, playing billiards, and staying at hotels. These gatherings are usually held in the *Societiet Harmoni* building, which is located east of Hotel Kalitaman. This building is typically used for dance parties on Saturday nights.³⁴ In addition to serving as a venue for celebrations, this building functions as a multipurpose facility for the interests of European residents in Salatiga. For example, there is an association of housewives in Salatiga that organizes events with the theme of household expenses.³⁵ Other recreational activities include watching movies at a cinema called *Rex*, which was built on *Soloscheweg*, and playing billiards on *Bringinscheweg*. They can also stay at hotels such as Hotel Kopeng or *Huize Dennen Bosch*, as hotels around the city are usually fully booked with tourists from outside the city, or because they seek the thrill of a vacation in the mountainous area. Outdoor leisure that can be done in Salatiga include recreational activities at Taman Sari, playing sports like tennis at the tennis courts located within the Taman Sari complex, or swimming at the *badplaats* Kalitaman.

³³ Wiretno Wiretno, "Aktivitas Pelesir Orang-Orang Eropa Di Surabaya Masa Kolonial (Abad-20)," *Sejarah dan Budaya: Jurnal Sejarah, Budaya, dan Pengajarannya* 13, no. 1 (30 Juni 2019): 12–24. hlm.13

³⁴ Supangkat. hlm.31

³⁵ 'Vereeniging Van Huisvrouwen', *Algemeen Handelsblad Voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 28 September 1939.



Figure 4. The Dressing Style of Europeans and Their Vehicles
Source: Digital Collection of Leiden University Libraries

The European lifestyle in Salatiga is very different from that of the indigenous people. From the beginning, they introduced riding on horseback, while the indigenous people walked. When motor vehicles like cars were very difficult for the indigenous people to own, Europeans were already traversing the streets of Salatiga in those luxurious vehicles, even though their presence was quite rare as they were only owned by the European elite. The car brands that were available in Java at that time included *Mercedes Benz* (Germany), *Ford* (America), and *Fiat* (Italy).³⁶ The clothing they wear is the same as what they have worn in Europe, where men wear suits and ties while women wear dresses in their daily activities. In the evening, they wear pajamas (for men) and nightgowns with robes (for women).³⁷ In everyday life, the food they consume differs from that of the indigenous people. Europeans are accustomed to eating bread, which is why the Salatiga government established a bread factory owned by Mrs. Weduwe Khoe Yoe Tjwan to meet the bread needs of Europeans and Chinese.³⁸

The security of the Toentangscheweg area is ensured by the *Hock Fort*, which was built in the mid-19th century. This fort covers an area of 1,000 meters and stands on land measuring 20,000 square meters. It serves as a kind of guard post with soldiers always on duty along the road.³⁹ This area is inhabited by important figures in Salatiga, such as assistant residents, the mayor, heads of private plantations, and heads of

³⁶ Ilham Rohman Ramadhan, 'Gaya Hidup Masyarakat Perkotaan Jawa Dalam Iklan Media Cetak (1930-1942)', *BIHARI: JURNAL PENDIDIKAN SEJARAH DAN ILMU SEJARAH*, 2.2 (2019) <<https://jurnal.unsil.ac.id/index.php/bihari/article/view/1282>> [accessed 2 August 2024]. hlm. 34

³⁷ M.C Kooy-van Zeggelen, *Ons Huis in Indië: Tentoonstelling "De Vrouw 1813 - 1913"* (Indonesia: Indische Commissie der Tentoonstelling 'De vrouw 1813 - 1913', 1913). hlm.15

³⁸ Wuryani and Suryo. hlm.104

³⁹ 'Garnizoens-Nieuws', *Algemeen Handelsblad Voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 14 February 1938.

