The Recreational Landscape of Weltevreden Since Indonesian Colonization

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Abstract

This paper explores the formation of recreational landscapes in Weltevreden (now the central part of Jakarta) during the colonial age. Before the 20th Century, the Dutch colonial government pursued the so-called "liberal policies" that consequently, the colony needed to go beyond the narrow objective of economic gain, by promoting social institution to improve the quality of life. It encompassed governmental, educational, and religious aspects, that bring progress and more opportunities to gain prosperity. Recreations formulated as part of the essential elements of personal development and civilization to reflect the values of the daily life and introduce modernity. The study found that the prototypical play spaces in Weltevreden were discriminatory accessible to the public and sporadically provided. In the post colonial age, the play spaces transferred into public spaces that continuously renegotiated to assimilate and transform the old into the new meaning in concomitant with the new urban design of Jakarta.

Keywords: *Weltevreden, Uptown, Recreational Landscape, Colonial Society, Urban Design*

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Introduction

In the middle of the 18th Century, administrated by the Dutch East Indian Company known as VOC, the city of Batavia or now Jakarta gloried itself among all other cities in South East Asia as "the Queen of the East." The city layout and architecture reflected an attractiveness as a "Holland in the tropics" corresponded of its system of canals lined by rows of trees and neatly built burghers' houses. The town oriented extraordinary on the commercial with its high defenses and the eclectic cultural mix of citizens. However, this situation only lasted for less than a century. The population growth that aggravated by water pollution and cholera endemic caused Batavia called as *het graf der Hollanders* or "the grave of the Dutchmen" followed by the dead of hundred of its inhabitants. This situation led the face of Batavia to turn away from the maritime zone and focus to the inland suburb.

When Herman Willen Deandels (1762-1818) inaugurated as Governor General and had given great power to reorganize the ineffective and incompetent colonial government in Batavia, his first idea was moving the dreadful old capital to the cooler and healthier area located within a few miles to the South, in a suburb called Weltevreden. The area has now become the most central of Jakarta, of which the origin of many remaining artifacts traced back from abundant arrays of people, places, events and social condition of the past colonial culture. This paper applied the synchronic approach in discussing the concept of recreation in its practice and how it defined the configuration of the urban space of Weltevreden. The years between mid of the 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th Century used as a limit in this study as they represented the era when Weltevreden reached its heyday.

Taking the colonial city of Batavia as the backdrop intrinsically linked to the process of modernization between the mid of the 19th Century and early 20th Century, the questions raised in this paper are: how did the recreation space reaffirm the Dutch sovereignty and racial superiority? How did the provision of recreational facilities incorporate the division of urban spaces and segregation of populations, and how they adapted to the local situation? What was the position of indigenous people as the dominant population and how did they gain the opportunity to practice recreation? Based on Hurd and Anderson (2011) discussion in this paper emphasized the driving forces behind the idea to provide the recreational space, i.e., leisure, play, and recreation. The backbone of this article is the analysis of the reciprocal influence of leisure activities, urban configuration, and events. The study aims to fill the lack of study on colonial cities in South East Asia, despite the structure of these colonial cities to a very large extend were laid down based on the Western dominance. As the structure of colonial cities in South East Asian countries today hardly deviate from the structure of the cities a century ago, understanding the historical roots of Jakarta will enrich the research's topics that manifest plurality and diversity of colonial cities.

Methodology

Since the aim of this study is to explore the formulation of recreational landscapes in Weltevreden, this article employed the inductive approach to examine

the object of recreations. Through accurate observations and measures on old archives consisted of written accounts, archival data, and images, I tried to detect patterns, resemblances, and regularities before formulating tentative hypotheses to develop the general conclusion. To provide a transparent window on Batavia, I have to rely on archival chronological maps kept in *Arsip Nasional Republik* Indonesia (Indonesian National Archives) in Jakarta. The primary source of materials to clarify the objective interpretation of old maps come from abundant old photographs in the online KITLV Images Archive documented by the Dutch from the 1850s and collection of photos and postcards compiled by Scott Merrellees (Merrellees, 2000; Merrellees, 2014). However, although photographs can be used to reconstruct events, rituals, and correlations, there was no indication of what the photographer's intention from the circumstances taken by the photos. To fill the gap, we gathered any recreation and leisure related empirical data and employed the scholarship of other historians about the period.

