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4

**Maritime Social
and Economic
Developments in
Southeast Asia**

Editors
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Tan Wan Hin
Mohammad Raduan Mohd Ariff



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MARITIME SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Edited by

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Institute of Ocean and Earth Sciences Monograph No. 4



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THE ROLES OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS ON THE FISHERY INDUSTRY IN BAGAN SIAPI-API, EASTERN COAST OF SUMATRA 1871-1970

Azmi Fitriasia

I. Introduction

This paper talks the roles of Chinese immigrants on the height of the fishery industry in Bagan Siapi-API. Since the end of the nineteenth century, Chinese immigrants have been turning into a great extent of development. In 1931, the amount of the Chinese people has challenged the amount of the natives. Most of them work on the fishery field. Until 1946, the number of the Chinese people has increased into 75% of the total amount of population in the area. Bagan Siapi-API has turned into a kind of 'China Town.' This is unique and becomes the only one in Indonesia. The Chinese cultures develop very well in this town. 'Bokar Tongkang' becomes one of the many cultures, which survives through years in the Chinese society in Bagan Siapi-API.

In fishery, in particular, the Chinese people have earned certain social status; ranged from the rough laborers, landlords, merchants, and successful businessmen. As laborers, they live in 'bangilau-bangilau.' The landlords, merchants and businessmen live in Medan and Singapore. Some of them have reached the highest status in the society. The Dutch Colonial Government is only the tax collectors, and let the control of policy makers and economic exploitation adjustment be in the hands of the Chinese people.

Firstly, this paper wants to discuss about the struggle of the Chinese people in defending their authority towards the changes made the Dutch Colonists on fishery industry. *Secondly*, this paper will also discuss the influence of the Chinese immigrants particularly on the fishery industry in Bagan Siapi-API.

II. The Roles of Chinese Immigrants and the Policies of the Dutch Colonists

A. The Arrival and Settlement of the Chinese Immigrants in Bagan Siapi-API

Post-agreement of 1871 between Netherland and The Great Britain surrenders the eastern coast of Sumatra into the Dutch settlement. This encourages them to find more natural resources in the place, including fishery. Bagan Siapi-API in the estuary of river Rokan is found as the largest fish stock in Sumatra.ⁱ At that time,

Bagan Siapi-API is not yet optimally-cultivated just like the fishery in Bengkalis. The number of the fishermen in Bagan Siapi-API is limited. The native people of Bagan Siapi-API are the Bonai and Sakai people.ⁱⁱ When the *Kontrolir* Brien makes an exploration on the area

in 1905, it is said that the Bonaian live around the boggy coastal of Kubu. Their population is no more than 150-200 people.

The colonial policy on migration makes an easy entrance to the Chinese people to the area.ⁱⁱⁱ The Chinese people in *Onderafdeeling* Bagan Siapi-Api are particularly those of Hokkian from Tanwa or Amoy and Tiaucu from Teng Hai and Han Jip. There are also some Shantungs coming together from Hailam and Kanton.^{iv} They come to Bagan Siapi-Api through the Chinese smugglers in Singapore. One of the prominent laborers smuggler is Tjong A Fie.^v

The Chinese people has actually settled in Bagan Siapi-Api in the first century. They come through the trading contacts, driving some lifeboats to buy fish in Malaka. The relationship between the natives and the Siam people cause the Chinese migration. In the first phase, most the Chinese live in the long beach of Malaka strait; this eventually evokes the settlement like Senaboi, Panipahan dan the capital of Bagan Siapi-Api.^{vi}

Table 1
The Population Development
Onderafdeeling Bagan Siapi-Api 1920-1931

Onderdistrik	Year 1920			Year 1931		
	Chinese	Natives	European	Chinese	Natives	Europeans
Onder district	8.421	9.266	10	13.064	12.268	26
Bangko	2.565	4.986	-	3.115	7.667	-
Onder district	103	4.546	-	191	7.309	-
Kubu						
Onder district						
Tanah Putih						
Summary	11.089	18.798	10	26.360	26.244	26
Total	29.897			43.640		

Source: Meddle from ENI Tweed Drukmenggesteld Door Paulus and Hoofdaebtenaar J. Martinus Nishoft, Leiden, 1917. p. 103, MvO. A Te. Velde year 1925 and Tideman "Land and Volk Bengkalis" in *TNAG*, 1930, p. 816.

The increasing number of the population, which steals attention is the Chinese one. The development reaches twice as much as before 1930. The amount of Chinese people in 1931 is almost equal to that of the native people. Even in 1946, the Chinese increases number to the 75% of the population.^{vii} This thing is considered to improve the fishery industry.

The percentage of occupation of the people in Bagan Siapi-Api is so far under discovery, and the data only show the productions. But, it can be concluded that their occupations are fishermen, farmers, handicrafts laborers, breeders, carpenters, and traders.^{viii} Before the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, breeding is often combined with farming, just like

gardening with forest source gathering.^{ix} The Indians and Chinese have developed this method since the first quarter of the twentieth century.

Fishing is still a limited activity for the native people. Generally, they use tubas, rattans, and nets to catch fish in the river or sea.^x Once on a while, the fish are then sold by almost all the families that settle in the coastal area.^{xi} The Versing Colonial in 1874 only states that the amount of his boats is 100 with 500 fishermen in *Afdeeling* Bengkalis.^{xii}

The fishery is considered unorganized. Based on the research about the tribe living in the *Onderafdeling* Bagan Siapi-API like Malaysians, the possibility of having organization is similar to that in Malaka strait. Beside fishing, this Malaysians also do ransacking. The strangers sleep in the ship deck to avoid murder. No wonder Crawford calls it "Gybsy sea."^{xiii}

B. The Changes and Stratification of the Chinese Immigrants

The entrance of the Chinese Fishermen causes some regulations related to the use of marine resources and taxes proposed by The Dutch Colonists. *First*, regulation on boundaries of fishing areas. *Second*, regulation on the available marine resources and the fishing tools. *Third*, regulation on the people involved in the fishing activity, including the methods and punishments for fraud. Generally, those regulations are enforced to the local fishermen. While, the regulation about buying-out is enforced particularly to the Chinese.