European schools. In several articles published in newspapers, there are notable individuals who reside here, such as P. L. J. A. Bunder, an official from the newspaper *De Korier*, who lives at number 93 *Toentangscheweg*⁴⁰ and a Catholic religious figure named *Van Beurden*.⁴¹ The settlement on *Toentangscheweg* was also used as a barracks for the KNIL (Royal Netherlands East Indies Army) and as a residence for their families. The rental prices for houses in this area are high. In an advertisement in the newspaper *De Locomotief* in 1939, the rental price for one of the modern houses on *Toentangscheweg* was f. 45 per month.⁴²

In this elite European settlement, the function of the house is not only to secure oneself and belongings but also to serve as a showcase for wealth. An example is the Djoen Eng Palace owned by Kwik Djoen Eng, a conglomerate from Semarang. It is called a palace because the house is very magnificent and large, resembling a palace. Even at the gate of the house, there is an inscription of a Chinese poem that depicts the beauty of the Salatiga landscape. Besides architecture, the houses in European settlements have distinctive and attractive decorations. They usually match the furniture according to the style and color of the room. Homeowners will purchase or create decorative items such as tablecloths and crochet work to embellish the furniture. This is referred to as *petit reains*, or small details that may seem unimportant but can actually create a sense of comfort.⁴³

Nearby the European settlement of *Toentangscheweg*, there are hotels such as Hotel *Bloomenstein* and Hotel Kalitaman, which are popular among Europeans. Hotel *Bloomenstein* itself is an alternative choice for European tourists looking to vacation in Salatiga when Hotel Kalitaman is fully booked. In addition to hotels for recreation or vacation, this elite settlement also features Rumah Tetirah, a place for rest for those recovering from an illness. The local community in Salatiga commonly refers to it as 'De Mastein Pensioens Hotel'.⁴⁴

As an exclusive settlement designated solely for Europeans, *Toentangscheweg* rarely, if ever, had local or indigenous people residing in the area. However, in 1930, an indigenous person did come to live in this area: RA Kartini's sibling, RA Kardinah. As the first indigenous resident of *Toentangscheweg*, Kardinah faced a lack of sympathy from the Europeans who were displeased with the presence of indigenous families living in the area. Nevertheless, Kardinah boldly stated that one day other indigenous people would also reside in this area.⁴⁵ The statement is realized when in 1935, a tobacco company owner of Bal Tiga brand, Nitisemito, purchased a large plot of land to build a villa on *Toentanscheweg*.

Living in an elite area means that the residents of *Toentangscheweg* not only enjoy a comfortable life but also face certain challenges. Despite living in an elite environment, many Europeans feel socially and psychologically isolated. The distance

⁴⁰ 'Correspondentschap', *De Koerier*, 8 November 1938.

⁴¹ 'Lezing Pater Borromaeus De Greeve', *De Koerier*, 2 November 1938.

⁴² 'The Huur Salatiga', *De Locomotief*, 12 March 1918.

⁴³ Rahmia Nurwulandari and Yulia Nurliani Lukito, 'The Ideal House in the Colony According to *Ons Huis in Indie Book*', *International Journal of Built Environment and Scientific Research*, 4.1 (2020), 33–42 <<https://doi.org/10.24853/ijbesr.4.1.33-42>>. hlm. 37

⁴⁴ Drs. Slamet Rahardjo, *Sejarah Bangunan Cagar Budaya Kota Salatiga* (Pemerintah Daerah Kota Salatiga, 2013). hlm.130

⁴⁵ Prakosa. hlm. 116

from family and friends in Europe, along with limited communication, contributes to their sense of loneliness. Daily life in elite settlements tends to be restricted to a small social circle, with little interaction with indigenous residents or non-elite European communities. The internal stratification among Europeans, formed by birth origins, positions, and income, influences social relationships in everyday life. Indo-Europeans often find themselves conflicted in positioning themselves within the colonial society. On one hand, they are reluctant to engage with the indigenous population, yet on the other hand, they do not find acceptance within the Dutch community. This creates a feeling of being trapped in a small world, even while living in a beautiful and luxurious place.

