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The Personal Archives of the Advisors of *Inlandsche Zaken*, 1899-1942

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<u>Adriaani</u> , Bestuursambtenaren en Landelingen. pag. 1.	
<u>Corpendtje Klding</u> , Belangstelling in Volksrecht.	4.
<u>J.C. van der Zande</u> , De Bestuursambtenaar in dienst van de Inlander.	8.
<u>P. H. Tromberg</u> , Hornet als instelling.	10.
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INTRODUCTION

From Bureau of Translation to Bureau of Religious Affairs

The *Inlandsche Zaken* was established in 1820 as a bureau of translation, mainly to assist Dutch East Indies (a.k.a the colonial government) in managing diplomatic issues with the nobles in the colonized region as well as grass-root education dissemination activities.¹ The translators held major roles to manage and perform the organizational tasks. Through the *Inlandsche Zaken* and their tasks in performing language translations, the colonial government aimed to develop close relations with the noble societies in Java and other areas in the colony.

In 1899, *Inlandsche Zaken* became a bureau of religious affairs (*adviseur voor Inlandsche en Arabische Zaken*) to accommodate the vast emergence of Islam and the influences brought that this towards the elites (*Priyayis*) and local people in the colony region.² Also, it shifted because there were numerous disputes between the Muslims and colonial government in the Dutch East Indies during the late nineteenth century. The biggest was the Aceh War in 1875 which inspired the rest of the archipelago to take part in the “Holy War”.³ As soon as it shifted, the knowledge on native languages was also transformed. Started 1899, *Inlandsche Zaken* employed both the knowledge of native languages and Islam to maintain the colonial power over the colony.

The shifting function from the bureau of translation to the bureau of religious affairs was one of the major efforts done by the colonial government to anticipate the resistance movements in the colony. It demonstrated a change not only in the organization and function but also in the creation of records. In 1820, the *Inlandsche Zaken* was the bureau of translation whose functions was to conduct communications and translations to the local rulers. The documents and records were mainly decrees of the governor general, rules, regulations and treaties which were composed in two languages, namely Dutch-Malay or Dutch-Javanese. However, after 1899, translations were not the only documents created.

¹ AB, Massier, “Terjemahan Hukum Kolonial ke Dalam Bahasa Melayu dan Bahasa Indonesia: Satu Pengantar”. In *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan di Indonesia dan Malaysia*, Henri Chambert-Loir (ed), Jakarta, KPG-Kepustakaan popular Gramedia, 2009, 157.

² Harry J. Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945*, Leiden, Foris Publications Holland, 1983, 15.

³ Hamid Algadri, *Dutch Policy against Islam and Indonesians of Arab Descent in Indonesia*, Jakarta, LP3ES, 1994, 13.

Besides changing the types of documents and archives, the location of the archives after the transformation of the bureau was also changed. The archives collection of *Inlandsche Zaken* during the period of office of translation, 1820-1847, was arranged under the institutional collection of *Inlandsche Zaken* at the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia in Jakarta. However, the location of the archives during the period that it was the bureau of religious affairs, 1899-1942 is not clear. Some preliminary research has been done in order to trace the archives. The result shows that the archives collection of *Inlandsche Zaken* from 1899-1920 are in the personal collection of Godard Arend Johannes Hazeu.⁴

This preliminary research finding regarding the location of the *Inlandsche Zaken* archives, might lead to a general hypothesis that all archives of *Inlandsche Zaken* during the period of 1899-1942 could be found in the personal archives of its advisors. The following research, thus, intends to test the hypothesis and at the same time to analyze the creation of the archives of *Inlandsche Zaken* when it served a function as the bureau of religious affairs.

The Relation between Bureaucracy and Archives

The term “bureaucracy”, i.e. specific form of organizations, is defined by complexity, division of labor, permanence, professional management, hierarchical coordination and control, strict chain of command, and legal authority.⁵ Bureaucracy and its forms can be found in all institutions, including in the colonial agencies. Moreover, bureaucracy was the means of carrying out 'community action' used by the authority over and that bureaucracy also worked under the control power in the top hierarchy.⁶ In governing the colony, the Dutch colonial government, as the powerful authority, developed a systemic bureaucracy which consisted of some divisions and departments with different functions and structures to rule over the natives. The development of the bureaucracy is parallel to the complexity of the government affairs.⁷ The more complex matters that the government deals in, the more transformation is needed in the government organization. This also happened to the *Inlandsche Zaken*. As a part of the organic body in the bureaucracy, the *Inlandsche Zaken* had undergone in several

⁴ Rini Rusyeni, “Interpreting the Colony: The Role of *Inlandsche Zaken*, 1899-1920”, Unpublished Paper of Research for House of Glass Class, Master Degree of Archival Studies, Leiden University, 2016, 5. The archives are found in Leiden, KITLV, Hazeu Collectie, H1083.

⁵ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/bureaucracy>, accessed on November 11, 2016.

⁶ Max Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, translated and edited with an Introduction by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, New York, Oxford University Press, 1946, 228.

⁷ <http://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences-and-law/politicssal-science-and-government/politicssal-science-terms-and-concepts-83>, accessed on November 9, 2016.

transformations until it shifted into the bureau of religious affairs. Through this concept, the transformation and the shifting function from the bureau of translation to the bureau of religious affairs could be developed.

The archives arrangement follows the function of the organization.⁸ When *Inlandsche Zaken* was the bureau of translation, the archives were kept under the name of the organization because the translation was the output goal of the *Inlandsche Zaken*. They were the final achievements after being processed by the translators. After shifting into the bureau of religious affairs, the archives arrangement was changed. The advisor was the main actor who played a central role in the organization whereas translators functioned as the assistants who helped the advisor. It is argued that the actors, archives and work processes are bound to each other in the organization.⁹ Thus, the archives were bound to the advisors in the *Inlandsche Zaken*. This argument forms the basis of the following research.