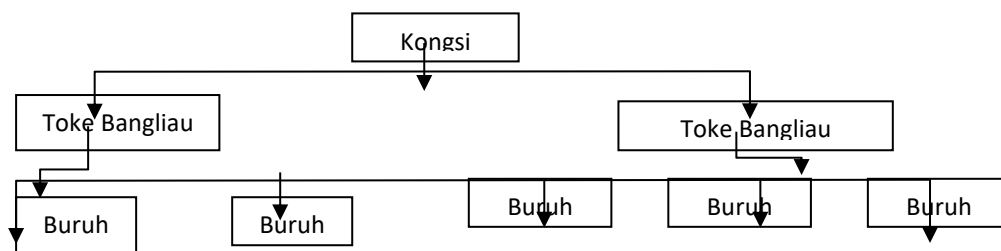
The end of the nineteenth century until 1942 witness the use of various fishing tools near the coast. In this area, there are about 25 kinds of tools operated.^{xiv} Statistics, though it is hard to find through years, shows the information on tools used by the fishermen. P.N. Van Kempen states that in the end of the nineteenth century, there are 500 floating nets in Bagan Siapi-API, while *jermal* almost cover all the watery area.^{xv} In the *Verslag* Colonial of 1909, it is stated that this area has operated 5000 boats of various weights.^{xvi} In 1927, it is explained that the Dutch Colonists have released the permission for the use of 229 *jermal* and 535 *bubu*.^{xvii}

In Bagan Siapi-API, the roles of the Chinese in fishery is excessively dominant, like the investors, the fish traders, the owners of fishing tools and fishing laborers.^{xviii} The investors, called patchers, who buy-out the salt are approved by the Dutch Colonists. The patchers work by giving their money to the owners of the fishing tools, which are known as *toke bangliau*. The natives are difficult to categorize because they only store their fish to the Chinese. They are probably the fishermen who use modest fishing tools and operate them by themselves, which is very different from the organization of the Chinese.^{xix}

In Bagan siapi-api, the fishery organization operated by the Chinese is called *bangliau*, which consists of some *tokes* as the heads of the fishing laborers. *Toke bangliau* is the owner of the boat and nets, while the fishing laborers are the rough workers for the catching and production of fish. One of the systems used for this is the payment in advance.^{xx} Besides, those *tokes* also provide some small and big credits.^{xxi} There are two possible purposes of doing this: *first*, to create a good cooperation between *tokes* and the laborers; a worse reason is that the method will prevent the laborers from cutting their contract off with the *tokes*. *Second*, to make the life of the laborers better. The laborers live in house called *banglian* or *bangliau*. This house is often called as the 100-pillar house. It is used as the shelter, the fish storage, and fishing needs.

The sharing system, which is also developed in Bagan Siapi-Api is not the same to each *toke bangliau*. Generally, the *tokes* obtain the sharing of the fish sale for 30%, plus the outcome for salt. The rest is shared among the laborers.^{xxii} Food needs are coped by the laborers themselves. *Toke dry off*, do the salting, and sell the catch.

Toke bangliau who have *bangliau* houses depends on the amount of fishing tools they own. Besides, the *toke-to-toke* organization is also the main reason why the fishery in Bagan Siapi-Api develop very well. Their cooperation is called *Kongsi Banthong*. This organization has a quite big influence on the economic condition in 1922-1926.^{xxiii} There are 14 ship anchors and a rotten fish coffin factory which are operated by the *Kongsi Banthong*.^{xxiv} To be the member of the organization, the owner should pay for f30,000.^{xxv} Through *Kongsi Banthong*, the problems among the *toke bangliau* can be resolved. Generally, the flowchart below describes the organization on Bagan Siapi-Api:



The fishery industry in Bagan Siapi-Api can be divided into two: government and private. The private one is often called patchers, while The Dutch Colonists refers to Bagan Maju Bank. Before the development of the bank around 1920s, the patchers play important roles. In their working system, the patchers try to build relationship with the *toke bangliau*. They also try to give the payment in advance and to make those *toke* sell their catch.^{xxvi} Then, they send money, salt to preserve

fish and infrastructures. The patchers also dominate the salt trading circulation. By sending the salt as credit, the *toke bangliau* is kept on contract with the patcher. One of them is a patcher in Bengkalis called Dei I Tam, who get a huge success in 1890s. He starts his career as the salt trader patcher for the coastal area. Soon after gaining success in this area, he expands his business activity by renting the salt sale authority for other Bengkalis areas.^{xxvii}

The roles of patcher significantly decrease when the government establish Bagan Maju Bank in 1917 and apply the salt monopoly. Some salt patchers disappear and the partikelir bank roles owned by the patchers also vanish.^{xxviii} Since then, the industry passes to the government's bank. The establishment of the bank is actually related to the ethic politic policies. The main purpose is to give inexpensive credit for the local people to improve the production activities.^{xxix} The existence of the bank is supervised the central government and a treasury shipped from Batavia for certain periods.

