

ANDEH SETIA: WOMEN'S ECONOMIC MOBILIZER IN SULIK AIA IN EARLY 20th CENTURY

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Abstract

Weaving handicrafts became the motor Minangkabau's economy at the beginning of the 20th. It encouraged the establishment of weaving centers, such as Amai Setia (1911) and Andeh Setia (1912). Amai Setia handicrafts' are still standing strong nowadays, while Andeh Setia is thus no longer known by the people of Sulit Air today. This paper uses the social history approach and exposes the history of the emergence and fall of Andeh Setia as an economic movement in Sulit Air. The establishment of Andeh Setia is inseparable from the role of ninik mamak and women in Sulit Air. Andeh Setia's success was ultimately drowned due to the loss of driving figures, the reduction in women's interest in weaving crafts, and the overflow of merantau. This finding also suggests that the economic independence of the people in Sulit Air, depends heavily on the role of perantau. This situation is thus an obstacle to the realization of economic independence.

Keywords: Andeh Setia, Weaving, Mahyuddin Dt. Sutan Maharaja, Women's Economy

Abstrak

Kerajinan tenun menjadi penggerak perekonomian di Minangkabau pada awal ke-20. Ini mendorong terbentuknya pusat kerajinan tenun, seperti Amai Setia (1911) dan Andeh Setia (1912). Kerajinan Amai Setia hingga saat ini masih dapat ditemukan, sedangkan Andeh Setia justru tidak dikenal lagi oleh masyarakat Sulit Air hari ini. Menggunakan pendekatan sejarah sosial, artikel ini mengungkap sejarah muncul dan hilangnya Andeh Setia sebagai gerakan ekonomi di Sulit Air. Berdirinya Andeh Setia tidak terlepas dari peran ninik mamak dan kaum perempuan di Sulit Air. Keberhasilan Andeh Setia pada akhirnya tenggelam disebabkan karena kehilangan tokoh penggerak, menurunnya minat kaum perempuan terhadap kerajinan tenun, dan menguatnya arus merantau. Temuan ini juga menunjukkan bahwa kemandirian ekonomi masyarakat di Sulit Air, sangat bergantung pada peran perantau. Keadaan ini justru menjadi penghambat terwujudnya kemandirian ekonomi tersebut.

Kata Kunci: Andeh Setia, Tenun, Mahyuddin Dt. Sutan Maharaja, Ekonomi Perempuan

Introduction

Nothing changed Minangkabau in the early 20th century until Thomas Diaz entered this land through the rivers from the east in 1684.¹ Especially after the Dutch or

British came to form an economic agreement until the Dutch rode the Padri war. These changes are clearly recorded in the economic structure of the people who are increasingly moving away from an agrarian lifestyle. The presence of economic technology and colonial political pressure,

¹. Rusli Amran, *Sumatra Barat Hingga Plakat Panjang* (Sinar Harapan, 1981), 103.

slowly changed the social structure of society.²

Of course, modernization ideas and movements colored Minangkabau in the early 20th century. While modernist Islamic groups want the purification of Islam from traditions or customs that do not have sharia legislation, adat groups, on the other hand, try to reaffirm that Minangkabau natural customs are in accordance with the will of the times. The idea of progression (progressive) is not at all contrary to custom. In fact, adat has prepared the pillars to support this progress, as emphasized by Mahyuddin Dt. Sutan Maharaja.³

How do indigenous peoples respond to the idea of progress? The answer to this question can be traced by understanding the role of women in socio-economic activities in Minangkabau in the early 20th century. Why girls? Because the Minangkabau social system places women at the epicenter. The absence of women from the social space is a sign of the weakening of Minangkabau as a social and cultural system.

Ruhana Kuddus is the first Minangkabau woman who became a pioneer of female entrepreneurs in the early 20th century.⁴ On February 11, 1911, Ruhana founded the Kerajinan Amai Setia (KAS) in Koto Gadang. Through KAS, Ruhana revives women entrepreneurs' activities and mobilizes education for women so that they

are free from oppression.⁵ Not only for their villages, KAS has also inspired women in other villages, such as Sulik Air, to form the same craft center. Andeh Setia is the second "KAS" to imitate the success of KAS in Koto Gadang. It's just that, if KAS in Koto Gadang is still known to this day, however, Andeh Setia in Hard Air seems to have left no trace. It can be said that the people of Difficult Air only knew that their village was a weaving production center in Minangkabau. However, do not ask the name "Andeh Setia" because we can be sure, no one knows this name.