This paper also complemented by notes of two travelers, who settled in Batavia for an extended period and absorbing a sense of place while trying to observe the city with their sensibility. One traveler's notes compiled in manuscripts that translated into Indonesian by Achmad Sunjayadi "Batavia Awal Abad 20" (2014).[1] Another note was written by Irving E. Smith, an English traveler who was visiting Batavia for the sake of travel. His record compiled by G. G. Van der Kop in the book entitled "Batavia Queen City of the East" (1925). Both travelers also shared their experiences to tell the reader about the destinations, advice for visits, and inspire readers to travel to Batavia.[2]

Recreation, Play and Leisure

The word recreation originated from recreate; it means to create a new, restore, refresh. In modern society, recreation defined as an activity that people enjoy; that people engage in during their free time; and that people recognize as having socially exchanged values (Cross, 1999; Miller and Robinson, 1963; Hunnicutt, 1984; Duncan, 1980). The meanings of leisure are countless, from the simple one as free time work into a much more complex set of attributes that encouraged abundant possibilities of interpretation (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975; Veblen, 1989). Tinsley and Tinsley state that leisure is an experience that may occur in all aspects of life. The conditions and specific attribute to leisure are: 1) the individual is free from obligation; 2) the activity is voluntary; 3) the activity is pleasurable, and 4) the act culturally recognized as leisure. The characteristics of leisure are: 1) attention centered in a limited stimulus field; 2) total involvement in the activity; 3) loss of anxiety and constraints; 4) lack of consciousness of time and space; 5) enlightened perception; and 6) enjoyment (Tinsley and Tinsley, 1982). On the contrary, the play has a single definition. The play is imaginative, intrinsically motivated, not serious, freely chosen, and actively engaging. Foster Rhea Dulles (1940) in his book America Learns to Play stated that the amusements and recreations that we have today are not a new phenomenon. Archeologists have uncovered various ideas of play, leisure, and recreation that are universal among humans, even in primitive societies around the world.

The development of recreation places in cities in Western countries in early 19th Century triggered by issues of hygiene and sanitation, circulation and green space that ruled the idea to include leisure and play in urban planning. The professional acting in defining the recreation facilities in the urban planning and design projects had a strong influence of the Garden City, City Beautiful Movement, Park Movement, and Ecole des Beaux-Arts. To examine the development of recreation in Asian colonies, we need to cross the Indian Ocean. Bringing the role of providing the raw material for the European continent, by the mid 19th century, the colonial cities around the world were beginning to develop a colonizer's economic model of the "Mother countries" in Europe (Hobsbawn, 1987). The discoveries of technology implemented in everyday life in the mother countries had presented in colonial cities as well. Batavia city also enjoyed benefit from the advances in technologies that improving the living standards in Europe, such as electricity, telegraphs, gas works, tramways, railways, and automobiles. Daniel Headrick (1981) and Philip Curtin (1989) have demonstrated that colonial rule was an offshoot of advances in Western science. Several studies, especially on health issues revealed that various impacts of Western medical practices from vaccination to slum clearance had documented how "colonization of the body" proceeded alongside the colonization of territory in the late 19th and 20th centuries in Asia (Taylor, 2011). The modernization process with the technologies imported by foreigners reflected foreign principles, with urban areas and non-indigenous agents as the specific references. However, the novelty of such innovations had their impact on indigenous inhabitants, and their applications deeply adapted to the local conditions.

The Emergence of Batavia as a Modern City

There are abundant analyses and description depicted of the old Batavia as the Dutch colonial city. Most stated that old Batavia characterized by the demonstration of dominant power over the subordinate society. Marsely L. Kehoe (2015) shared how the old city of Batavia exposed the hierarchy as a typical Dutch colonial city:

> To further reinforce this control, VOC administrators were eager for Dutch citizens to express a cohesive Dutch identity. Despite this desire, Dutch Batavians developed ostentatious displays of rank through costume and behavior, which provoked a series of sumptuary codes. This preoccupation with rank among the Dutch populace signaled the same hierarchy within the social fabric of Batavia that encoded in the very form of this planned city.

Unlike the old walled city of Batavia that corresponded with a model of rigid urban planning, the New Weltevreden developed as the open city by the process of accretion. The embryo of the city shaped by an initiative process based on rational, objective and legal principle. Before being designated as a modern city, the surface of the area had already crisscrossed by an internal and external network of roads and railways that connect Batavia with hinterlands. The oldest street such as Jacatraweg and Molenvliet already established in the early decades of the 18th Century.

In the absence of a completed master plan, it was Herman Willem Deandles (1808-1811) who acknowledged as the first planner and project developer of Weltevreden (Passchier, 2007). Using his power as a governor general, he transferred the formerly rural estate into the "new town." A strong military character remarked as the starting point to arrange the city of Weltevreden. The center point was a military square "the Waterlooplein" (previously was named after Paradeplaats) with the surrounding area was almost entirely dedicated to the military population; envisaged a new settlement with barracks, the military commander' residence, houses for officers, and a military hospital. At the beginning, the spatial planning of Weltevreden aimed to attain military intervention and control. As the planning objective was corresponding to the convenience of the government rather than inhabitants, the agenda of the town design did not allow the development of leisure for public consumption. There was a social club for recreation, but it exclusively utilized for military populations. Another landmark was Medan Merdeka known as Buffalo Field in the era of VOC. In 1808, it was Deandles who decided to use as a military exercise field and named this nearly one square kilometer "Champ de Mars." After the British interregnum (1911-1816) the governor general resided the State Palace located right in front of the square that eventually it renamed into Koningsplein or King Square. By the middle of the 19th Century, the heart of Batavia had completely moved to uptown where one could find the Governor General's residence, key government buildings, the elegant houses of Europeans elites and major church. This time, the embryo of recreational facilities appeared through the development of the social clubs, the museum, the Freemason's Lodge, the European shopping districts, and major hotels – Figure 1.