In the first year, Bagan Maju Bank has lend f392,000 for the fishermen. This amount of loan is quite large at that time. Next, the table shows:

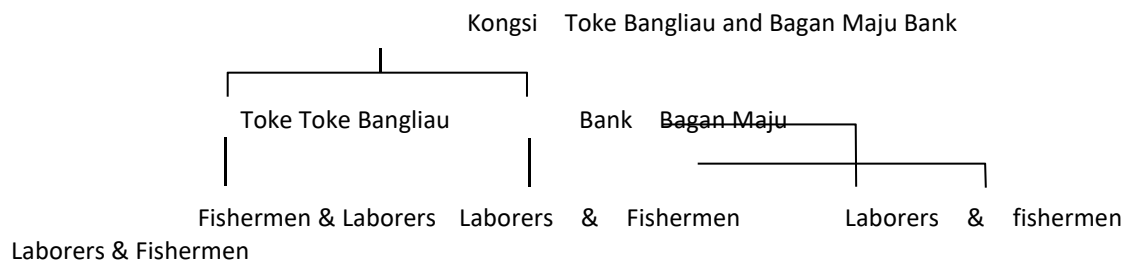
Table 2
The Amount of Loan by Bagan Maju Bank

No	Tahun	Jumlah
1.	1928	f417.600
2.	1929	f458.800
3.	1930	f218.200

Source: *Kolonial Verslag*, 1921, p.27

In This credit is granted to the fishermen and merchants. The amount of loan starts from f125 to thousands of Gulden with normal interests. The prominent bank has released people from the Chinese creditors that have been strangling their customers (patchers).^{xxx} It is very difficult to get an accurate statistics of the amount of saved fishermen and changes on the social stratification of the fishermen: the amount of laborers' life that are improved and the percentage of the mid-fishermen to *toke*. What is found in statistics is only the amount of loan by the Bagan Maju Bank for fire disaster and tornado in April, June, and November in 1920.

The distribution of capital in Bagan Siapi-Api after 1920:



Ice and salt are the material for fish preservation used in Bagan Siapi-Api. Ice is particularly for the fresh big fish, while salt is used to make some fish franchises, such as rotten fish, shrimp, or dried fish. In Bagan Siapi-Api there is also an industry called 'ice-freezing' *MvO* in 1934.^[xxx] But, Bagan Siapi-Api has exported ice-wrapped fresh fish to Singapore and Kuala Lumpur.^[xxxi] Compared to the need of ice, the need of salt is more dominant. This is described from the government's interference about salt.

The important policy from The Dutch Colonists about salt, include: tender policy and salt monopoly, which is enforced in 1920.^[xxxii] In Bagan Siapi-Api, the tender holders are the Chinese. The period of the tender holding is around three years. Both system take important roles in the development of the fishery industry.

In the tender system, the businessmen are given authority to meet the need of salt need in the fishing areas of Bagan Siapi-Api. The salt provision is under the authority of the tender holders.^[xxxiii] The involvement of The Dutch Colonists is only in establishing the monthly tax. The termination of the cooperation with the government depends on the ability of a tender holder in paying the monthly tax. The tender system gives opportunity to the private stances to get involved in the fishery industry in Bagan Siapi-Api. There are two steps taken by the tender holders related to the salt provision. *First* is to activate the salt fields in Bagan Siapi-Api. *Second* is to import salt from another places. The salt is imported from Singapore and Aden (Arab).^[xxxiv] The imported salt arrives through the Chinese networking. While other salt is shipped from Java, which has various kinds and qualities. One of them is *briket* (factory produced).^[xxxv] The tender holders have been trying to tie the farmers around the salt fields in Bagan Siapi-Api. The salt farmers are given some credits, so that they will sell their salt indirectly to the tender holders.

Beside the above explanation, there is also 'uncovered' salt sold in the market, without the notification of the tender holders. This salt is also called the 'dark salt.' The dark salt is smuggled by the Chinese.

The price of salt classified by the tender holders really depends on the tax established by The Dutch Colonists. If the tax increases, the salt price decreases.

For the salt farmers, things are easier because they are tied with the credit system. However, the imported salt from other places often causes some problems to the tender holders in Bagan Siapi-Api.

Until 1904, the salt price is still low due to two reasons. *First*, the anticipation act taken by the tender holders to alleviate the business rivals who smuggle the salt in their monopoly areas. *Second*, by selling cheap salt, the farmers promote the fishing in Bagan Siapi-Api. This will cause more consumption of salt and expand the total of the benefit.^{xxxvii}

After 1904 to 1910, the salt price rises.^{xxxviii} This is partly caused by the market climate; the weakness of the salt production and the break-out of the salt business group in Bagan Siapi-Api. In 1909, the salt crisis happens. This event encourages the establishment of the salt office. But, this office can only be operated in 1915.^{xxxix} The struggle of Zoutragic office in producing the salt pools and supervision of the salt smuggling by the salt police do not have significant effects.^{xl} The need of salt cannot fully coped, so that the imported salt becomes the unavoidable policy taken by The Dutch Colonists.^{xli}

In Bagan Siapi-api also happens the break out of the trading goods group.^{xlii} This breakout encourages the Dutch Colonists to increase the salt tax. In 1904 the tax increases from f6,060 to f13,550 per month. In 1907, it increases again to f15,630. Then in 1910, the tax reaches f32,000.^{xliii}

The business rival, the Chinese Captain Oei Koen Poey tries to snatch the tender from the Government with a higher bidding. For the sake of the tender, Oei increases his offer. Though in the end, Oei Koen Poey successfully win the tender, he cannot rule out the salt trading. The credits Oei grants to the toke and fishermen vanish. He then fails and gets bankruptcy; the tender is passed to Khoe Tjin Tek, a business leader from Medan.

In the first two years of the contract, Khoe Tjin Tek successfully stimulates the purchase of salt for the fishery industry. Khoe is able to sell salt to fishermen under f3.5 each sack. But the next year, he is unable to control the price because he has run out of capital. He has to bear the loss and the tax.

During 1912-1917, the salt price is unidentified because there is a disturbance on shipping in 1915; this results in stabilisation of the price. But, according to Gobee, the fishery industry productions is still normal though the dried fish and shrimps take more places.^{xliii} It is considered because of the spreading of the 'dark salt.'