Then, when and how was Andeh Setia formed? What is Andeh Setia's role in driving the women's economy in Sulik Aia? Why is "Andeh Setia" lost and buried in time? This article attempts to answer these three questions using a social history approach. The main sources of this article are articles and advertisements about "Andeh Setia" which can be found in *Soenting Melajoe* magazine. This is inseparable from Mahyuddin Dt. Sutan Maharaja was the central figure of the Sulik Aia community in the early 20th century. In fact, as explained by Taufik Abdullah, Mahyuddin Dt. Sutan Maharaja is a key figure driving the women's economy in Minangkabau.⁶

Socio-Economic Condition of the Sulik Aia Community in the Early 20th Century

April 28, 1821 through the National Working Meeting (Mukernas) held on July 18, 2015 was designated Sulik Aia's birthday.

². Christine E. Dobbin, *Gejolak ekonomi, kebangkitan Islam dan gerakan padri: Minangkabau 1784-1847* (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2008).

³. Taufik Abdullah, "Modernization in the Minangkabau world: West Sumatra in the early decades of the twentieth century," *Culture and politics in Indonesia*, 1972, 179–243.

⁴ Silfia Hanani, "Ruhana Kuddus Pelopor Gerakan Entrepreneur Perempuan di Minangkabau," *Marwah: Jurnal Perempuan, Agama dan Jender* 19, no. 1 (2020): 1–14.

⁵. Susi Ratna Sari, "Dari Kerajinan Amai Setia Ke Soenting Melayoe Strategi Rohana Kuddus Dalam Melawan Ketertindasan Perempuan Di Minangkabau," *Kafaah: Journal of Gender Studies* 6, no. 2 (2016): 235–250.

⁶. Abdullah, "Modernization in the Minangkabau world."

The main argument for setting this date is because April 28 was the first day the war of Padri began in Sulik Aia.⁷ Even though not all mukernas participants agreed, the decision was still made. Those who refuse are of the view that although Sulik Aia used to be called a supporter of the priesthood, the Sulik Aia cannot be called "orang padri" or in another language "the Wahhabi group". The writer at that time was also among those who refused because the determination of the anniversary still followed the "military" standard which tended to prioritize heroic "war" actions against the invaders. The events of the establishment of the grand mosque, the publication of the magazine "al-Munawwarah" or "Soenting Melajoe" and others, have more inspirational value than the events of Padri.

Apart from that, the Padri incident had a reasonably severe impact on the social order in Sulik Aia. The pattern of life that used to be active in panning for gold, making carvings, is slowly being abandoned. Agricultural products that are not sufficient for domestic needs, push them slowly out to the nagari or other areas. Of course, this cannot be separated from Sulik Aia's natural conditions which do not support the agricultural sector. However, regarding the contents of the earth's bowels, several studies during the Dutch period showed that the Sarikieh and Taram hills contained granite, arisen, sibumbun rich in copper and coal, and many other minerals that could be explored.

A Dutch businessman, W.A.v. Zijp, who lived in Bandung in 1926, applied for a permit to mine in the arisen area. At this request, the heads of the Sulik Aia village

held a meeting chaired by Mohammad Rasyad Dt. Tomonggong. The meeting's decision rejected the request on the basis of eight reasons related to environmental protection from damage and protection of the community's economic interests due to the increase in population. The meeting also objected to the colonial government's plan to impose a tax on rumah gadang. Meanwhile, according to *Hoofd van Plaatselijke Bestuur*, the traditional houses that are subject to belasting (taxes) are:

“I) Kalau roemah roemah itoe didiami oleh mamak roemah, hal mana meneoroet adat Minangkabau djarang sekali, malah tiada pernah kedjadian. II) kalau taksiran sewanja koerang dari f180 setaboen.

Sewa-sewa roemah adat di Minangkabau poen ada sedikit sekali taksirannya, karena di kampoeng kampoeng sewa roemah kebiasaannya tiada tinggi, djadi tiadalah akan melebihi dari f180 setaboen.

Sampai ada kedjadian roemah roemah itoe dioepahkan mendiaminja, karena ketiadaan orang.”

The information above shows that the habit of wandering is deeply ingrained in the people of Sulik Aia, or Minangkabau in general. A report on plans for the construction of a railroad from Sawah Lunto through Umbilin notes that in 1870, the population of Sulik Aia numbered 9,074.⁸ At that time, Sulik Aia was still part of the Tanah Datar area, in the XX Kotta kewedanan (onderafdeling). This number is far more than today, which is around 5,000. Besides, the custom of hiring people to live in houses in Sulik Aia, dates back to the first half of the 20th century.