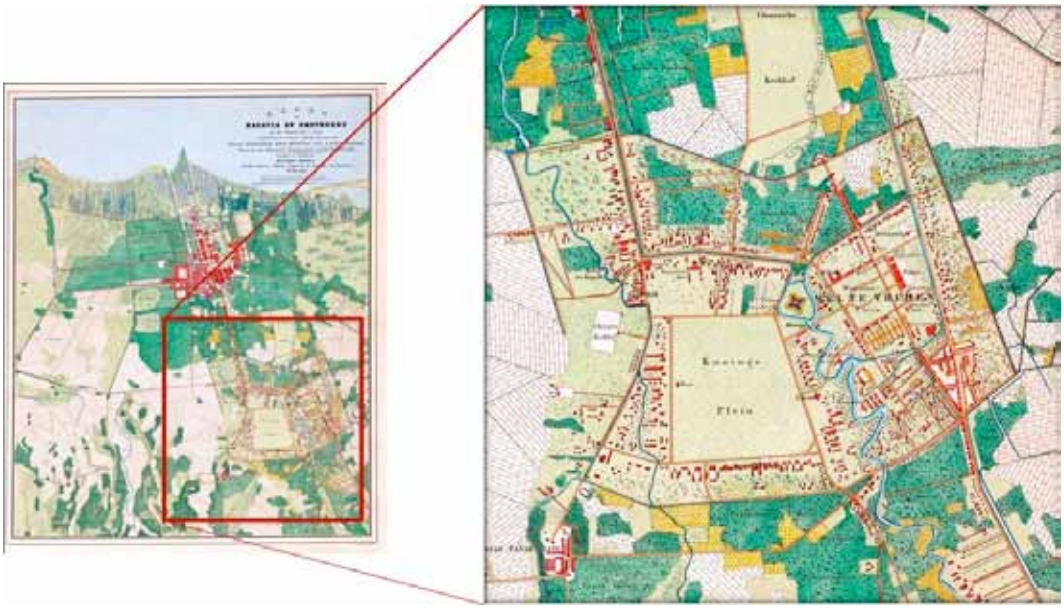


Figure 1. Map of Weltevreden in 1853 (Source: Alexander Duncker, 1853).

The Role of the Squares

In a society dominated by governmental officials and the colonial army, there were no planners responsible for designing the urban areas in Batavia before

the turn of the century. In the absence of professional urban designers, the geographic, economic and social advantages had aroused Weltevreden to grow into a beautiful city through the superimposed of geometrical form upon the existing irregular pattern. Weltevreden subjected to the process of continuous remodeling of city structures governed by the dominated powers during the successive period of history. The Dutch followed the already stream modern town planning principle in defining the blockage to fit within the given pattern of existing streets through the principle of zoning in combining with the concept of "the City Beautiful." It was a magic word borne as a tidal wave in many cities in the world at those times – Figure 2.



Figure 2. The Atmosphere of Weltevreden (Source: KITLV Leiden and Merrelless, 2000).

The squares of Koningsplein and Waterlooplein located centrally but exclusively in the central of the city. It represented more as the starting point and the symbol of colonial power, rather than holding the role as the forum of public space; as they were not publicly accessible and facilitated the favorite activities for the mass of the city inhabitants. The Waterlooplein designed as a square holding the military atmosphere as they dedicated to the military population. In the square itself, there was an officer's club where on Sundays military music was played. In the absence of active recreation for the public, in the mid of the 19th Century, Waterloopein functioned as the fashionable place to see and to be seen. Ladies and gentlemen, from the upper echelons of society, often paraded around the Waterlooplein in their beautiful horse-drawn carriage or on horseback as reported by an observer in 1827 (Merrillees, 2000).drawn carriage or on horseback as reported by an observer in 1827 (Merrillees, 2000). For the upper class, the consumption of goods and services regarded as social fashion and they continued to exhibit their wealth and status through grandiose dress and behavior. Due to its symbolic and centralized position, Waterpooplein was the right place for those who were motivated by the desire for prestige. Following the popular idea of "conspicuous consumption " by Veblen (1924), the act of "to see and to be seen" at Waterlooplein was a manifestation of leisure behavior to impress the rest of society through the demonstration of their social power and prestige – Figure 3.



Figure 3. Waterloo Plein (Source: Merrelless, 2000).

Koningsplein square, like Waterlooplein, was also holding the central role as the royal plain where military often undertook tests with light artillery, but without causing any anxiety to the occupants of the surrounding neighborhood. Scott Merrilees (2000) who compiled old photographs in his book focusing on topographical photography of Batavia reflected the ambiance of the square through some photos and notes from travelers. A visitor to Batavia in 1862 pointed out that Koningsplein was larger than Champ de Mars in Paris and as large as the whole city of Utrecht and therefore one needs one and a half hours to walk around it. The photographers Walter Woodbury and James Page depicted Koningsplein as the Hyde Park of Batavia. Merrilees (2000) quoted the notes from Weitzel in 1860 who showed how the European response to tropical climate for enjoying leisure: "[in] every beautiful afternoon when the heat of the day has gone, many carriages, pedestrians and horse riders met. One will regret when sudden invading darkness makes so soon and end to one joy" – Figure 4.