The taxation traffic in the post-failure of Kho Tjin Tek results in the cancelling of the tender policy in 1917 and salt monopoly is applied 1920. This

monopoly policy in Bagan Siapi-Api, however, is not the first thing in the era of The Dutch Colonists.^{klv} The monopoly policy seems new but still adopts the tender policy, where the provision of salt is given to the private party.^{klvi} It is like the snake's reskinning. The snake is the tax. The Chinese people are those who buy-out things with company like PT. Tjin Tong.^{klvii}

The salt monopoly policy in 1920 does not show the decrease number of the price. For a more clearer explanation, see the table below:

Table 3
The Salt Price in 1896-1924

Year	Price per sack
1896	1,20 = f 1,68
1897	1,20 = f 1,68
1898	1,40 = f 1,96
1899	1,30 = f 1,82
1900	1,70 = f 2,38
1901	1,45 = f 2,03
1902	1,70 = f 2,38
1903	1,85 = f 2,59
1904	2,20 = f 3,08
1905	2,30 = f 3,22
1906	2,- = f 3,22
1907	= f 3,20
1908	= f 3,35
1909	= f 3,40
1910	= f 3,85
1911	4,20 = f 4
1918	f 3
1922	f 4 per karung 100 kg
1923	f =3,5
1924	f 4 per 100 kg

Source: Taken from Kolonial Verslag (KV)1913. P.199., KV 1925.hlm 195, Kolonial Studien, 1935 hlm.114. magazine TBB, 1912. Staatsblad van Nederlands Indie No. 106, 1918.

The advantage for the Dutch Colonists increases through times because of the tax established for the jobbers and the changes on the imported salt.^{klviii} The presence of the imported salt in the earlier period of the salt monopoly is limited. The limitation on the import is fortified by the Dutch Government by the import tax policy.^{klvix} In 1927 the collection of tax is established for f6 per sack.

The salt monopoly should face the problem on the salt quality. However, the imported salt is preferred more than the local production. The Dutch Colonists have been promoting the 'briket' salt with some sale regulations. To extend the

merits, the import is increased, but this idea is not really successful because the salt from Singapore is much cheaper. This thing can be observed through Zijel De Jong's commentary in his resigning report, that the Dutch Government faces some difficulties to control the circulation of the 'dark salt'.ⁱⁱ While, the salt fluctuation can be seen from the table below:

Table 4
Salt Report in 1896 – 1929

Tahun	Impor Garam Dalam Kg
1896	4.990.234
1897	4997884
1898	8019436
1899	10655190
1900	10350161
1901	10671336
1902	12346354
1903	14461569
1904	15742500
1905	14390181
1906	14366001
1907	11338795
1908	10478040
1909	10808350
1910	9381268
1914	5653186
1921	6469329
1922	15938890
1923	8700469
1924	4759658
1925	3096678
1926	26770481
1925	19494000
1926	22177000
1927	18977000
1928	19301000
1929	20952000
1930	20.925.000
1931	24.740.000
1932	20119.000
1933	18.108.000
1934	17.031.000

Source: Taken from *Kolonial Verslag*, 1914. p. 244. *Kolonial Verslag*, 1924 p. 190. *Kolonial Verslag*, 1925. p. 195, *Majalah TBB*, 1912. p. 422. *Majalah Kolonial Studien*, 1935. p.114. *MvO year W. Grondis*, 1926

Another policy that stands on the fishermen's side is the salt policy.ⁱⁱⁱ This policy differs consumption salt from the production salt. It is amended in 1907 and released in Bagan Siapi-Api 1923. But in its realization, the policy seems to be some kind of humble politeness. It is particularly caused when the amount of the cheap salt receiver is limited to get license and that means they have to pay tax. The

salting process is conducted in a certain complex that needs additional expense for shipping.ⁱⁱⁱ The salt price increases dramatically after 1930. In 1932, it reaches the peak, as shown in the table below:^{iv}

Table 5
Salt Price in 1931-1935 in Bagan Siapi-Api

Tahun	Harga garam per 100 kg
1931	?
1932	f5,35-f5,55
1933	?
1934	f4
1935	f4

Source: Taken from Kolonial Studien year 1935. p. 113,115, MvO C. J.J van naar 1931-1946. p. 95. G. masset, "Het Visscherijbedrijf the Bagan Siapi-Api in de Indische Gidsm, Nagen en Vijftigste jaargang, (1937), p. 131

The increasing price is caused by the humid climate. That also counts for Volstraad's failure in 1932 in the trial of kitchen salt.^v This factor evokes dispute for the salt monopoly policy. Following up the needs of salt, The Dutch Government continue the salt import policy. This policy has no effect towards the decreasing price of the salt. Vice versa, the import must still face the comparison between foreign and local salt quality. The salt quality in the Dutch Government is, honestly, lower.^{vi} Until 1936, the Dutch's salt reaches over the other because of the dry season. But, because of the competition with the foreign party, everything ruins.^{vii}

Meanwhile, the import only gives benefit to the Government and the jobbers rather than saving the fishery industry. The Government obtains the tax while the jobbers get advantages from the commission for the shipping and provision. PT. Tjin Tong, in this case, enjoys the merits from the sale of salt monopoly. The merits for Bagan Siapi-Api only reach 24 cents per sack, 100 kilograms of salt and 3.5 cents per package, 12.5 kilograms of 'briket' salt. The total merits for the in-city sales in the mid 1936 goes to f18,000.^{viii} Then, from the import tax, the Dutch Government gets f225 per ton^{ix}

The smuggling of the limited salt have nothing to ease the extreme price. The readiness of the security personnels becomes so much problem.^x The Government increases the number of the security personnels and supervisors in the coast line and islands.^{xi} The Volstraad members have many times argue to decrease the price. They

say that there are many fishermen go back to China and move to the Straits Settlement, recounting that the price is far lower there.^{lxii}