The role of *Inlandsche Zaken* had been discussed by some historians and scholars. However, there has been no research which focuses on tracing and locating the records of *Inlandsche Zaken*. The research on tracing and locating the records could be important to reconstruct the colonial perspectives on the Islamic and nationalists movements during the 19th – 20th centuries in the Dutch East Indies. The Islamic and nationalists movements and the involvements of the colonial government in the Indies were written and reported in detail by the *Inlandsche Zaken* during the period 1899-1942. Therefore, historians and researchers could efficiently use the archives as the source of information and develop a context, and colonial perspectives of Islamic affairs in the Dutch East Indies. In order to make it easier in tracing and locating the records, it is important to observe the process of the shifting function from the bureau of translation to the bureau of religious affairs and how *Inlandsche Zaken* worked as the bureau of religious affairs.

Enchanted Archives: “Reading along the Grains”

Information on how an organization works and executes its tasks is recorded in archives. Archives are created to support operational management in order to reach output goals of the organization.¹⁰ However, the archives collection which includes the process of creation and production

⁸ T Schellenberg, “Archival Principles of Arrangement”, <http://www.americanarchivist.org/doi/pdf/10.17723/aarc.24.1.1330351406231083>, 1961, 14, accessed on April 24, 2017.

⁹ Theo Tomassen, “A First Introduction of Archival Science”, *Archival Science* I, 2001, 375.

¹⁰ Theo Tomassen, 2001, 375.

of *Inlandsche Zaken* can only be found in the personal collections of its advisors. Catherine Hobbs warned that the *fonds*¹¹ of an individual archive are a site where personality and the events of life interact in documentary form.¹² Moreover, these archives were created by the colonial officers who served the colonial government. These colonial archives might contain colonial perspectives and different voices regarding various conflicts that happened at that time. Thus, in reading these personal archives, I will use the techniques of what is called “reading along the grains” by Ann Laura Stoler.¹³ In order to read along the grain, we have to see the archival production because it is itself both a process and a powerful tool to understand the policy making in an organization. We have to read their regularities, their typical forms, and foster a deep and emotive connection with the subjects of power represented in the archives.

Archives are still holding its ‘traditional’ function to preserve information. But they are also sites of imagination, creativity, and production which provide various knowledge on how individuals and societies think about themselves, give a place where identities may be formed, technologies of rule perfected, and pasts convincingly revisited.¹⁴ Based on this character of colonial archives, I would like to investigate on the archives of the advisors on how they were created, formed and produced.

Research Questions

This research focuses on deconstructing the roles and archives of *Inlandsche Zaken* as the bureau of religious affairs and tracing of the location of its records. It concentrates on the following research questions:

1. **How the *Inlandsche Zaken* organized and performed its tasks as the bureau of religious affairs during the period of 1899-1942?**

¹¹ *Fonds* may be defined as the whole of the documents of any nature that every administrative body, every physical or corporate entity, automatically and organically accumulated by reason of its function or of its activity. I took the term of *fonds* is based on the article written by from Terry Cook, “The Concept of the Archival *Fonds* in the Post-Custodial Era: Theory, Problems and Solutions”, *Archivaria* 35, 1993, 27.

¹² Catherine Hobbs, “Personal Archives the Character of Personal Archives: Reflections on the Value of the Records of Individuals”, *Journal of Archivaria* 2001, no. 1 (52), 156.

¹³ Ann L. Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2009, 1. The technique that she offers is that a technique to read the archives following the normal pattern of archives as the way they are presented by the creators to the readers. In this research, I analyze the type of documents kept in the personal collections of the advisors. In her book, Ann Stoler argued that the type of documents created by a colonial institution represent its role in the colonial government.

¹⁴ Francis Blouin, Jr. and William Rosenberg (eds.), *Archives, Documentation and Institutions of Social Memory, Essays from the Sawyer Seminar*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 2005, vii-viii.

- a. How was the management and development of organizational structure of this organization during the period of 1899-1942?
 - b. Who were the Advisors?
 - c. How the advisors conducted their tasks and functions during the period of 1899-1942?
2. **How were the tasks and functions of *Inlandsche Zaken* recorded in the personal archives of the advisors?**
- a. What kinds of documents were kept in the collections?
 - b. What types of information was kept in their archives?
 - c. How was the arrangement of the archives in the collections?
 - d. What were the archival consequences of the personal collections to the organization of *Inlandsche Zaken*?

In order to answer these research questions, the research is divided into three sections. The first section includes introduction and chapter one. The introduction discusses the background, research questions, previous related studies and the methodology. Chapter one describes the institutional history of *the Inlandsche Zaken* in the period of 1899-1942, organizational structure, management during the period of 1899-1942. It also analyzes the transformation and shifting function of *Inlandsche Zaken* from the bureau of translation to the bureau of religious affairs. The second section is chapter two and three. This section describes the roles of the advisors of *Inlandsche Zaken* in the period of 1899-1942, their personal archives, and the analysis of some archives in order to see the policy making and work processes done by the advisers in the bureau. These chapters answer the research questions on how the tasks and functions of *Inlandsche Zaken* were recorded in their archives, what kinds of documents were kept in the collections, what types of information were kept in the archive and how the advisors conducted their tasks and functions during the period of 1899-1942. The third section consists of chapter four and the conclusion. Chapter four analyzes the archival consequences of the personal archives of the advisors for the *Inlandsche Zaken*. Chapter four answers the question of what were the archival consequences of the personal archives for the organization of *Inlandsche Zaken* by elaborating on the realm of personal archives and their functions in the organization. The conclusion explains the answers of all research questions, limitation of research, recommendation and further research on *Inlandsche Zaken*.