7. Hamdullah Salim, *Perayaan Hajasa (Hari Jadi Sulik Aia) 28 April 1821* (Jakarta: CV. Nusantara Printing, 2018).

8. *Het Ombilin-Kolenveld in de Padangsche Bovenlanden en Het Transportstelsel op Sumatra's Wetkust*, (Batavia : Landsrukkerij, 1907), hal, 68

In 1912, Kerapatan Adat Nagari Sulik Aia Nagari made a crucial decision and impacted the subsequent socio-economic life of the Sulik Aia community. The decision is often referred to as the "Undang-Undang Nan 11 Pasal" because it contains eleven articles. The *Oetoesan Melajoe* newspaper contained the contents of this decision which was later republished on *Adatrechtbundel XI: Sumatra*.⁹ In general, "Undang-Undang Nan 11 Pasal" stipulates the provisions for establishing a penghulu (article 1), marriage permits (article 2), ninik mamak obligations (article 3), sumando obligations over his wife's house (article 4), permission to wander (article 5), Prohibition of gambling or other crimes (Articles 6-8), Prohibition of Penghulu from leaving the Nagari (Article 9), Green Economy (Article 10) and customary sanctions for violators of the rules (Article 11). The provisions in the tenth article that oblige men to plant old plants, such as coconut, surian, coffee, cinnamon, or young plants such as bananas and cassava, can still be seen today. A large number of coconut trees in the Sulik Aia village, can be ascertained is the vision of a 'green economy' which is contained in the decision of KAN 1912.

Elizabeth E. Graves noted that Sulik Aia and Puar Datar were among the earliest villages to have schools compared to other villages, such as Koto Gadang, which only existed in the early 20th century.¹⁰ This means that Sulik Aia has a fairly serious concern for the world of education. In 1925, the first religious school, Educational School of Religion (PSA) was established in Gando. In 1931, Zainal Abidin Ahmad formed the

⁹ *Adatrechtbundel XI: Sumatra*, (S-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1915), hal., 155-161

¹⁰ Elizabeth E. Graves, *Asal-usul elite Minangkabau modern: respons terhadap kolonial Belanda abad XIX/XX* (Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2007), 254.

"Goenoeng Merah Instituut" which in its education division formed the "Islamic Education Room (RPI)". In 1908, Mahyuddin Dt. Sutan Maharaja founded a school for boys.

In the early 20th century, women Sulik Aia were involved in the 'progress movement' voiced by Mahyuddin Dt. Sutan Maharaja is none other than the influential figure of Sulik Aia and the pioneer of traditional modernization in Minangkabau in the early 20th century. Through the idea of 'progress', Dt. Sutan Maharaja was also the driving force of Minangkabau weaving at that time. In 1909, he founded *the Padangsche Weefschool*; a women's weaving school in Padang whose teachers are from Sulik Aia. This shows that Sulik Aia inherited a skill in weaving which was quite calculated at that time. This school then inspired the establishment of Amai Setia Crafts in Koto Gadang (1911), Andeh Setia in Sulik Aia (1912), and then Andeh Setia also inspired the establishment of Andeh Sakato in Payakumbuh (1913).¹¹

The Foundation History of Andeh Setia

In the 1950s, at a young age, Hamdullah Salim witnessed the weaving equipment lying under the hall under Balairungsari, Balai Lamo. I don't know where it disappeared, at this time, the equipment is no longer found. Not only that, Hamdullah Salim, who wrote quite a lot of the history of Sulik Aia, did not know the existence of "Andeh Setia", although it was sufficient to explain the "glory" of Sulik Aia's past provisions.¹²

Information about the effort to establish a "Peroesahaan Bertenoen" can be

¹¹ Abdullah, "Modernization in the Minangkabau world."

¹² Hamdullah Salim, *Sejarah Perkumpulan Sulik Aia Sepakat (SAS)* (Jakarta: DPP SAS, 2017), 102-4.

read in the writings of Siti Djalimah Bin Dt. Madjo Sati, a student at the Sulik Aia school, in the newspaper *Soenting Melajoe*, No. 4., Saturday 27 July 1912, First Year. Siti emphasized that weaving is a skill inherited from women Sulik Aia for a long time. However, at that time, Sulik Aia's women rarely weave.

*“Adapoen di negeri saja bernama Soelit Air, dari pekerdjaan segala kami perempoean2 semendjak daboeloe, telah dipoesakai toeroen temoeroen, ialah pekerdjaan bertenoen dan mengajam. Akan tetapi, telah beberapa taboen jang laloe, pekerdjaan bertenoen itoe koerang digemari orang memakainja. Maka sebab itoelah pekerdjaan bertenoen itoe hampir2 hilang, sehingga orang jang pandai poen tidak seberapa lagi. Hanya orang toea2 sabadja. Melainkan pekerjaan menganyam sadjalah lagi jang dikerdjakan orang karena masih ada madjoe sedikit.”*¹³