That also counts for the increasing number of unemployment and the demolition of the fragile fishery business.^{lxiii} The migration of the people dramatically happens. In 1931 there rumor has it that the price gets lower. But this does not have so much implication on the development of the fishery industry because of the recession. The cheap salt package is still tailed with the 'wild' tax, the salting transport expenses, supervision and security which are depressing. The amount for a single place is f0.1525 til f0.6694 for a kilo of salt.^{lxiv} In 1934 there is a decrease of price in the eastern coast of Sumatra.^{lxv}

The increasing fish production gets better. This description can be seen from the data of the large salt usage for *Onderafdeeling Bagan Siapi-Api*. In 1939, 21.5 out of 28.1 mm kilograms (76.5%) of salt are used in Bagan Siapi-Api.^{lxvi}

Trading and Businessmen

By means of transportation and trading, the Chinese have long been involved themselves. The fish marketing outside the area has used big ship owned by The Dutch Colonistst, Chinese, English, Germans, and Japanese.^{lxvii} The transportations used for the isolated areas are both traditional and motor boats ruled by the Dutch and the Chinese people.^{lxviii}

The circulation of the ships production is relatively enough and move in the certain static period of time. In 1926, in river Rokan, there are five motor boats in the beach villages and serve the forces of ships to be taken to the sea, 150 *nadi* boats, 300 Chinese *bedar toke* (big boat especially used in harbor), and lifeboats, and two Chinese boat (weekly arrived from Singapore).^{lxix} MvO Bengkalis explains four small KPM 1 that cruises the sea.^{lxx} These ships can store 100 and 200 tons of burden, and weighs 1,400 tons.^{lxxi} The statistics show that in 1930, the ships that come to Bagan Siapi-Api are steam boats, motor boats, ordinary boats. Those boats belong to the Dutch Government (KPM), English (Ho Hong S.S.Co., Hoe Aik St., etc.), Chinese, and Siam. The total amount of the ships sailing the place and abroad is 265, consists of 39 steam boats and 226 ordinary boats. For the last there 2040 in this country, which consists of 210 steam boats, 55 motor boats, and 1775 ordinary boats. So, there are 2305 ships drop by in Bagan Siapi-Api.^{lxxii}

The Source of MvO Governor of eastern coast of Sumatra explains the names of the ships coming to Bagan Siapi-Api are Chinese Esmeralde (once a week), Ban Lie Guan (from Singapore, Gutzel and Schumacher, which sail twice a week), KPM from Java via Belawan (twice a month).^{lxxiii} Grondijs explains that there are specific tracks

for KPM, which sail once a week from Singapore to Bagan Siapi-API.^{lxxiv} MvO Bengkalis states that in 1929, small KPM sails through river Siak, Rokan, and Kampar every week.^{lxxv} In the early stage of the relationship between Bagan Siapi-API with Java, the ships must pass through Singapore. But with the advancement of telecommunication system (telegraph networks), Bank of Java Bank of China Ltd. divert the telegraph system, so that the sending can be done through Bank Perkreditan Rakyat.

There are some groups of people which should take our concerns when talking about trade in Bagan Siapi-API: The Dutch Colonists, Chinese, English and the natives. The Dutch's presence give some freedom to the foreign people to get involved in the trading system. This thing is encouraged by the hidden agenda of the Dutch: the tax merits. The Chinese are considered the best people to solve the tax problem as in their regulation about Chinese people.

MvO A.H Nijs confesses that the trade lies in the hand of the Chinese people.^{lxxvi} While, the trade in the inland is ruled by the Malaysians. But still, everyone gets the capitals from the Chinese.^{lxxvii}

The Chinese who make transactions in the fishery industry in Bagan Siapi-API are part of a bigger Chinese community in Singapore and Malaka.^{lxxviii} While Butcher calls it 'syndicate'.^{lxxix} The fish producers in Bagan Siapi-API sell their products to the exporters who have become their customers in Singapore, Malaka, and Java, as well as other places. Moreover, the exporters have beforehand lent some capitals to the *toke* (fish producers). This vertical bond keeps growing, while the Chinese people themselves establish some minority groups of fish producers, such as Thin Tek.^{lxxx}

One of the most famous traders in Sumatra is the Tjong family. They settle in Medan. The two most prominent figures from this family are Tjong Jong Hian and Tjong A Fie alias Tjong Yiau Hian. Tjong A Fie was born in China in 1859. In 1888, he was promoted to be Lieutenant and promoted as a Captain in 1911 by The Dutch Colonists.

The Tjongs' family expands into the Malaysian peninsula, Singapore, Bangkok, even China. Tjong A Fie is one of the jobbers who found the Batavia Bank (1904). He rules 200 out of 400 shares in the bank. Tjong owns a coconut oil factory, *bronze* mines, and *voyage*.^{lxxxi}

Tjong A Fie and his brother are also responsible for the laborers shipping from China. In China they put some investments to the Swatow Train company. In Bagan Siapi-API, Tjong A Fie is involved in the gambling and opium business. When the recession happens in 1920-1921, The Tjongs' business undergoes the breakup. It is quite a general concern in East Sumatra for the capital owners and prominent

businessmen at that time.^{lxxxii} Tjong A Fie eventually commits suicide because he cannot afford to pay taxes.

Another name is Dey I Tam, a famous capital owner, Chinese Captain in Bengkalis, as of Wee Leong Tan, as well as Song Ong Siang, another Chinese Captain in Bengkalis, who find some voyage tracks to Bagan Siapi-Api in 1908. The other capital owner is Thio Thiau Siat (Chang Pi-Shih), a business partner of Tjong A Fie. Thio Thiu Siat develops his business particularly in Java, East Sumatra, Straits Settlement, and China. He is also the General Consultant in Singapore in 1905. Thio Thiau Siat invests capitals in quite large numbers in Bagan Siapi-Api. Thio has supplied daily needs to the workers in Bagan Siapi-Api.