This research focuses on the works that were done by *the Inlandsche Zaken* and its records for the period 1899-1942. This is because during these periods it served functions as

the Bureau of religious affairs for the colonial government. In 1942, *Inlandsche Zaken* was abolished due to the Japanese occupation in the Dutch East Indies.

Previous Related Studies

One of the tasks of the *Inlandsche Zaken* was as a religious office. It has been discussed by Aqib Suminto in 1985. The book entitled *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda: Het Kantoor voor Inlandsche Zaken*, describes the organization as *Kantor Agama* (Religious Office) which conducted colonial Islamic policy in the Dutch East Indies from period 1899 to 1942.¹⁵ This book focuses on some of the most famous advisors that led the office including C. Snouck Hurgronje (1899-1906) who initiated the basic foundation of colonial Islamic policy in Dutch East Indies.¹⁶ Although it tells much about *Inlandsche Zaken* as a colonial institution, and its roles in the Netherlands Indies, the book does not explain the creation of records and archives by this agency and how they were arranged and kept.

Another previous piece of research is my bachelor thesis entitled “On the Edge of Two Worlds: The Language Policy of the *Inlandsche Zaken*, 1820-1847”. The research focuses on the development of language policy from the period of 1820-1847 conducted by *Inlandsche Zaken* in order to build communication with the local rulers in the Netherlands Indies. The thesis did not explain the role of the *Inlandsche Zaken* after 1847. However, it described the archives collections of *Inlandsche Zaken* for the period of 1820-1847.

The book by E. Gobée and C. Adriaanse, titled *Nasihat-Nasihat C. Snouck Hurgronje Semasa Kepegawaiannya Kepada Pemerintah Hindia Belanda 1889-1936 Jilid I-III*, (Indonesia Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies, 1990) contains of hundreds of letters from Snouck Hurgronje as the advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken* and also as the advisor of government in the Netherlands. Although the book conveys the ideas of Snouck Hurgronje in the implementation of the basic policy for religious affairs of the *Inlandsche Zaken*, it does not focus on the historiography of *Inlandsche Zaken* and its archives. Through the combination of these three literatures, I will build my research on tracing and locating of archives of the *Inlandsche Zaken* period of 1899-1942.

¹⁵ Ann Kumar, “Book Review on *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda: Het Kantoor voor Inlandsche Zaken* by Aqib Suminto,, Jakarta, LP3ES, 1985”, In *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* XXI, I, 1990, 178-180.

¹⁶ Encyclopedia Britannica, *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje*, taken from <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Christiaan-Snouck-Hurgronje>, accessed on 21 April 2016.

Methodology

The role and function of the *Inlandsche Zaken* as the bureau of religious affairs and the creation of its archives are the main focus of this research. The research will be conducted in two perspectives, organizational and archival perspective. For the organizational perspective, a literature review is applied and compared to the primary sources on certain cases in order to see the process of executing the tasks and functions of the *Inlandsche Zaken* as the bureau of religious affairs. Besides that, the research also intends to identify the creation of the archives by the advisors to determine their policies in dealing with Islamic affairs during the period of 1899-1942.

Regeringsalmanak van Nederlandsch Indie in 1899-1942 is also used as the primary source for the following research in order to develop a historiography of the organization and the advisors who led the bureau from 1899-1942. The archives collection of *Inlandsche Zaken* during the period of the bureau of translation, 1820-1847, is arranged under the institutional collection of *Inlandsche Zaken* archives at the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia in Jakarta. However, the collection of the religious office, 1899-1942 is still unknown. This research tries to locate the archives created by the *Inlandsche Zaken* as the bureau of religious affairs in the personal archives of its advisors. There were six advisors of *Inlandsche Zaken* from 1899 to 1942, namely, Snouck Hurgronje, G.A.J. Hazeu, D.A. Rinke, R.A. Kern, E. Gobe, and G.F. Pijper. However, due to the limited time of research as well as the availability, and volumes of archives, the research will be done using the collection of Snouck Hurgronje (8952 A – B, 12.288, Or.18.097 en Or. 18.098), G.A.J. Hazeu (H 1083, the KITLV), R.A. Kern (H 1009, D H 724 en D H 794), E. Gobe (H. 1085) and Pijper (Or. 26.316 – Or. 26.337). The personal collection of D.A. Rinke regarding *Inlandsche Zaken* is found in the collections of Hazeu.

The following research uses only collections which are related to the *Inlandsche Zaken*. There will be some analyses of the samples of archives in the collection on the basis of “reading along the grains” by Ann Stoler¹⁷ in order to discover the background of creations, the purpose of creations, the function of documents, and the type of documents. Besides that, there will be some descriptions of their personal archives in order to observe the policies that were implemented by the advisors in anticipating the conflicts between the Muslims and the colonial government in the period of 1899-1942. Finally, there will be also an analysis of the arrangement of the collections that had been done by the archivists to observe the activities

¹⁷ Ann L. Stoler, 2009, 1.

and relationship between the advisors and all parties involved in the Islamic affairs and nationalist movements in the period of 1899-1942.

CHAPTER I
ORGANIZATION, MANAGEMENT AND WORK PROCESS OF
***INLANDSCHE ZAKEN*, 1899-1942**

This chapter will describe the historiography of *Inlandsche Zaken* from 1899-1942, its organizational structure, the management, and the line of communication in the colonial administrations. This is important in order to locate and trace the archives. The chapter will answer the research questions on how the *Inlandsche Zaken* organized and performed the tasks as the bureau of religious affairs during the period of 1899-1942, how was the management and the organizational structure, and who were the Advisors.