While the weaving skills were still holding on, weaving could be said to be standing on the doorstep of extinction. Thanks to the presence of Mahyuddin Dt. Sutan Maharaja “*jang terpdang sebagai ninik oleh kami di Soelit Air,*” the craft of weaving can be reborn. At that time, Dt. Sutan Maharaja deliberately came to Sulik Aia to hold a consensus with the penghulu and ninik mamak to revive the glory of weaving in the Sulik Aia village. Because, Dt. Sutan Maharaja understands very well that the children's weaving “*Alam Minangkabau*” is “*digemari oleh bangsa-bangsa lain; apalagi oleh bangsa kita sendiri dan berapa poela mulianja orang memakai tenoenan sendiri.*”

The deliberation resulted in a consensus on the establishment of cooperation between merchants by raising

money as much as f1500 to buy yarn for weaving. Weaving work is left to women in Sulik Aia. “*Maka terdirilah perkongsian kami perempoean di Soelit Air bernama “Andeh Setia”.*”¹⁴

“Semendjak moepakat itoe, baharoelah segala kami perempoean moelai bangoen kembali mengerdjakan pekerdjaan tenoen itoe meolang djadjak daboeloe; sehingga sekarang berka do'a moedab-moedaban pada tiap2 roemah soedah terantanglah tenoen pekerdjaan perempoean. Berseroe-seroelah saja, moedab-moedaban madjoelah dan hidoeplah “Andeh Setia” Soelit Air, seniat senazarlah kita sekalian perempoean memadjoekan pekerdjaan tenoen akan menjadi toekoek tambah pentjaharian soepaja terdjaoeh dari bahaja kelaparan.”

When exactly did Andeh Setia 'officially' found? It can be read in the correspondence letter published in the newspaper *Soenting Melajoe*, No. 15, Sabtoe Day 12 October 1912. This letter is addressed to the management of “*Amai Setia*” in Koto Gadang led by Ruhanna Kuddus.

Andeh Setia dengan Amai Setia

Sembah serta salam!

Kehariban biai1, angh2 dan kakak2 kami jang mendjadi anggoeata korsi “*Amai Setia*” di Kota Gadang IV Koto Agam.

Sjahdan dengan meharap ampoen dan ma'af jang diperbanjak2 kami perempoean2 Seolit Air toea moeda gedang ketjil jang didalam perserikatan “*Andeh Setia*” di Soelit Air mempersembahkan soerat ini tiadalah dengan sempoerna adab dan ta'zimnja serta tertibnja membajankan “*Andeh*

¹³ *Soenting Melajoe*, No. 4., Hari Sabtoe 27 Juli 1912., hal. 2

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Setia” telah ditegoehkan pada hari Ahad 6 Octo 1912 dengan dipotongkan kerbau, tandoeknja digantoengkan tinggi, darahjan dikalikan dalam, koeah sama dikatjau daging sama dilapah, dipanggangkan kemenjan poetih dibatjakan fathihah disoedahi dengan doa, dikabat harat di koentji mati, dihapitkan oleh segala penghoele2 dan ninik mamak tjerdik pandai dan orang toea2 serta saudagar2 nan 5 soekoe di Soelit Air serta angkoe kepala dan toeankoe laras ijalah “Andeh Setia” akan mendjadi adik oleh “Amai Setia”.

Oleh sebab itoe besarlah pengharapan “Andeh Setia” kepada kakak kami “Amai Setia” akan memimpin kami sebagai kakak membimbing adik, keloerah na’ sama dibawa menoeroen, keboekit na’ sama dibawa mendaki, memasjhoerkan perboeatan dan kepandaian kita perempoean Alam Minangkabau. Itoepoen mana nan baik akan djadi tiroe teladan oleh Andeh Setia dalam hal tenoen dan renda, terawang, loekis dan soedjian dan anjaman, baik tantangan ragi tjoerak atau boenga; haraplah kami “Andeh Setia” akan ditolong oleh kakak kami Amai Setia mengirim tjontohnja atau tiroe teladannja soepaja bertamah masjhoer sekalian kita perempoean Alam Minangkabau. Demikianlah harapan Andeh Setia dengan sebesar2 harapan.

Atas nama “Andeh Setia” S. Air

Siti Djalina, Ralian, Aminah, Raimah,
Noerila, Noeriah, Baniamin

Soelit Air pada 6—10—1912

Sunday, October 6, 1912, was the inauguration of Andeh Setia's establishment

in Sulik Aia, after being formed in July 1912. This inauguration was carried out through a traditional procession by slaughtering buffalo, burning incense, reading al fatihah and praying. This shows that the traditional leaders in Sulik Aia pay very serious attention to efforts to advance women. One month earlier, the Sulik Aia Nagari Customary Council had also enacted the 11 Articles of Law on Sunday, September 29, 1912. These two events of the traditional procession became the starting point for the revival of the Sulik Aia community in the early 20th century.