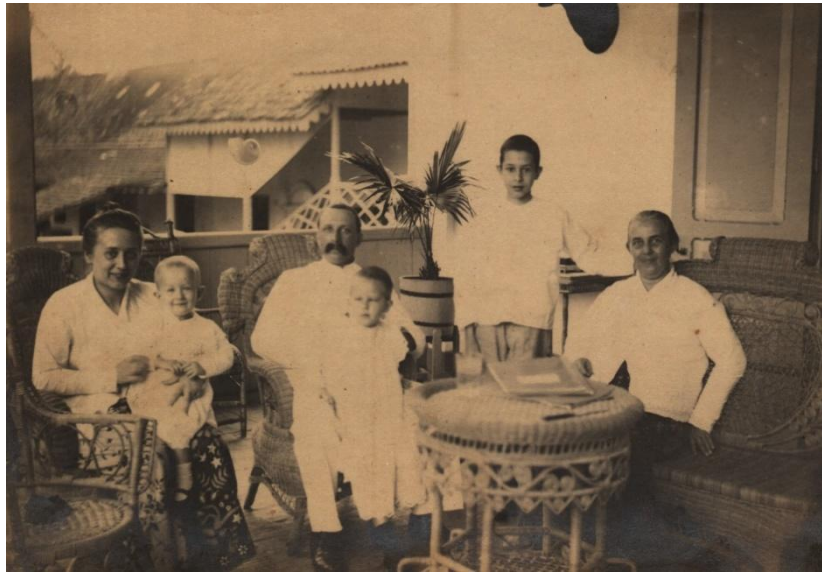


Figure 5. Portrait of the Controller Family in Salatiga, Emile Einthoven - 1907
Source: Digital Collection of Leiden University Libraries

In addition, maintaining a European lifestyle in a different environment also creates social pressure. Many Europeans strive to uphold European standards of living and social habits, even though this is often impractical in tropical settings. Social pressure from fellow Europeans to maintain a "civilized" appearance frequently adds to psychological burdens. Figure 5 is a photograph of Emile Einthoven, who was serving as a controller at the time, alongside his wife, Jeanne Einthoven Gutteling, their three children, and an unnamed elderly Dutch woman. The photo was taken at the residence of the *Assistant Resident* of Salatiga, G.L. Gonggrijp. Jeanne and the elderly Dutch woman are seen wearing white *kebayas* and *batik* cloth, which are traditional clothing for Javanese women.⁴⁶ This indicates that intensive cultural interactions over a long period created a new culture that was different from the previous one. This new culture emerged as a result of Europeans trying to adapt to the environment in the Dutch East Indies.

Living in elite settlements comes with the expectation of maintaining a high social status. Europeans in the Dutch East Indies residing in elite areas were expected to display their prosperity by owning large houses, wearing European-style clothing, and hosting exclusive social events. The pressure to sustain this luxurious lifestyle can be challenging, especially for Europeans lacking strong economic resources. Failure

⁴⁶ Prakosa. hlm. 38

to meet these expectations could result in social exclusion from fellow Europeans, who were particularly protective of the social hierarchy.

CONCLUSION

Salatiga was established as a *Gemeente* in 1917 based on the *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indie* 1917 No. 266. The status of *Gemeente* encouraged the government to make improvements in various fields, such as enhancing economic resources as operational funding for the government to meet all the needs of its citizens, including the development of infrastructure, public facilities, and other amenities. Although it did not run smoothly in practice, in 1926, Salatiga was designated as a *stadsgemeente*, which granted Salatiga full autonomy and ultimately allowed for the successful development of infrastructure such as the provision of electricity and clean water, parks, entertainment venues, schools, hospitals, markets, and road repairs. The *Gemeente* of Salatiga was organized using the Baroque City concept, which is characterized by strong control and central hierarchy. The central point chosen by the Salatiga *Gemeente* government was the intersection of the roads from Solo-Semarang and Bringin. To make this point a typical European city center, a new route was constructed heading east towards Kalitaman. The road leading to Semarang was named *Toentangscheweg* (now Diponegoro Street). The road leading to Solo was called *Soloscheweg* (now Jendral Sudirman Street). The road to Bringin was named *Bringinscheweg* (now Patimura Street). Meanwhile, the new road heading towards Kalitaman was named *Wilheminalaan* (now Pemuda Street).

Since the establishment of *Gemeente* Salatiga, Salatiga has implemented the *Wijkenstelsel* law in classifying residential areas based on ethnicity. The European settlement is located on *Toentangscheweg*, *Bringinscheweg*, and *Banjoebiroeweg*; the Chinese settlement is on *Soloscheweg*; while indigenous settlements are scattered throughout the Salatiga municipal area. The European settlement on *Toentangscheweg* is an elite and exclusive area where only high-income Europeans reside. Unlike other colonial cities that use the square as the center of government, Salatiga moved its government center from the Kapatihan Center to *Toentangscheweg*, close to the residence of the *Assistant Resident*, after officially becoming *Gemeente* Salatiga. This relocation of the government center led to the development of *Toentangscheweg* into an area with adequate facilities, services, and infrastructure, which was closed off to other social groups. The *European Wijk* features various permanent buildings with European architecture that differ from the structures found in the indigenous and Chinese settlements.