I.1. Overview of the Institution in 1899-1942

By the end of the nineteenth century, more nobles to the lower castes converted to Muslims. They dedicated themselves to Islam and obeyed the advice from the *Kyais* and *ulamas* (Islamic religious leaders). Those who had been on the pilgrimage journey to Mecca were the great supporters of these *kyais and ulamas*.¹⁸ The Dutch had to confront the reality that most of the inhabitants were Muslims, whereas they were Christians. Eventually, these Muslims would realize that the Dutch were “*kafir*” (infidel) and it was better to have a leader from the same religion.¹⁹

The Dutch strived to suppress the “danger” Islam through the Christianity missions. The Dutch also transformed *Inlandsche Zaken* from the bureau of translation which was under *Algemeene Secretarie* to the Advisor of Mohammedan Act in 1870, under *Departement van Binnenlandsch Bestuur*.²⁰ These efforts, however, failed to control the Muslims. The conflict with the Muslims worsened. More disputes occurred between the Muslims and Christians.²¹ The disputes reached its peak when the Acehese revolution dropped its anchor in 1875. This war was soon considered as “a Holy War” by the Muslims in Aceh. These fanatical Acehese were urged to undertake the war against the “*kafir*” Christians (the Dutch) who disobeyed Islam.²² In the meantime, the situation in Java, where the central colonial government resided,

¹⁸ Harry J. Benda, 1983, 14-15.

¹⁹ Aqib Suminto, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda: Het Kantoor voor Inlandsche Zaken*, Jakarta, LP3S, 1985, 1.

²⁰ *Regeringsalmanak van Nederlandsch Indie 1870*.

²¹ Aqib Suminto, 1985, 51. In His book, Aqib Suminto writes in his book that the Government often facilitates the Christians by giving more chances for the Christians to be the head of villages instead of the Muslims, whereas the majority of the inhabitants of these villages were Muslims.

²² Harry J. Benda, 1983, 20.

was also in the midst of fire. There were rebellions against the government by the Muslims in Cilegon and Banten in 1888-1889.²³

Facing these numerous conflicts, the Dutch decided to change their focus. They tried to develop a close relation with the *kyais*, *ulama* and other Islamic religious leaders. Thus, on January 11, 1899, the *Inlandsche Zaken* was shifted into the *Adviseur voor Inlandsche en Arabische Zaken*²⁴. In executing the new tasks, the organization hired extra staffs in relevant to the cases they handled. For example, from 1901-1904 there was an expert of *Sundanese*²⁵. He was hired in order to support the advisor during the investigations in Cilegon, Banten and other areas in west Java.²⁶ However, after the conflict was over, the expert of *Sundanese* no longer worked for the organization. The staffs in this organization from 1899 to 1905 were under the *Algemeene Secretarie*.²⁷ Then this position changed in 1906. Starting 1906 until it was abolished in 1942, the *Inlandsche zaken* was officially under the *Departement van Onderwijs en Eerendienst*.²⁸

In 1918, the *Inlandsche zaken* once again changed its name into *Bureau van den Regeeringscommissaris voor Inlandsche en Arabische zaken*.²⁹ The bureau finally had its own building and ten staffs. In 1920, two adjunct advisors, Dr. Hoesein Djajadiningrat (1920-1925) and Dr. B.J.O Schrieke (1920-1924) were appointed to support the advisors.³⁰ It was the first time that the advisor had two vice advisors. Their appointment was probably due to the tension of the Islamic and nationalist movements at that time. In 1922, the name of the office was changed again into *Het Bureau Van Den Wd. Adviseur Voor Inlandsche Zaken*.³¹ It stayed to be as bureau until 1929. In 1929 Ch. O. Van der Plas (1929-1931), who was the most famous adjunct advisor of the *Inlandsche Zaken*, was appointed. His appointment, however, drove internal conflict inside the organization. Ever since his appointment, he and the advisor at time, E. Gobee had been particularly in fierce especially when dealing with the nationalist

²³ Harry J. Benda, 1983, 58.

²⁴ *Regeringsalmanak van Nederlandsch Indie* 1899. The advisor was assisted by an honorary advisor for the Arabic Affairs (1899-1914). It was because at that time colonial government suspected the Arabs to be behind the Muslims' revolts in the Dutch East Indies. So, *Inlandsche Zaken* was tasked not only to monitor the Muslims (natives in the colony) but also the Arabs in the colony.

²⁵ *Sundanese* is one of the indigenous languages in West Java. In this period, there was more than one language that was used by the colonial government. More details on the indigenous languages can be found in Rini Rusyeni, "On the Edge of Two Worlds, 2015, 15.

²⁶ *Regeringsalmanak van Nederlandsch Indie* 1903

²⁷ *Regeringsalmanak van Nederlandsch Indie* 1899-1905

²⁸ *Regeringsalmanak van Nederlandsch Indie* 1908. The coordination with *Departement van Onderwijs en Eerendienst* only related to the budget. The advisor stood independent in the colonial administration.

²⁹ *Regeringsalmanak van Nederlandsch Indie* 1918

³⁰ Hoesein Djajadiningrat was the first native under Hurgronje's guidance who had prestigious achievement in Leiden University.

³¹ Aqib Suminto, 1985, 103.

movement.³² The dark could in the office continued to rise not only around the conflict. Due to the plan of the new Governor General, B.C. De Jonge (1931-1936) for transferring *Inlandsche Zaken* under the direct purview of the Civil Service, the position of the bureau in the colonial bureaucracy did not secure anymore.³³ The plan was meant to put *Inlandsche Zaken* under the strict control of the higher ups. Due to plan, the image of *Inlandsche Zaken* fell apart. Fortunately, in the end the plan was not executed and the office remained independence.