Figure 4. Konningsplein seen from the street (Source: KITLV Leiden & Merrellees, 2000).

The role of Koningspein as military drill and passive recreation ground ended, when schools began to flourish and established various programs of extracurricular activities, mainly sport. Athletic tracks, a stadium, and sports facilities transformed Koningsplein for those who were searching for healthy recreation. On 31 August 1906, the Batavia city government decided to hold a paid recreation facility called Pasar Gambir to celebrate the birthday of Queen Wilhelmina. Afterward, Koningsplein endured an unexpected lifeline not only as part of the recreational landscape, but also in the context of the practical function in the city life of Jakarta. A struggling the square itself to regain its symbolic role as a charming city center of Jakarta is still withstanding until now.

The Recreational Space

After nearly three centuries of the Dutch domination, Batavia underwent the significant change in the outlook of the colony and society. The previous domi-

nant male Dutch civil servants transformed into the multi-cultural version of European society by the increasing of the numbers of businessmen, professionals, and Dutch/European woman. Sex ratio increased from 600 women per 1,000 men in 1900 to nearly 900 per 1,000 in 1930 (Scholten, 2000). The new political course of the Ethical Policy initiated, though in the 1920s had lost its progressive nature and turn into conservatism to maintain"tranquility and order" (Colombijn and Coté, 2015). Nevertheless, at the microcosm level, the social life still showed the demonstration of a hierarchy. A "legal apartheid" took different forms in different domains, as racial stratification remained the cornerstone of the colonial structure (Dijk and Taylor, 2011). The division of urban spaces and segregation of populations incorporated into the provision of infrastructure and recreational facilities. By locating the public space for leisure within the emerging concentrations of European settlements, the provision of these spaces was in line with the overall government strategy to both discursively and physically secure modern uptown for dominant society. Under new political course, the city dwellers of Batavia had demonstrated typical Europeans colonies around the world. Batavia population as registered in 1926 consisted of 29.216 Europeans, 40.000 Chinese, 228.000 Malay natives and 13.000 Arabs (Jakarta Metropolitan City Government, 1995). The European citizens, although small groups, overwhelmed by the large Indonesian, Indo (Europeans and local mixed), and Asian migrants. Although the Netherland's borne inhabitants were minorities, as "the established elites" they gradually become the primary trend-setters. The upper classes had both wealth and leasure from their large estate and business, with all labor performed by the servants and slaves.

Recreation as an instrument of development in Weltevreden was top-down in which authorities introduced ideas and provide spaces of recreation focused on cultural, commercial and health provision. Nevertheless, not all historically developed urban elements such as squares and parks availed as recreational areas that had an equitable access to the public. They remained exclusively provided for particular groups of people. Recreation space was an efficient apparatus for the reaffirmation of Dutch sovereignty and racial superiority. In term of the architectural style, modern buildings in the Dutch Indies were undoubtedly featured, represented, and characterized by the buildings The American Prairie School of Frank Lloyd Wright, the German Werkbund and Bauhaus as well as the Dutch school of De Stijl (Wiryomantoro, 2013).

Commercial Recreation

Early in the 20th Century, as Western racism and imperialism heightened, the arrangement of Weltevreden naturally composed distinct quarters. Apart from its use as a mechanism for controlling land use and urban activities, the division of property was employed to adopt the colonial purpose of spatial segregation based on racial groups. The European residential areas were embraced by the "international" urban leisure and facilities to support the high-class lifestyle. Rijswijk and Noordwijk enjoyed the status as the main shopping and hotel district, providing the upper class the desire for commercial recreation that strictly reserved merely for the wealthy class of European. This area had already blossomed into the elite neighborhood ever since the Governor General Raffles lived in the house now

become the Presidential Palace. The area also enhanced by the opening of the Harmonie Society Clubhouse and the modern department store of Eigen Hulp. Popular place of commercial amusement sprang up, such as café, which provided the meeting place to chat or play cards. A new word of commercial entertainment developed widespead in Europe such as beer garden, bilyard parlor and saloon gained popularity in these most prominent district – Figure 5.



Figure 5. Commercial Recreation of Rijswijk and Noordwijk in 1911 (Source: G. Kolff & Co and Tio Tek Hong).

While Rijswijk and Noordwijk exclusively built and operated by private entrepreneurs, the moderate level commercial spot was the nearby shopping area of Passer Baroe where the large part of shops predominantly owned by Chinese and Indian communities. This bustling shopping area bore the name that meant to compare with the two older southern Batavia markets of Pasar Senin and Pasar Tanah Abang. In the vicinity of marketplaces in Weltefreden located the"institutionalized" ethnic enclaves, who belong to a single ethnically, racially and religiously Chinese group. Their settlements promoted economic intensity characterized by typical shop houses with the ground floor opening directly onto the street to form the commercial space while the living quarters placed on the upper floor.