In terms of architecture, the houses on *Toentangscheweg* feature spacious yards adorned with numerous ornamental plants. The construction of these European-style houses consists of sturdy, thick walls, large double-glazed windows and doors, a front yard functioning as a garden, and a division of space among bedrooms, living rooms, family rooms, kitchens, and so on. The houses on *Toentangscheweg* are equipped with verandas both in the front and back, in line with the bungalow architecture, which serves as a place for recreation and holiday. The European architecture in Salatiga is designed in a European style suitable for tropical regions, featuring a Deco style that was prevalent during Salatiga's military city era. Since the early days of *Gemeente* Salatiga, Doric-style buildings began to emerge, characterized by houses with terraces, spacious rooms, and elongated corridors leading to the kitchen. From 1923 to 1937, various new tropical-style buildings, known as Indis-style architecture, started to be constructed. In elite residential areas, houses serve not only

as residences but also as a medium to showcase wealth. In addition to their architecture, European residential houses possess distinctive and appealing decorations. Homeowners often match furniture according to style and color to fit each room. They would purchase or create decorative items such as tablecloths and crochet work to embellish their furniture.

The life of Europeans in elite European settlements reflects their social status in society. They have a habit of enjoying luxury goods, unique clothing styles, diverse culinary cultures, and social activities that showcase their wealth and prosperity. An inescapable aspect of their native culture is recreation. Recreation can be divided into outdoor and indoor activities. Outdoor recreational activities that can be done in Salatiga include visiting *Societiet Harmoni*, watching movies at the *Rex* cinema, playing billiards at *Bringinscheweg*, and staying at Hotel Kopeng or *Huize Dennen Bosch*. For indoor recreation, they can enjoy leisure time at Taman Sari or participate in tennis sports at the courts that are still within the Taman Sari complex, or swim at Kalitaman beach resort. The European lifestyle in Salatiga is very different from that of the indigenous people. Europeans introduced horseback riding, while the indigenous people walked. While motorized vehicles like cars were very difficult for the indigenous people to own, Europeans already had access to these luxury vehicles, although they were rare and only owned by the European elite. The everyday attire of Europeans is quite formal, with men wearing suits and women in dresses. In the evening, they also wear pajamas for men and nightgowns with robes for women. The staple food for Europeans is bread, prompting the government to establish bakeries to meet the bread needs of Europeans and Chinese residents.

Living in *Toentangscheweg* presents many challenges for the people residing here. One of them is the uncomfortable attitude of Europeans towards the indigenous people, particularly RA Kardinah, who was one of the first inhabitants of *Toentangscheweg*. Even for Europeans themselves, living in this elite area poses difficulties. Although it may seem comfortable to reside in an elite neighborhood, many Europeans feel socially and psychologically isolated. The limited communication with family back in their homeland contributes to their feelings of loneliness. Daily life in this elite settlement is restricted to a small social circle, with little interaction with either the indigenous people or non-elite European communities. This situation is exacerbated by internal stratification among the Europeans. It creates a sense of being trapped in a small world, despite being in a beautiful and luxurious environment. Furthermore, maintaining a European lifestyle in an environment different from their home country also generates social pressure, even though it is often impractical in a tropical setting. Many Europeans struggle to uphold European living standards and social habits. The social pressure from fellow Europeans to maintain an appearance of being "civilized" frequently adds to their psychological burden. Living in an elite settlement demands that Europeans maintain a high social status, such as owning large houses, dressing in European style, and hosting exclusive social events. The pressure to live lavishly poses a challenge for those who do not have sufficient economic resources. Failing to meet these expectations can lead to social exclusion from the European community, which is very protective of its social hierarchy.

The remnants of European buildings on *Toentangscheweg*, now known as Diponegoro Street, still stand strong and have been designated as cultural heritage sites. There are 46 buildings recorded as cultural heritage, including well-known structures such as Wisma BCA, the Mayor of Salatiga's Official Residence Complex, Bank Salatiga, Roncalli, and Denhubrem 073. These heritage buildings reflect the historical development of the area. Therefore, efforts for the protection and

preservation of these historical buildings in Salatiga, especially in the Toentangscheweg area or Jalan Diponegoro, are essential.

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