From 1930, it changed its name again into *Het Kantoor voor Inlandsche Zaken*.³⁴ The name was applied until 1942. In that year, the bureau had to be abolished due to the Japanese occupation in the Dutch East Indies. Overall, the changing names from its first establishment in 1899 to 1942 did not change its tasks and functions. However, although the function did not change, the responsibility and position of this bureau and the advisors was more limited during the period of 1937-1942.³⁵

I.2. Organizational Structure and Management

During the period of 1899-1920, there had been some changes in the structure and management of the *Inlandsche Zaken*. In 1899, when the first advisor was appointed, he was assisted by an honorary advisor for Arabic affairs and two experts of indigenous languages. These experts had to assist the advisor to give recommendations, do a research on indigenous languages including translations and the customary cultures as well as religions in the colony.³⁶ They not only translated the languages but also analyzed the contexts and content of the native languages. This first task was executed for six year, from 1899-1905.³⁷ In this period, the first advisor initiated the foundations of *Inlandsche Zaken* for the Islamic affairs. The status of the advisor starting 1906 was as an officer on duty but he did not attach with any institutions or department in the colonial bureaucracy.³⁸ He was only assisted by an honorary advisor of

³² Michael Laffan, *The Making of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of A sufi Past*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2011, 226.

³³ Michael Laffan, 2011, 226.

³⁴ Although the name is "*Kantoor*" but the function and tasks were not different from the previous. The number of staffs was also still the same. It was during the period as "*Kantoor*" *Inlandsche Zaken* had a staff who worked under the coordination of *Binnenlandsch Bestuur* but he was placed in the *Inlandsche Zaken*. The purpose of this placement is probably to reduce the tension between the two institutions and also for close coordination. Further explanation can be found in *Regeringsalmanak van Nederlandsch Indie 1930-1942*.

³⁵ In 1920s, the *Inlandsche Zaken* slowly began to lose power in the government. The friction between the advisors and the European officers became more often, more explanation in chapter 3 of this thesis.

³⁶ Aqib Suminto, 1985, 102.

³⁷ *Regeringsalmanak van Nederlandsch Indie 1899-1905*.

³⁸ *Regeringsalmanak van Nederlandsch Indie 1906. Adviseur-honorair voor Arabische Zaken*, Sejjid Oesman bin Abdallah bin Akiel bin Jahja Alawi was Hurgronje's colleague who represented the Arab community in Indonesia. He became the advisor in the office from 1899-1914. More information in Nico Kaptein, "Sayyid 'Uthmân : de adviseur", in *Tropenlevens : de (post)koloniale biografie*, Leiden, KITLV, 2008, 195-215.

Arab affairs until 1910. In 1909, the task of the advisor was not only to conduct religious and native affairs, but also to monitor the education of the young generations in the colony.³⁹

From 1911, possibly due to the additional task of the organization, the advisor was assisted by a linguist.⁴⁰ In 1910, the government decided to establish a commission of *Adat law*⁴¹ which was assigned to publish some *Adat Laws*.⁴² *Inlandsche Zaken* had to assist the commission especially in understanding the *Adat* laws in various regions in the Dutch East Indies.

In conducting the task, prior to 1905, the organization was under coordination of *Afdeeling* (division) C of the *Algemeene Secretarie* which took care of native affairs (personnel, education including teaching materials especially for Islamic religion at schools, indigenous petitions, constitutional matters, Expulsion and internment, and Mohammedan worship).⁴³ From 1906 onwards, under the 2nd advisor, the workload of the *Inlandsche Zaken* was more complicated. Most Dutch officials at that time expected the *Inlandsche Zaken* to be able to understand the manifestations of Islam, to explain matters of jurisprudence, as well as the materials taken from rebellious suspects.⁴⁴ The advisors were required to give exact analysis and detail investigations on certain cases and at the same time they had to develop good relationship with the natives. Due to the heavy burden, in 1917, *Inlandsche Zaken* did not do translations anymore and the task of translations was transferred to the *Kantoor voor Volklectuur*.

Since the main tasks concerned on the native affairs, including in religion and politics, the advisor always coordinated with the Governor General, heads of regions, directors of various departments and agencies in the colony and mostly with the department of *Binnenlandsch Bestuur*.⁴⁵ The advisors were obliged to give recommendations, advice, and solutions regarding the conflicts in various regions to these high officers.

Apart from that, the *Inlandsche Zaken* also coordinated with the representatives of the Kingdom of Netherlands outside the colony, such as the Consulate General in Jeddah, Turkey,

³⁹Francien van Anrooij, *De koloniale staat (Negara kolonial) 1854-1942 Panduan Archief van het Ministerie van Koloniën (Arsip Kementerian Urusan Tanah Jajahan) Kepulauan Nusantara Penyusun*, translated by Nurhayu W. Santoso, Susi Moeimam, Leiden, KITLV, 2014, 115.

⁴⁰*Regeringsalmanak van Nederlandsch Indie* 1911.

⁴¹ Adat law was a series of rules and regulations for the natives which were based on the native cultures.

⁴² B.J. Boland and I. Farjon, *Islam in Indonesia: A Bibliographical Survey 1600-1942 with Post-1945 Addenda*, Leiden, KITLV, 1983, 21.

⁴³ *Regeringsalmanak van Nederlandsch Indie* 1899.

⁴⁴ Michael Laffan, 2011, 190.

⁴⁵ *Regeringsalmanak van Nederlandsch Indie* 1899.

the Dutch *Attache* in Cairo, Calcutta and Singapore.⁴⁶The coordination was done to monitor the Muslims who were suspected to make contacts with the Muslims in Dutch East Indies.

To make it more complicated, the *Inlandsche Zaken* had to involve in the process of selecting most heads of local rulers. Before the Governor General issued his decision regarding the appointment of these rulers, he had to consult with the advisor of the *Inlandsche Zaken* whether the nominees were fit or not in the position.⁴⁷In addition, the office had to evaluate the native organizations and mass groups. The press and other publishing companies were also under controlled by the *Inlandsche Zaken*. The office had excessive power to supervise their publications. All of the works and the flow of responsibilities of *Inlandsche Zaken* in the colonial bureaucracy in the period of 1906-1942 are shown in diagram I below.