The rest of the city was *kampung* or indigenous settlement of the poor segment of the population (Ellisa, 2016). Originally meaning "villages," the irregularly formed *kampungs* had already existed throughout the era of the Dutch East India Company (or VOC) when the area was still typically rural and called as Ommelanden. During the development of Weltevreden, the formal plan bypassed the low-density *kampungs* to integrate them into urban areas, but without ample provision of municipal utilities and facilities. As a result, these settlements evenly scattered as pocket housings throughout the formally planned towns – Figure 6.

For the majority of lower class live at *kampung*, the manifestation of leisure was informal. The lower class practiced entertainment without any control or mandate of authorities, as recreational activities formed as responses to particular traditions and custom. Informal recreation emerged through local initiatives, accommodated "grassroots" activities and utilized the incidental spaces. For generations, Batavia was the home of Betawi people, a merging ethnic of indigenous populations across archipelago who mixed with oriental Chinese, Indian and Arab. The

assimilated cultures had produced rich cultural leisures. Music and dancing such as Ondel Ondel, Tanjidor, Pencak Silat, among others, usually lead parades on local ceremonies that stunning around the streets. The Chinese, Arab and India was also pronounced their cultural entertainment on music and dance that absorbing the local culture. Pehcun the Chinese festival involved boat race accompanied by full musicians and dancer in the canal. Capgomeh involved enormous processions through the streets with indispensable Barongsai, a dragon's creature supported by numbers of boys.

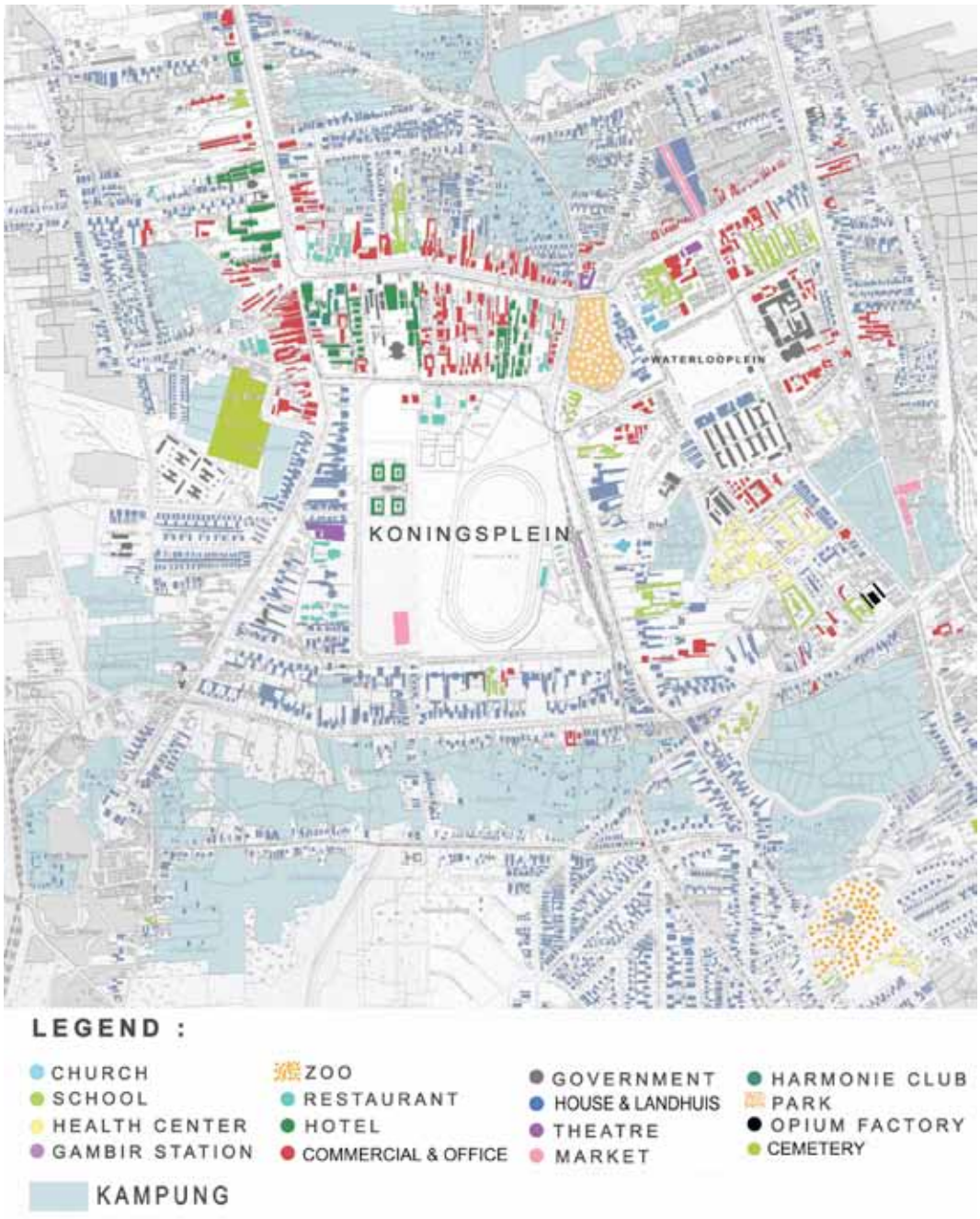


Figure 6. Interpretation of building use in uptown Batavia in 1918 (Source: redrawn based on map by Stadskaart van de Gemente Batavia, Herien 1918).