Salmon explained that the efforts of Dt. Sutan Maharaja with his wife, Sitti Amrin, founded a weaving school since 1909, *Andeh Setia* (1912), *Vereeniging Advancement of Weaving Skills* (1913), *Vereeniging Female Helper* (1914) inseparable from the economic conditions in Minangkabau at the beginning of the 20th century which were hit by rice shortages and poverty. This argument is in line with the conditions described by Sitti Djalina that “*memadjoekan pekerdjaan tenoen akan menjadi toekoek tambah pentjabarian soepaja terdjaoeh dari bahaja kelaparan.*”¹⁵

In addition, the letter above also explains the marketing strategy at the beginning of Andeh Setia's establishment. The statement that Andeh Setia is the younger brother of Amai Setia shows that Andeh Setia's existence is not meant to be Amai Setia's competitor. On the other hand, so that "going down to the village is the same, going to the hill is the same as climbing" which means, Andeh Setia wants to make Minangkabau weaving together. Not only that, Andeh Setia openly asked for

¹⁵ Claudine Salmon, “Presse féminine ou féministe ?,” *Archipel* 13, no. 1 (1977): 157–92, <https://doi.org/10.3406/arch.1977.1334>.

examples of motifs or weaving patterns that Amai Setia had developed. It seems that the principle of togetherness has been the driving force behind the economic activities of the Minangkabau people since the first. It is pretty reasonable that Kahrudin Yunus, in 1947, began to formulate the concept of a Joint Prosperity Economic System or Jointism.¹⁶

Andeh Setia's Development as a Mobilizer of the Women's Economy

Before being inaugurated on October 6, 1912, in August 1912, + 150 Sulik Aia women were actively weaving.¹⁷ This number is much higher than at the beginning of its establishment, July 1912, which was around 7-8 benches (persons) in each house.¹⁸ Or about 3-40 people from each tribe in Sulik Aia. The population of Sulik Aia at that time was around 10,000 people.¹⁹ Of the 150 women, they were able to produce "sapoetangan poetih lemboet" which were claimed to be better than handkerchiefs imported from outside

¹⁶ Kahrudin Yunus, *Hadibi hiya Indunisiya: risala 'ilmiyya samila 'an Indunisiya al-mu'abida* (Mesir: al-Syabkasyi Press, 1947); Kahrudin Yunus, *Sistem Ekonomi Kemakmuran Bersama, Djilid I, I* (Jakarta: Fikiran Baru, 1955); Kahrudin Yunus, *Sistem Ekonomi Kemakmuran Bersama, Djilid II, II* (Jakarta: Fikiran Baru, 1956); Addiarrhman, "Ekonomi Kemakmuran Bersama: Indonesian Islamic Economic Thought of Kahrudin Yunus," *Shirkah: Journal of Economics and Business* 3, no. 3 (10 Desember 2018), <https://doi.org/10.22515/shirkah.v3i3.220>.

¹⁷ Koran *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant Algemeen Handelsblad*, Woensdag 25 September 1912 memuat berita yang sedikit provokatif. Keberadaan Andeh Setia disebut sebagai pesaing utama Amai Setia yang produknya sudah dikenal sampai di Jawa.

¹⁸ *Soenting Melajoe*, No. 6, Sabtoe 10 Augustus 1912, hal.,3

¹⁹ Bandingkan dengan jumlah penduduk Sulik Aia pada tahun 1870 yang berjumlah 9.074. Artinya, peningkatan jumlah penduduk selama 40 tahun sekitar 1.000 jiwa.

(Palembang). With better quality, Andeh Setia sells them at a price of 15 cents per piece. This price, much cheaper than the handkerchief from outside which ranges from 20-25 cents per piece for a good cloth. While the fabric is bad, only 12.5 cents.²⁰ Good quality and low prices, of course raise the image of Andeh Setia's woven fabrics.

Picture 1. Andeh Setia advertisement in *Soenting Melajoe*



Source: This advertisement found in *Soenting Melajoe* which was published in 1912-1913

Soenting Melajoe newspapers is an important medium for Andeh Setia to market their products. Advertisements for the sale of Andeh Setia's woven products can be easily found in this newspaper, especially in the first 2 years of operation. Figure 1 above is an example of Andeh Setia's advertisement published in *Soenting Melajoe*, No. 6, Sabtoe 10 August 1912. Advertisements are written in Latin and Arabic Malay letters. This is quite reasonable considering that at that time, the use of Malay Arabic was extensive in the region *Sumatra Weskust*.