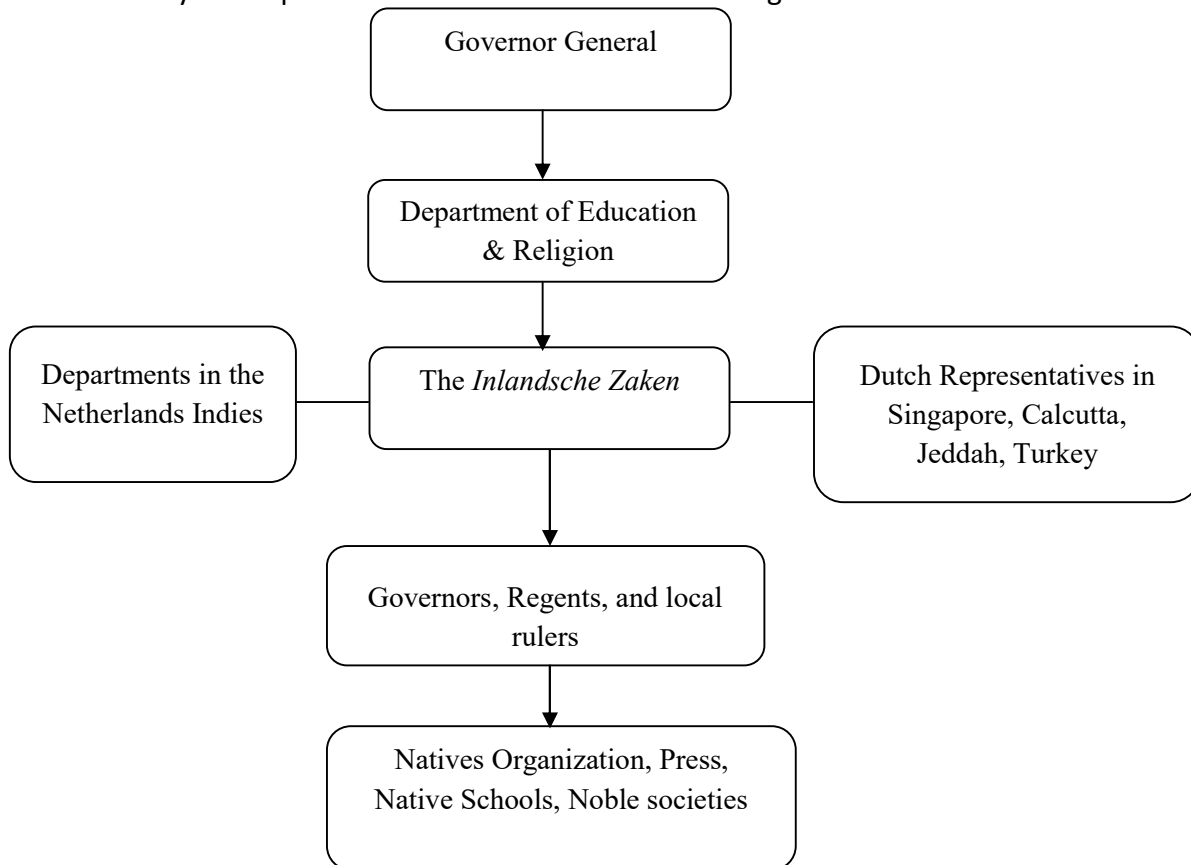


Diagram 1. The Position of the *Inlandsche zaken* in the Colonial Government of Netherlands East Indie in 1906-1942

Diagram 1 shows the position and workflows of the *Inlandsche Zaken* between the institutions in the colonial bureaucracy from 1906 to 1942. Based on the diagram I, the organization was under the department of Education and Religion. However, in certain cases, the *Inlandsche Zaken* could work directly under the governor general and the advisor's position was parallel

⁴⁶ Aqib Suminto, 1985, 109. These consulate generals were appointed by Snouck Hurgronje because that was one of his main tasks as the Advisor Honorary of *Inlandsche* and *Arabische Zaken* of the Ministry of the Colonies.

⁴⁷ Aqib Suminto, 1985, 111.

with the heads and directors of departments. The diagram also presents the position of the governors, local rulers, including the noble societies and the press which was under *Inlandsche Zaken*. Although in the diagram shows that it controlled the nobles, the press, and the rest of the natives, the bureau often positioned itself as a sort of the “bureau for complaints”.⁴⁸ The natives could express their objections towards the government in this bureau.