The Role of Public Space as Leisure Space

It is interesting that in the establishment, use, and reproduction of public space, top down and bottom up actions sometimes intersected and some proved to be particularly flexible in serving the general population. One example was the street. In his letter to his mother, photographer Walter Woodbury wrote: "the European here if he wants to go to next door must have a carriage. I should like to walk, but it is not fashionable. Nobody walked, since for Batavia's elite; it was not the fashionable thing to do" (Merrellees, 2000). The rise of a new kind of social activity of strolling in the street (flânerie) early in the 20th Century in Western countries did not work at Batavia. Many snapshots of the street scenes depicted the absence of European, and in return converting natives into promenading flânerie. The hot, humid tropical climate, perhaps hindered the use of the street for leisure among Europeans, but most likely the notions of hierarchy and prestige that maintaining distance from indigenous people was the principal motivation. When the vehicle still traveled slowly, pavement, space for the sidewalk, trees along the street, and street illumination introduced, but these improvements did not change the reluctance to walk, that streets never been converted into the public spaces of the middle and upper classes. As the Dutch had withdrawn to walk and avoid most of their public activities from the streets, in return, the natives underclasses who lived in the pocket neighborhood of "kampungs" in Weltevreden utilized the sidewalk of the streets for various activities including eating, leisure, and vendors. The occupation of open public space by underclass should be a difficult situation to the colonial authorities, for the Dutch had an overwhelming passion for cleanliness in cities that portrayed through photographs of a "spray car" and "sprayer" or a native with a "spray mechanism" on his back. The scarcity of workforce hindered the authorities to enforce order and enact law enforcement to regulate the behavior of underclass in public. Moreover, mostly regulations were perforce regularity and standardization, such as building lines, sanitation, traffic rules, and tax. They did not explicitly formulate the order as an aesthetic ideal.

Occupation of the sidewalk by urban underclass was the consequence of the inadequate and insufficient homes of the people to admit the space necessary for many daily activities and leisure. They mixed leisure and private activities on sidewalks or public spaces, whether being shaved, having their hair cut, searching for head lice, or eating at the stalls – Figure 7. In the busy, hectic Chinese quarter traveler often depicted how the streets become one's shop and living room, playground, or just a simple site for the pleasure of sitting quietly and gazing at the passing scene while sipping a drink.

Another striking view revealed indicator of leisure in public were the snapshots of rivers and canals. Many photographs displayed indigenous people bathed and washed their clothes and animals in Batavia canals. This situation caused by the fact that the municipal government did not install clean water and sewerage infrastructure in the kampung. For lowerclass people, bathing in public was not because they had no shame, but because there was no choice (Taylor, p.47). However, bathing completely naked in public was quite uncommon, as people still used batik clothes or sarong wrapped around their body. The abundance of rivers and

canals in combination with warm tropical temperatures made most Indonesian natives are a bath-loving people. Bathing outdoors became practical and pleasurable at the same time. Traditionally, bathing in public for a long history was popular and have become incorporated into the social system, as people used to spend extra time for bathing and socializing. Therefore natives people converged in riverbanks did not restrict merely for cleansing ritual, but also another form of informal recreation – Figure 8.



Figure 7. Leisure of urban underclass (Sources: KITLV Leiden & Merrellees, 2000).



Figure 8. Washing and cleaning at canal (Sources: KITLV Leiden & Merrellees, 2000).

Parks and Garden City

At the turn of the 20th Century, the government built the Wilhelmina Park to mark the occasion of the new monarch of Queen Wilhelmina. The other park was Batavia's Planten en Dierentuin (Botanical and Zoological Gardens) established in 1864. The zoo located on the 10 hectares of land donated by the famous painter Raden Saleh, whose own beautiful mansion located nearby. Mostly accessible for European and upper class, the park offered a contemplative kind of leisure in the demarcate space from everyday life through selective public access. On the other hand, the zoo showed the different perspective of leisure as it was not only the educational pursuit, but also offered specific social opportunities where upper-class society could interact without the usual formality. When the colonial period ended, the zoo transformed into popular place among middle and upper classes for family picnics, balls, parties, exhibitions, and sporting amenities for tennis and swimming before it moved to Ragunan – Figure 9.