The competition among the capital owners always occurs in business matters. In Bagan Siapi-Api, there is fact that one trading syndicate tries to hold on other traders by marrying their children.^{lxxxiii} In fact, this tactic cannot erase the competition.^{lxxxiv} The increasing price of salt in 1911 is a evidence that the competition cannot be eased among the salt trading syndicates.

The trading competition among the Chinese people is caused by the division of 'real' Chinese and 'hybrid' Chinese. The formers are born and nurtured in China. They speak Chinese very well and are brave to take high risks. While, the latters have integrated their life with other tribes of outer China, so that, they have no bounds with the 'real' Chinese. The early period of the twentieth century shows that the increasing number of the 'real' Chinese businessmen marks the time when their economic supremacy grows stronger.^{lxxxv}

C. The Influence of Chinese People in Bagan Siapi-Api.

The advance fishery gives advantages to the Dutch Government and the Chinese people. While the natives become the marginalized part of the society. The Chinese have become the middle class and tend to be exclusive. It is a fact that the Chinese people have established their own residence. The important residence of the Chinese are in Sinaboi, Panipahan, and the Capital of Bagan Siapi-Api. In those residences, the Chinese personalities are maintained and there is no mixing with the natives. In other side, pig breeding has become a common thing, even this kind of breeding is the largest in Bagan Siapi-Api. The largest pig breeding is operated by the Chinese people with 500 pigs. This breeding takes place in Tonggak Panipahan. The *Baakbergen* report says that 6750 pigs are cut-off every year in Bagan Siapi-Api.^{lxxxvi}

The Chinese children generally study in private schools, which have Language and Chinese Letters subjects as the device for their interaction.

Meanwhile, in the upper class, English Language is considered as a curriculum. The Malay Language is less-known by the young generation compared in the other places. Even the domination of the Chinese cultures take the Malaysians attention to study Chinese language. This race differentiation is still obvious.^{lxxxvii}

The way of life of the Chinese people is different from that of the natives. Most of them are hardworkers though they do not want to be tied in relationships. The Chinese, without considering their status; be it a laborer or better position (having hundred acres of land and some houses) sometimes keep staying in the dirty houses. The most obvious sign is the ownership on a candu pipe in a room or at least in a family they have a smoking room. The Chinese people establish their economy from small syndicate, then buy a small lot of land and build a house. The last stage of the economic independence is by setting a new business; in the fishery industry is by creating a dried fish brand (production). As the bank customers, Chinese people can be classified as the best.^{lxxxviii}

Vice versa, the natives generally have ambition of reaching a higher social status with the physical appearance, though the number decreases through years.^{lxxxix} It is not caused by the inability to compete with the Chinese, but also the increasing pressure from the Dutch Colonists. They enforce many kind of taxes. Some groups of traders set themselves free from the strangling tax through smuggling. But, another kind of tax is hard to avoid. Since 1918, there has been working obligation tax enforced to the people. The amount of days is 35 days per year. The freedom from paying the tax costs the people to pay f6 annually.^{xc} Some natives finally earn their living from selling their services such as being servants for the Chinese family and *jermal* laborers.

III. Conclusion

The entrance of the Chinese immigrants have been started since the first century. They come in to Bagan Siapi-Api through trading. A great extent of migration happens along the effort of the Dutch Colonists on fishery industry in the end of the nineteenth century. Most of the immigrants are involved in the fishery industry. Those who are dilligent have become the owners of bangliau and then expand their business. Even some of them get involved in the transportation and trading. The policy of the Dutch Colonists related to the tax is usually resolved by the Chinese immigrants through the cooperation with the syndicates. Bagan Siapi-Api has become the Chinese community by quantity. They are very dominant in all aspects of life. Meanwhile, the natives have been marginalized.

NOTES

Traktat Sumatra in 1871 has quite a big influence toward the changes of power and governmental system in the area. The Residence of Eastern Coast of Sumatra was established in 1873. In 1884, Sultan let loose his supremacy toward most parts of Eastern Sumatra because of the 'new contract' with Siak Sri Indrapura Kingdom. The long term contract left only mandatory statement to the Kingdom. Besluit van Het Inlandsche Zelfbestuur van Siak on 25 October 1919 no. 1 was forced to make the 10 provinces became districts and sub-districts. Bagan Siapi-API is one of the five districts. Onderdistrik Tanah Putih settled in di Tanah Putih, Onderdistrik Bangko settled in Bagan Siapi-API and Onderdistrik Kubu takes place in Merbau bay.

ⁱⁱJ. Tideman, "Land en Volk van Bengkalis" in *TNAG*. Deel, 1935. p.792.

ⁱⁱⁱMasyhuri, *Menyisir Pantai Utara Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Nusantara dan KITLV, 1996. p. 8.

^{iv}J. Tideman, *op. cit.*, p. 803. See also Victor Purcell, *The Chinese In Southeast Asia*. London, Kuala Lumpur, Hongkong: Oxford University press, 1965, p. 388.

^vJenifer Cushman and Wong Gunwu (ed), *Perubahan Identitas Orang Cina di Asia Tenggara*. Jakarta: Grafiti 1991. p. 355.

^{vi}G. Masset, "Het Visscherijbedrijf te Bagan Siapi-API" in *De Indische Gids*. Negen en Vijfde Jaargang, 1937., p. 129.

^{vii} Remco Raben, "Anti Chinese and Violence in Indonesia Revolution". *Paper* in Konfrensi and Workshop International : Dekolonisasi dan Posisi Etnis Tionghoa Indonesia 1930-1n-1960-an di Padang, 18-21 June 2006, p. 4-5.

^{viii}*MvO* De Onderafdeeling Bagan Siapi-API, Afdeeling Bengkalis, Gouvernement Oost-kust van Sumatera, van C. Baakbergen, 1931.*MvO*,De Onderafdeeling Bagan Siapi-API, Afdeeling Bengkalis, Gouvernemnet Ooskust van Sumatera, A. Te Velde, 5 January 1925.,J. Tideman, *op. cit.* Onderafdeeling Bagan Siapi-API, Afdeeling Bengkalis, Gouvernement Ooskust van Sumatera, van Duuren, 1934.