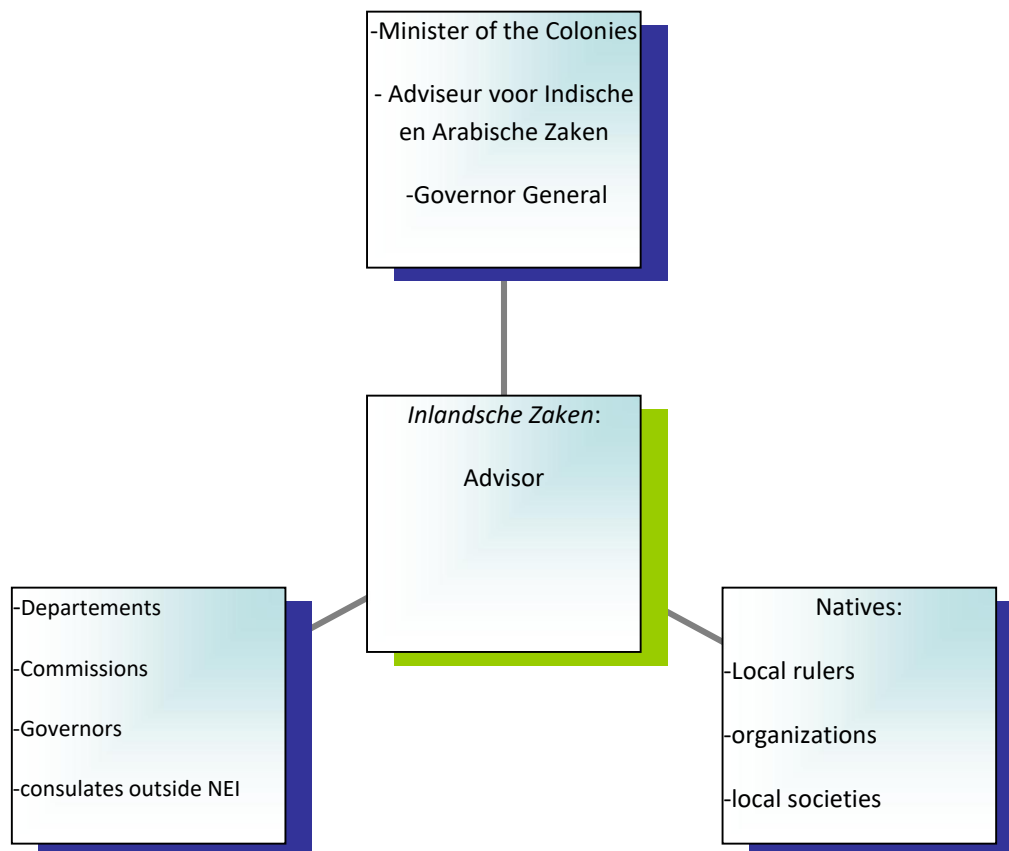


Diagram 2. The Flow of Communication of *Inlandsche Zaken*

Diagram 2 is the flow of communication of *Inlandche Zaken* in the colonial institutions. The advisor could directly send reports to the governor general and the honorary advisor⁴⁹ in the

⁴⁸ W.J.A. Kernkamp, “Government and Islam in the Dutch East Indies”, Translated by Dr. N.A.C. Slotemaker de Bruine, 1945, in W.H. van Helsdingen, *Daar Werd Groots Verricht*, (Amsterdam: N.V. Uitgevers-Maatschappij “Elsevier”, 1941): 24.

⁴⁹ The position of *Adviseur voor Indische en Arabische Zaken* was set out specifically for Snouck Hurgronje after he retired as the advisor in 1906. He held the position from 1907 until 1940. With this position he was the man behind

Ministry of the Colonies. Moreover, all heads of departments, commissions, and governors could directly send requests to the advisors for conducting investigations on certain conflicts, events or even certain local figures. The advisor's tasks were to do a research in the Dutch East Indies as well as make assessments and recommendations formed on the findings. The output goals of *Inlandsche Zaken* were mostly reports, data, correspondents and advice. The reports and advice were delivered to various departments, commissions, and governor general.

The line of communication shows the flow of coordination of *Inlandsche Zaken*. By following this line, the archives can be traced. For example, since the advisor always gave reports on every conflict to the Governor General then the reports could be found in the collection of archives of the *Algemeene Secretarie*. Moreover, since the governor general also had to report to the Ministry of the Colonies on what had been reported by the advisors, then the reports of these advisors could also be found in the collection of Ministry of the Colonies, especially in the *Verbaal*.⁵⁰

I.3. Advisors of the *Inlandsche Zaken*

After its transformation, *Inlandsche Zaken* was led by an advisor. His main tasks were to make analysis, develop close relations with the natives (especially the *kyais*, *ulamas*, and other religious actors), control and monitor them, do surveillances, and give advice as well as solutions on religious and native affairs. It was the advisor that became the architect of the Islamic policies of the colonial government during the period of late of 19th-20th centuries. Almost all of the advisors mastered some native languages, such as Malay, Javanese and Arabic. They were not only mere government officers, but they also acted as consultants, politicians and academicians for both natives and colonial government.

Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1899-1906) was the first and most influential advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken*. He set up the foundation of Islamic policies for the *Inlandsche Zaken*. He was also the figure who selected the advisors of *Inlandsche Zaken* in the period of 1906-1937. The second advisor who was also influential figure was Godard Arend Hazeu (1907-1913 and 1917-1920). He was the advisor who had the most conflicts with other colonial officers.

The third advisor, Dr. D.A. Rinke (1913-1916), also followed his predecessors in executing the Islamic affairs for the *Inlandsche Zaken*. He was famous on his advice regarding

the scene of the policy which was issued by the *Inlandsche Zaken*. More information on *Regeringsalmanak van Nederlandsch Indie 1907-1936*.

⁵⁰ The list of archives in the *verbaal* has been published in R.C. Kwantes, *De Ontwikkeling van de Nationalistische Beweging in Nederlandsch-Indie I-III, tweede stuk medio 1923 – 1928*, Groningen, H. D Tjeenk Willink BV, 1975.

the rise of *Sarekat Islam* in 1912. R.A. Kern was appointed to be the fourth advisor after Hazeu resigned (1921-1926, except in 1923). He was the advisor who came from the Department of *Binnenlandsch Bestuur*. E. Gobee (1923 and 1927-1937) was appointed as the fifth advisor which was also from *Binnenlandsch Bestuur*. The last advisor was G.F. Pijper (1937-1942). He was the advisor with its specialty in the translation of indigenous languages.

These advisors had to build a good communication between the government and Muslims in the colony. However, in practical situation, the relationship between the advisors and the Muslims were so close that often the government suspected these advisors.