The colonialists showed little concern on providing the recreation facility such as a park. Either Wilhelmina Park or the Zoo was the only top-down recreation facility ever built during the time. The absence of interaction among the segregated race and ethnicity of colonial society seemingly behind the reason why providing park was not essential. As reported by many travelers, Weltevreden itself was a

giant garden consisted of groups of houses with generous private yards. The yards with vast lawns tend to be a multi-purpose space that accommodated family recreation. A collection of old photographs depicted the available green spaces along the roadsides of the city for lush, densely planted treatments in the shade-giving foliage. Right at the doorsteps of *landhuis* or the wealthy houses, a spacious garden had exposed the adaptation to tropical climate. A visitor of John Pryse's houses, who was a wealthy European merchant living in one of the imposing homes in front of Koningsplein reported: "…. I was there at reception where people danced in the home, and all splendidly lit" (Nieuwenhuys, 1982). The European community characterized as a small, conservative, urban elite group living in a rustic environment (Scholten, 2000). As part of social life, indoor or outdoor parties at homes and regular evening visits neighbors for an hour or two was the universal norm. They enjoyed a life of leisure at home with four to ten servants to do the housework. Old photographs also showed how the Dutch attempted to recreate coziness in the veranda, cluttered with all domestic attributes which exposed from the street. It was obvious that the atmosphere of the house itself produced a greater use of privately owned semi-indoor and outdoor space for leisure – Figure 10.



Figure 9. Park and Zoo as recreation for health (Sources: KITLV & Merrillees, 2000).



Figure 10. *Landhuis* or European's big houses (Sources: KITLV and Merrillees, 2000).

Paid Recreation

Hierarchy defined the intergroup relation of the society and formed the stratified society in which Europeans automatically occupied the highest position. Foreign

oriental such as Chinese, Arab and India, represented the middle class, and the overwhelming majority of the Indonesian population represented the marginal class. Colonial travelers often gave a picture of how social recreation in Batavia organized in certain ways that lower classes left out of the picture of leisure and recreation. The indigenous population practically had no access to any of the cultural leisure commodities that the upper class could achieve, except the servants who presented serving their employers and exposing the class distinction.

Entering the 20th Century leisure activities were transformed by the birth of capitalism. The regulation of times for work converted leisure into activities associated with culture and amusement, with fee-paying activities, distraction and social control (Marcure, 1964). In the early 20th Century, it was extensively widened at Batavia to apply the standardized five-day work week and the work time from 9 AM to 5 PM, that popular amusement to spend time after work had gotten more pronounced and encouraged the emergence of restaurants, bars with dance bands, and cinema. *Harmonie Society Clubhouse* grew to become the center of Batavia's social life. It was famous for the grand ball and state function or just for casual recreation. The Schouburg (theatre) provided a significant number of actors and actresses, especially when the French Theatre troupe under the direction of Minard gained great success (Merrillees, 2000) – Figure 11.



Figure 11. Leasure Places of European Middle Class (Source: Merrilees, 2000).

While *kampung* was being excluded from the municipal administration and attributed the backward condition, its inhabitants demanded recreation in their ways. The photograph captions showed that old theatrical forms were popular among indigenous and oriental groups. *Komedi Stamboel* using Malay represented mixed culture with the multi-ethnic audiences. The shadow puppet theater of various kinds was common among Chinese and Javanese. Traditional Betawi theatre of *lenong* performed on top of a portable stage known as a *pentas tapal kuda* (horseshoe stage), so named for the way actors enter the stage from the left and right. Some dancing performance, such as Ronggeng and Nayub with their sensual overtones and *gamelan* accompaniment was the commonly enjoyed leisure. All these informal leisure activities tend to be more resilient and detached to place, as they were naturally flexible, mobile and free from government regulation. This situation was very different from recreation in public space created by government, of which the activities regulated, and the area boundaries were more efficiently restricted – Figure 12.



Figure 12. Indigenous theatrical, singing, and dancing performance (Sources: KITLV & Merrellees, 2014).

Recreation and Tourism Industry

By the improvement in technology of transportation of naval travel, commercial recreation and tourism field started to give phenomenal impact on the economic, social and cultural aspect of Batavia. The military and colonial empires paving the way for initial tourism, service and hospitality sector in the Dutch East Indies. Early 20th Century was characterized by the widespread development of organized recreation activities by government and voluntary agencies with the intention of achieving desirable economic and social outcomes. Infrastructures and facilities were developed to accommodate the lodging, entertainment and leisure needs of foreign tourists and domestic visitors, especially the wealthy European plantation holders and merchants. Colonial heritage hotels equipped with fine dining restaurants, live music, and dance halls had already established since the 19th Century. They were among others, Hotel des Indes, der Nederlanden, and Grand Hotel Java. By 1908 the business community in Batavia established the Official Tourist Bureau.