On the first page of *Soenting Melajoe* No. 34, Hari Djoema'at August 22, 1913, in the column entitled "Kain Minangkabau" explains the growing popularity of woven fabrics produced by Andeh Setia in Sulik

²⁰ *Ibid.*

Aia. The quality is said to have competed with Palembang fabrics.

“Kain Minangkabau, jang kain saroeng tenoenan “Andeh Setia” di Soelit Air, jang soedab boleh bertanding dengan kain Palembang; tidak kalah oleh kain Palembang; boleh dapat beli pada Datoek Nan Besar di pasar Solok dengan harga ada jang f6, ada jang f7, tingginya f9. Djaoeh lebih moerah dari harga kain Palembang sebab sengadja dimoerahkan soepaja madjoe, sedang kilatnja poen lebih berkilat dari kain Palembang; karena benang kain Minangkabau itoe benang pilihan Datoe’ Soetan Mahardja, jang di Pajakoemboeh dikatakan orang benarng itoe, “soetra” sebab roepanja dan kilatnja seperti soetra, dan di Siloengkang dinamai orang benang itoe benang linner sebab boleh pemboeat kain djas, dan pantolon lebih berkilat dari linen.

Sekarang soedab hampir bar raja, belilah kain Minang Kabau itoe, mempertinggi soemarak Goenoeng Merapi, memadjoekan tenoenan bangsa sendiri.

Boleh pesan kepada Datoe’ Nan Besar di pasar Solok, minta kirim dengan remours.”

KAIN MINANG KABAU.

Datuk Sutan Maharaja is indeed very serious about reviving weaving in Sulik Aia and Minangkabau in general. He deliberately chose high-quality yarn so that he could compete in the market. In the reader's letter from Sawah Lunto published in Soenting Melajoe, No. 17 Days Chamis April 17, 1913, told:

“...Pada soeatoe sandja sedang hama berdjalan melihat1 kedalam toko2 dan kedai2an di P. Baroe, maka terpandanglaholeh hamba di dalam kedai2an orang Soelit Air berdjoel timbakau dan barang2 koemago ada tersampai di sitoe, seroepa kain

saroeng Palembang bermatjam matjam raginja, sehingga timboel kepingin hamba hendak melihat; kiranja setelah hamba minta lihat beroelah hamba ketahoei behasa kain2 saroeng itoe boekanlah sebenarnja kain dari Palembang, karena adalah tertoeelis merknja “Tenoenan Andeh Setia Soelit Air”.

Betapa termenoeng hamba serta memoedji2 di dalam hati, jang tiada disangka2 terbitnja oesaha jang demikian, laksana petoes halilantar sadja tjepatnja kemadjoean tenoen itoe jang boleh djadi lawan tandingan boeatan datang: selain dari saroeng ragi Palembang itoe ada lagi tjela dan pelakatnja.

Sepandjang kata orang jang poenja kedai2an itoe, ada djoega salendang tanah liat boeatan Andeh Setia Soelit Air, moedah2an nanti katanya akan di kedaikannja djoega.”

The explanation above shows that Andeh Setia's weaving is growing rapidly with a variety of products. If at the beginning he focused on making handkerchiefs, then in 1913, Andeh Setia also produced sarongs, scarves, and materials for making suits. Of course, this is an outstanding achievement for a not even one-year-old business. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that Andeh Setia is not only a driver of the women's economy in Sulik Aia. Because traders also enjoy the domino effect of Andeh Setia's existence in Minangkabau areas.

The success in the first year, apart from being supported by creative production and media advertising, was also supported by the courage of the manager of Andeh Setia to participate in exhibitions

held in various areas in Minangkabau. On December 21, 1912, Andeh Setia took part in an exhibition (*tentoonstelling*) and dinner at Payakumbuh. This activity was organized by a Dutchman named Westenenk and assisted by Ahmad Datoek Maharadja Besar. This event was attended by people from almost all nagari in Minangkabau, such as: Puar Datar, Lintau, Buo, Koto Gadang, Silungkang, Sulik Aia, Payakumbuh, Kubang, and others. Dt. Sutan Maharaja himself wrote in detail the implementation of the event and published it in *Soenting Melajoe*, from numbers 1-4 in January 1913.

The intelligence of the Sulik Aia people in the exhibition activity created a sense of not wanting to lose or "goti" from other villages, Dt. Sutan Maharaja. He further recounted, a son of Sulik Aia named Damin, showed his skill in making fans like Japanese fans, as often found in shops. With good quality, Damin sells it at a low price, so his fan is selling well. "*DI Damin itoe, walaupun tiada bersekolah dari ketjilnjil tetapi pikirannya tadjam, akalnja berdjalan, boleh digelarkan Edison Minangkabau,*" as it written by Dt. Sutan Maharaja.