^{ix} J. Tideman, *op. cit.*, p. 797.

^x *Ibid.* juga lihat Syamsul Bahri, "The Fishermen and Poorly : The Study About The Relationship of Patron and Client in Riau". *Tesis Sosiologi Program*, Yogyakarta : UGM, 1995, p. 31

^{xi} Anthony Reid, *From Expansion to Crisis II*. Jakarta : Yayasan Obor, 1999, p. 34

^{xii} Masyhuri, *op. cit.* p. 170

^{xiii}D. G. Hall, *South East Asia*. Jakarta: Usaha Nasional, 1988, p.205

^{xiv}Mochtar Ahmad, " Tehnologi Bahri", in S. Budi Santoso *et al*, *Masyarakat Riau dan Kebudayaanannya*. Pekanbaru: Pemerintah Propinsi Daerah Tk I Riau, no year, p. 206

^{xv} P. N van Kempen, " Aanteekeninggen...", 1909 in Masyhuri, *op. cit.*, p.46.

^{xvi}*Koloniaal Verslag*, 1909, hlm. 271. See also H. Ten. Hage, "Verbetering der Visserij op Java de Buitenbezittingen" in *TEG*. Eerste Jaargang, 1910, p. 110.

^{xvii}*MvO* De Onderafdeeling Bagan Siapi-API, Afdeeling Bengkalis, Gouvernemnet Ooskust van Sumatera, A. F. A. van Zijel De Jong, 1929.

^{xviii}The investors are often called patchers. Beside money release, they also buy out salt approved by the Dutch Colonists. They send money to the fish traders and the owners of the fishing tools, which are called *toke*. *Toke* is the head of bangliau and the creditor for the fishing laborers. H. Ten Hage, Hage, H. Ten, "Verbetering Der Visserij Op Java. De Buitenbezittingen" in *Tijdschriefft Voor Economische Geographie*. Eerste Jaargang, 1910.

^{xix}H. Ten. Hage, *op. cit.*, p. 110. H. Ten. Hage, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

^{xx}*Ibid.*

^{xxi}T.J Tidemen, *op. cit.*, p. 807.

^{xxii}H. Ten Hage, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

^{xxiii}*Memori*, De Onderafdeeling Bagan Siapi-API, Afdeeling Bengkalis, Gouvernement Oost-kust van Sumatera, G. W. Pundersima, 2 May 1933.

^{xxiv} *MvO* C. Baakbergen., *op. cit.*

^{xxv}*Memori*, G . W. Pundersima, *op. cit.*

^{xxvi} *Ibid.*

^{xxvii}P. N. van Kempen, "Aanteekeningen Omtren de Visscherij van Sumatera en Riouw", Mededeelingen van het Visscherij Station te Batavia, no. 3, 1909, p. 7. in Masyhuri, *op cit.*, p 170

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- xxviii Masyhuri, "Usaha Penangkapan Ikan dan Nelayan di Indonesia 1880-1940 in *Masyarakat Indonesia Magazine*, year XX no. 1, 1993. p. 23.
- xxix Jan T. M van Laanen, " Diantara De Javasche Bank dan Ceti-ceti Cina: Perbankan dan Kredit di Indonesia Pada Zaman Kolonial " dalam Anne Both, (ed.), *Sejarah Ekonomi Indonesia*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1988, p. 253.
- xxx G. Masset, *op. cit.*, p.127
- xxxi MvO J.C.C Naar, *op. cit.*, p.72.
- xxxii MvO A. F.A. van Zijel de Jong, *op. cit.*
- xxxiii MvO. De Onderafdeeling Bagan Siapi-Api, Afdeeling Bengkalis Gouvernement Oostkust van Sumatera, J. C.C. Van Naar.
- xxxiv Parwoto, " Monopoli Garam di Madura 1905-1902". *Tesis Program Studi Sejarah*. Yogyakarta: UGM, 1996. p. 114.
- xxxv *Koloniaal Verslag*, 1994 hlm, 337. See also John. G. Bucther, " The Salt Farm and Fishing Industri Of Bagan Siapi-Api". in *Majalah Indonesia*, no. 6, Oktober 1996, p. 98.
- xxxvi *Koloniaal Verslag*, 1914. *Ibid.*
- xxxvii John G. Butcher, *op. cit.*, p.98.
- xxxviii A.G. Van Der Land," De Vischindustrie The Bagan Siapi-Api" in *TBB*, vol 43. p. 215.
- xxxix Staatsblad van Nederlandsche Indie no. 241, 1915. Staatsblad Van Nederlandsche Indie. No. 42. 1933. " de Zoutregie". in *Kolonial Studien*, 1935. p.2.
- xl Staatsblad van Nederlandsche Indie no. 49, 1908.
- xli Staatsblad van Nederlandsche Indie no. 74, 75, 1917. See also Staatsblad van Nederlandsche Indie no.145, 1920, Staatsblad van Nederlansche Indie No. 96. 1909.
- xliv A.L.J. Sunnier, Nog Eens De Vischidustrie te Bagan Siapi-Api" in *TBB* no. 43, 1912, p. 416.
- lviii John G. Butcher, *op. cit.*, p, 102
- lxiv Gobe, "Visschereridustrie". Pp. 20-21; Haga, " Beteekens der Visscherij", pp.248-49. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
- lxv This policy has been applied since 1882 in The Dutch Government era. There are some important policies: ownership, supervision on the products, salt stock, marketing and price. By this policy, there are places which are established to produce salt: West Sumatra, East Sumatra, District of Lampung, Bengkulu, Palembang, Banten, Kalimantan, and Bliton. Staatsblad van Nederlandsche Indie no. 73, 1882. See also Bijblad op Het Staatsblad van Nederlansche Indie No. 5073, 1890.
- lxvi Staatsblad van Nederlandsche Indie no. 241, 1915. *op. cit.* Staatsblad van Nederlandsche Indie no. 74, 75, 1917. *op. cit.* See also Staatsblad van Nederlandsche Indie no. 107, 1918, Staatsblad van Nederlandsche Indie no. 143, 1920, *op. cit.*
- lxvii MvO, A. F. A. van Zijel de Jong, 1929, *op. cit.*
- lxviii *Koloniaal Verslag*, 1923, p. 233. See also *Koloniaal Verslag*, 1927. p.207, C. W Boon, "de Zoutregie" *Koloniaal Studien*, 1935, p. 102
- lxix H. van, Kol, "De Zoutregie", in " *Nederlandsch Indie Staten General van 1897 tot 1900*. S. Gravenhage Martinus Nijhuys, 1911, p. 366 see also Staasblad Van Nederlandsche Indie No. 144, 1920.
- l *Koloniaal Verslag*, 1914. p. 244.
- li MvO, A. F. A. van Zijel de Jong, *op. cit.*
- lii The realization of the policy can be seen from the building of the fish salting points. The cheap salt is for the industry use only. There are 30 points in Northern Coast of Java and some outside Java. Bijblad van Staatsblad Nederlandsche Indie no. 6600, 1907, see also *Koloniaal Verslag*, 1925, p. 195,. Masyhuri, *op. cit.* p.15.
- liiii *Koloniaal Verslag*, 1924, p. 190. See also *Koloniaal Verslag*, 1925, p. 195.
- liv ARNAS. Bt 30 Sept 1931 no. 33, Bijlarge (Bt. 19 Sep. 1930, no 10). In 1916 the salt price decreases for the fish preservation at three cents. In 1920 the price increases into four cents and in 1924 increases into 4,5 cents. It seems that in 1930 the salt has increased again. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
- lv C.W. Boon, "De Zoutregie". In *Kolonial Studien*, 1935. p. 115
- lvi *Ibid.*
- lvii MvO. J. C.C. Van Naar, *loc. cit.*
- lviii G. Masset, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
- lix MvO De Onderafdeeling Bagan Siapi-Api, Afdeeling Bengkalis, Gouvernement Oostkust van Sumatra, J. J. Noeven, March 1931.
- lx *Ibid.*