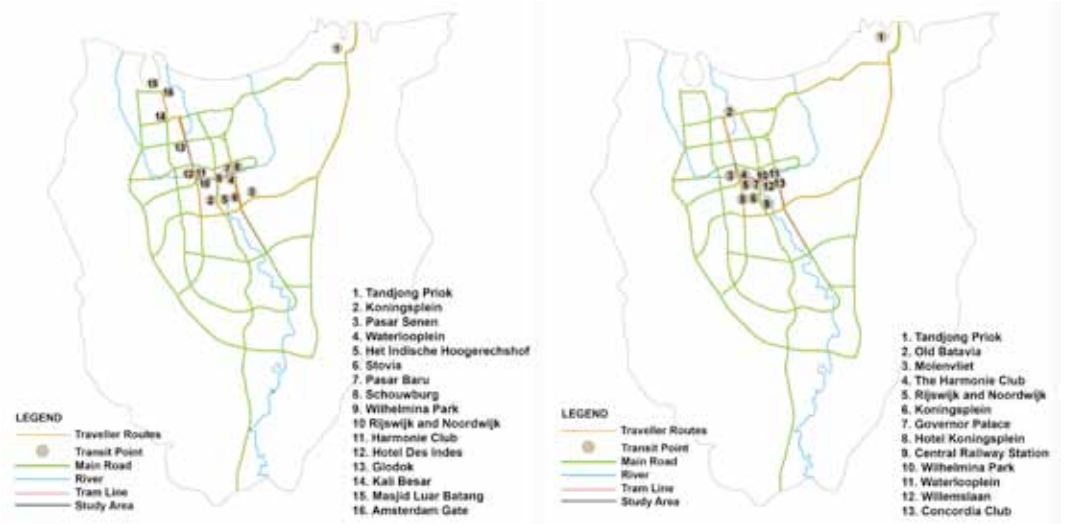


Figure 13. Journey routes of two travellers (Map redrawn based on Sunjayadi, 2014 and Kop, no date).

As mentioned in the first part of this paper, the English traveler Irving E. Smith and the Dutch soldier expressed their pleasure to spend some months in Netherland Indies. Interestingly, both emphasized the clear distinction condition between the downtown of Batavia and the up-town of Weltevreden. Smith mentioned Kalibesar as being the forgotten Dutch town that becoming quiet and peaceful after

the office hour since most Europeans escape old Batavia as soon as their business activities ended. He regretted how historical elements usually visited by all tourists had been only a few relics, such as the Town Hall, Amsterdam Gate, the skull of Pieter Eberfeld, the Sacred Cannon: "[there] are hardly any places of historical interest left" (Kop, 2012). On the contrary description of "uptown," Batavia had always been complimentary as the beautiful region and still earned the name "Queen of the East" (Witzel, 1860).

Conclusion

This paper begins with the era when the first major colonial intervention shaped the urban landscape; the construction of the colonial based city of Weltevreden and followed by the development of top-down and informal recreational and leisure places. The era between 19th Century and 20th Century remarked the cradle conception of Weltevreden as the garden city, of which the recreation's landscape initially developed and imprinted.

After documenting how an evolving process of social differentiation of classes and races linked to the differentiation of urban spaces, this study concludes that Jakarta inherited the legacy of the recreational landscape that segregated based on patterns of differentiation of areas, classes, and races. This spatial fragmentation of recreational landscape continued to be a pattern of growth during the post-colonial, and therefore was not substantially altered by the rise of the 'modern urban planning" of Jakarta.

The scarcity of public spaces remained so until today, and the small numbers of public spaces randomly distributed within the city. Municipal authorities do not have the keen interest to increase the public space for urban underclass living in *kampungs*. The government officials are serving more as the imposition of colonial idealism, frequently stick on land regulations that they unable to provide recreational space based on the real public need. On the other hand, former Europeans districts with recreational facilities had transformed into government district and local elite district (such as Menteng), while recreation facilities in private real estate and new town located far away from the population gravity center. Many of new public space are quasi-public space which designed, control and managed under private ownership; thus prevent average people from truly using them as public space.

The historical records found that in the post-colonial age the occupation of public space by urban underclass with all rules of conduct and modes of activities were continually renegotiated. Even today, the public space as legacies of colonial power do not function well to gather space, because the government needs to control the behaviors of its users. This genealogy of the recreational landscape of Batavia, therefore, provokes the need for alternative analytical frameworks acknowledging the issue of public spaces formation for recreation and leisure in the recent situation. This case raises the question: has the city continuously being produced persistent patterns of differentiation of areas and classes in defining urban recreation and leisure for the public? This paper revealed that there is an important recipro-

cal influence between recreation activities and colonial society that created the discriminatory accessible and sporadically provided recreation facilities. Avoiding the dynamic social and cultural situation in the process of design would give lack of response to the actual need of the majority of urban dwellers as the principal users of public recreation.

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Endnotes

1 In the early of 20th century a Netherlands soldier with the initial XYZ send his travelling records (gedenkschriften) of his journey to a Dutch pioneer journalist H.C.C. Clocker Brousson, who then edited and published them into a series article "Gedenkschriften van Een Oud Kolonial" in the daily magazine "Bendera Wolanda" 1910-1912. Described in humorous ways, this soldier expressed his personal reflection in "his all five senses" during his visit to Batavia; such as his impression of the hot, humid, and sultry tropical climate, the aroma of Chinese dishes and the pleasure of enjoying a full moon at the edge of the Ciliwung River.

2. Despite there was no any intention to associate both notes with tourism, the books are more or less similar to guide book, as they include full details relating to activities, accommodation, restaurants, transportation, and photographs of varying detail, completed with the historical and cultural information of various spots of Batavia.

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