Not only Damin, there are also 2 Sulik Aia women who show their weaving skills; make a hat from pandan leaves. Pandan hats were very popular at that time, so they were also sold out at a price of only f 0.75 per hat. Even a Chinese person wanted to buy all the pandan hats made by Sulik Aia's women, but was prevented by Dt. Sutan Maharaja. The reason is, "Soepaja, our nation, the people of Alam Minangkabau, may be able to buy a hat made by Bangsaja Itoe at a price of f 0.75. Sulik Aia's expertise in weaving pandanus hats also encourages women from Lintau and Bua to ask to be taught so that they can be developed in their respective countries.

*"...oleh perempuan2 Soelit Air itoe tida' dibachilkannya mengajarkan kepandaian itoe, soepaja kembang; apalgi kata perempuan2 Lintau & Boeo itoe, Lintau & Boeo dengan Soelit Air seperti bersaudara sama seloebak Tanah Datar (Lebih baik dikatakan sama perempoean Alam Minang Kabau, sebab Loebak Nan III Laras Nan Doea, sebina semaloe)."*²¹

In addition, it is still written in the same way, it is also said that there were 6 women Sulik Aia who showed their skills in making long cloth measuring tens of cubits (2 pieces of wood 24 yards x2), so that in one work they could produce 6-7 pieces of cloth sarong. Some display their skill in scraping, making linen, making scarves, making comparable fabrics for Bugis cloth, and others, which are Minangkabau women or men were still very few who had these skills. Since then, the name of Andeh Setia's weaving has become increasingly famous and coupled with the greatness of Amai Setia's handicrafts in Koto Gadang.

The Causes of Decline

Andeh Setia's greatness at the beginning of the 20th century was not the same as his brother "Amai Setia" who until now can still be found in Koto Gadang. As mentioned earlier, Andeh Setia is completely unknown to the people of Sulik Aia, even though the prowess of Sulik Aia's weaving is quite common knowledge. Currently, there are very few home industries engaged in handicrafts, such as the manufacture of mukenah and embroidery. Then, what factors caused Andeh Setia's decline?

At least, there are three main factors that Andeh Setia drowned in the flow of time. Namely: the loss of the driving force,

²¹ *Soenting Melajoe*, No. 3., Hari Chamis 15 Januari 1913

the tradition of wandering, and the declining interest in weaving.

1. *Losing Mobilizer Figure*

From its inception, until it grew rapidly and became famous, *Andeh Setia* was fostered directly by Mahyuddin Dt. Sutan Maharaja and assisted by his wife, Sitti Amrin.²² Even though at that time, many of Sulik Aia's princes, merchants, and intellectuals still lived in Sulik Aia, but their dependence on figures from overseas was very strong. As is known, Mahyuddin Dt. Sutan Maharaja was a very influential traditional figure in the early 20th century. He settled in the city of Padang. From there, he worked in the socio-economic field by mastering information media (newspapers). In addition, there is no historical record of *Andeh Setia*'s central figure in Sulik Aia, apart from Dt. Sutan Maharaja. After Mahyuddin Dt. Sutan Maharaja died on June 14, 1921,²³ *Andeh Setia*'s prestige is gone. Sitti Djalina who was involved in the pioneering of *Andeh Setia*, her name is not as well known as Hadisah, secretary of *Amai Setia* at Koto Gadang.

It was this weakness that made *Andeh Setia* dim and in the end was lost to the times. Dependence on driving figures from overseas, makes it difficult for the socio-economic movement in Sulik Aia to develop. This also happens to this day. Empowerment program '*urang kampung*' which is driven by the Aia Sulik Association in large numbers, always faces the same problem, namely "*angek-angek tai ayam*". Excited at the beginning, but then subsides and sinks.

Amai Setia did not experience the same situation. *Ruhana Kuddus* as a pioneer, is a woman who lives in her hometown. Even when he wrote to Mahyuddin Dt. Sutan Maharaja to make a special newspaper for women, *Ruhana* refused the request of Dt. Sutan Maharaja so that he stays in Padang as editor-in-chief. *Ruhana*'s reasoning was "I myself am capable of being the editor-in-chief. But I can't move to Padang, because I have a lot of work in Koto Gadang... It's a real loss if I leave my job here..."²⁴ Dt. Sutan Maharaja replied: "Yes... after I saw *Roehana*'s work leading and teaching *Amai Setia*, I also didn't agree that *Roehana* had to leave her, to lead a newspaper in Padang..."²⁵ Thus, *Roehana*'s presence in Koto Gadang is the key to *Amai Setia*'s sustainability. The lack of interest in *Amai Setia* later on was more due to the malice and slander of people seeing the very rapid development of KAS, and because of the start of the establishment of government schools in Koto Gadang.²⁶

Another difference that can be mentioned and used as a reason for the survival of *Amai Setia* compared to *Andeh Setia* is that since the beginning of its establishment, *Amai Setia* has had a "Statutes of Association" which regulates the management, objectives, membership and donations. *Amai Setia* also often received assistance from the Dutch government, such as machines, to support *Amai Setia*'s sustainability. *Andeh Setia*, engaged in non-governmental organizations, *penghulu*, and nomad figures who were later inaugurated through a traditional procession. There are

²² Salmon, "Presse féminine ou féministe?"