- ^{lxi} Memori, G. W. Pundersima, *op. cit*
- ^{lxii} The rough price of government's salt f 0,043 per kg compared to f 0,015 per kg in Malaya. See *Ibid.*
- ^{lxiii} J. Tideman, *op. cit.*, p. 808
- ^{lxiv} ARNAS, Bt 30 Sept 1931, no 33 bijl in Masyhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
- ^{lxv} Bijblad op Het Staatsblad van Nederladsche Indie, no. 13280, 1934.
- ^{lxvi} "Het Zoutverbruik in Ned-Indie ini de Periode 1928-1939" in *Economisch Weekblad*, 10e Jaargang, No. 5, Januari, 1941. p. 170-171.
- ^{lxvii} Samengesteld bij het Hoofdkantoor van Scheepvaart, *Statistik van De Scheepvaart in Nederlandsch- Indie Overheat Jaar 1930*. Batavia : Gedrukt bij Rouygok & co., 1931. p. 36.
- ^{lxviii} MvO A. Te Velde, *op. cit*
- ^{lxix} MvO van Baakbergen, *op.cit*
- ^{lxx} Mvo A. F.A van Zijel de Jong, *op. cit.*
- ^{lxxi} "Bagan Siapi-API, Het Groote Visschersdrop op Sumatera" in *TNAG*. Deel. XXVI, 1909, p. 844. See also MvO A. F. A Van Zijel de Jong, *op. cit.*
- ^{lxxii} Semengested Bij Het Hoofkantoor van Scheepvaart, *op. cit.*, p.35.
- ^{lxxiii} MvO A. Te Velde, *op. cit*
- ^{lxxiv} *Ibid.*
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- ^{lxxvi} MvO De Onderafdeeling Bagan Siapi-API, Afdeeling Bengkalis, Gouvernemnet Oostkust van Sumatera, A. H. Nijs, 2 May 1926.
- ^{lxxvii} R. Broersma, Oostkust van Sumatra De Ontwikkeling van net Gewst, deel II. The Hague, Charles Dixon – Deventer, 1922., p. 280. in Edi Sumarno, "Pertanian Karet Rakyat Sumatera Timur 1863-1942", Thesis of History program. Yogyakarta : UGM, 1998, p. 27. See also *Kolonial Verslag*, 1922, p112.
- ^{lxxviii} Mubyarto dkk, *Pusat Studi Pengembangan Desa Pantai di Propinsi Riau*. Yogyakarta : Pusat Pembangunan Pedesaan dan Kawasan 1988. , p. 52
- ^{lxxix} Jhon G. Butcher, *loc. cit.*
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- ^{lxxxi} Jenifer Cushman & Wang Gunwu ed. *Perubahan Identitas Orang Cina di Asia Tenggara*. Jakarta : Grafiti, 1991, p. 355.
- ^{lxxxii} W. A. Wegenaar, *Extremes in The Archipelogo: Trade And Economic Development in The Outer Island of Indonesia, 1900-1942*. Lauren Jeroen Touwen geboren teh Gronigen, 1964., p. 178.
- ^{lxxxiii} Jennifer Cushman & Wang Gungwu ed. *op. cit.*, p.357
- ^{lxxxiv} Jhon G Butcher, *loc. cit*
- ^{lxxxv} *Ibid.*, p. 357
- ^{lxxxvi} *Ibid.*
- ^{lxxxvii} G. Masset, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
- ^{lxxxviii} *Ibid.*, p. 135.
- ^{lxxxix} *Ibid.*, p. 135
- ^{xc} MvO. A. Te Velde, *op. cit.*

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