²³ Berita wafatnya Mahyuddin Dt. Sutan Maharaja dapat dibaca dalam koran *De Locomotief*, Vrijdag 24 Juni 1921.

²⁴ Fitriyanti, *Roehana Koeddoes Tokoh Pendidik dan Jurnalis Perempuan Pertama Sumatera Barat* (Jakarta: Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan, 2001), 70.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Fitriyanti, *Roehana Koeddoes Tokoh Pendidik dan Jurnalis Perempuan Pertama Sumatera Barat*, 89–98.

no written documents on regulations such as Andeh Setia's "Statutes of Association".

2. *Losing Interest*

Andeh Setia's decline was also caused by the declining interest of women in weaving activities. This was in line with the number of government schools and modern religious schools, such as Thawalib Padang Panjang (1900), Diniyah Puteri (1923), PSA Sulik Aia (1925), and others. This decline in interest previously also occurred before the establishment of Andeh Setia, as told by Sitti Djalina in *Soenting Melajoe*, No. 4., Saturday, July 27, 1912. The weaving skills of the Sulik Aia people are fading because women are not interested in them. More than that, this situation is also in line with strengthening the migration flow carried out by the Sulik Aia community.

3. *Migration Overflow*

The Sulik Aia people are well-known as nomads who are spread throughout almost all of Indonesia, and some are abroad. The flow of wandering has started since the Dutch era, and began to strengthen after the Padri incident. Overseas, the Sulik Aia people form a large number of associations. However, the only association recognized as a unifying forum for the nomads is the Sulik Aia Sepakat Association (SAS). Sulik Aia, with "SAS" is an identity that cannot be separated.

In 1921, Sumatra Bode magazine ran a short story in the column "*Van hier en daar*" said: "*Rechtspersoonlijkheid. Goedgekeurd zijn de statuten der vereeniging Jong Soelit Ajer Sepakat te Padang*" whose free translation is "Legal Entity: the articles of association of the youth organization Soelit Ajer Sepakat" was approved [incorporated by the Dutch East

Indies government] in Padang.²⁷ This information confirms that SAS has existed since June 11, 1921 or 13 days before Mahyuddin Dt. Sutan Maharaja died. The strong flow of migration from the Sulik Aia community is described in quite detail by Hamdullah Salim in the book with the title *Sejarah Perkumpulan Sulik Aia Sepakat*.²⁸

Gambar 2. Jong Soelit Ajer Sepakat Fouding News



Source: *Sumatra Bode*, Zaterdag June 11, 1921

The strong flow of migration certainly has an impact on socio-economic activities in Sulik Aia. Andeh Setia, who has succeeded in reviving the legacy of Sulik Aia's skill in weaving women, is buried by the migration flow which is considered more promising to improve welfare. Although Sulik Aia can be an ideal example of how the 'ranah-rantau' relationship in Minangkabau is, the community's empowerment programs at the initiative of the nomads always go into the rut of history. Take, for example, the "Lambung Pitih Nagari" program, BPR Surya Katialo, soybean planting projects, fattening cattle, and so on, in the end, they just disappeared. It seems that this is also the reason why Sulik Aia's migrants tend to assist the infrastructure sector, such as the

²⁷ *Sumatra Bode*, Zaterdag 11 Juni 1921

²⁸ Hamdullah Salim, *Sejarah Perkumpulan Sulik Aia Sepakat (SAS)*.

construction of roads, hospitals, mosques, mosques, schools, and others.

Conclusion

Andeh Setia is a weaving partnership initiated in June 1912 and inaugurated on October 6, 1912. Since its establishment, Andeh Setia has been a driving force for the women's economy in Sulik Aia in the early 20th century. This is evidenced by the involvement of women as well as men in weaving, weaving, and other activities driven by Andeh Setia. Andeh Setia's products are pretty creative, varied, quality and affordable. Therefore, Andeh Setia's handicrafts are in demand by buyers in the market. It automatically has a domino effect on the economy of the Sulik Aia community. However, Andeh Setia was eventually lost to the times. The causes are the loss of the driving force (ie Mahyuddin Dt. Sutan Maharaja) and the reduced interest in weaving skills, which is in line with the strong migration flow.

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