I.4. Conclusion

As the bureau of native affairs, *Inlandsche Zaken* had to bridge the natives and the colonial government. In the period of 1899 to 1942, it dealt mostly in Islamic affairs and acted as the bureau of religious affairs because Islam was the major religion of the natives. It was the knowledge of Islam that could bridge the communication between the natives and the colonial government.

The transformation of *Inlandsche Zaken* from the bureau of translation to the bureau of religious affairs was a part of a development of the organic body of the colonial bureaucracy. It shifted gradually in accordance with the situations in the Dutch East Indies. The shift was done by transforming the administrative position, main functions, and also the person in charge. It was started in 1870 when *Inlandsche Zaken* was shifted into the functions of the advisor office of Mohammedan Act.⁵¹ Then, under the new name in 1899, *Inlandsche Zaken* held more complex responsibilities. It did not only translate the indigenous languages, interpret the cultures and regulations but also manage the religion affairs.

There were six advisors who led the *Inlandsche Zaken*. The roles of the advisors were highly important. They had to master indigenous languages, customs, traditions, cultures, and religions of the natives. Only with this ability, they could assess the situation, give advice to the government, control and monitor the natives. However, in executing the tasks and functions, the advisors had to get along with other apparatus in the colonial government. It was quite difficult because these advisors were often suspected to be too weak and subjective to the natives by other colonial apparatus.

⁵¹ *Regeringsalmanak van Nederlandsch Indie 1870.*

CHAPTER II
TAMING ISLAM AND THE COLONY: THE ERA OF SNOUCK HURGRONJE,
G.A.J HAZEU AND D.A. RINKES, 1899-1920

In Chapter I, Snouck Hurgronje was described as the advisor who initiated the foundation of Islamic policies for the *Inlandsche Zaken*. In this chapter, there will be a description on how Snouck Hurgronje initiated the policy when the *Inlandsche Zaken* was shifted into the bureau of religious affairs in 1899. There is also a narrative on G.A.J. Hazeu and D.A. Rinkes as Hurgronje's successors and their roles and policies recorded in their personal archives. This chapter will answer the research questions on how the advisors conducted their tasks and functions, how the tasks and functions of the *Inlandsche Zaken* were recorded in archives, what kinds of documents kept in the collections, what types of information kept in the archives, and how the documents were arranged.

II. I. Interpreting the Colony

Knowledge about the natives had always been vital in the colony. Aggressive invasion using war and violence did not only require a high cost both for finance and victims, but also did not promise a peaceful ending. In the case of conflicts with the Muslims in the Dutch East Indies, the Dutch could have maintained a military government with strong forces to fight against the Muslims. However, preventing further resistance was considered to be much more efficient, to establish a longstanding colonial authority. At this point, knowledge becomes an effective tool to understand and interpret the natives and govern the colony.

During this period, the production of knowledge about natives in the colony began by the establishment of the *Inlandsche Zaken* in 1820 as the bureau of translation. Nevertheless, the never ending conflicts had made the colonial face a difficult situation to grasp the realm of native knowledge in the colony. By 1889, the colonial government appointed an *orientalist* scholar from Leiden University, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, to provide advises about the Muslims and hopefully, to end the protracted conflict.⁵² Before working as the colonial advisor, Snouck Hurgronje's interest lied in the Muslim of Arab. He was trained in theology and Arabic, and then spent several years in Hijaz during the 1880s, of which became Hurgronje's

⁵² E. Gobée and C. Adriaanse, *Nasihat-Nasihat C. Snouck Hurgronje Semasa Kepegawaiannya Kepada Pemerintah Hindia Belanda 1889-1936 Jilid I*, Indonesia Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies, 1990, xxi.

fundamental parts for his celebrated dissertation, "*Het Mekkaansche Feest*".⁵³ However, his encounter with the Muslim of the Dutch East Indies occurred during his stay in Mekkah in 1884. It was through the contacts with the Muslims in Mekkah, Hurgronje finally could understand the Muslims and how their attitudes were. Through his knowledge which he gained in Mekkah, he began to interpret the Muslims and at the same time prepared his successors, the advisors in the *Inlandsche Zaken*, to tame the colony.

II. 2. The Road of Ethical Policy in the Indies

Ethical Policy was first brought by the Dutch Politicians at the end of the nineteenth century. It was C.Th. van Deventer who insisted on the Dutch government to pay a debt for what had been taken from the people in the Indies. The idea was soon implemented by the Dutch colonial government in 1901 in a form of "ethical policy". The ethical policy aimed at bringing the entire archipelago under actual Dutch rule and expanding the development of the land and the people in the Dutch East Indies in the direction of self-government under Dutch guidance.⁵⁴ Under the new policy, the binding relation between the "mother", (the Netherlands) and "son", (Dutch East Indies) was the basic concept of the ethical policy. It refers to "the efforts to bind the colony closely to the mother country by making available to the colonial population the benefits of the culture of the mother country (in a broad sense) with complete respect for the indigenous culture and traditions."⁵⁵

The framework of ethical policy was parallel the idea of Snouck Hurgronje (1899-1906). Hurgronje envisioned the idea of the "association" between the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies into one spirit, culture, and intellectuality.⁵⁶ His idea together with the concept of ethical policy became the basic framework of the *Inlandsche Zaken*. From this standpoint, one might say that *Inlandsche Zaken* was the first executor of the ethical policy in the colonial government. It was *Inlandsche Zaken* which first implemented the policy directly after it was launched by the government. It was also the "association" politics that served the framework for the advisors of *Inlandsche Zaken* in interpreting the Muslims and natives. The following

⁵³David Kloos, "Becoming a Better Muslims: Religious Authority and Ethical Improvement in Aceh, Indonesia", PhD Dissertation Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2013, 10.

⁵⁴Kees Groeneboer, *Gateway to the West: The Dutch Language in Colonial Indonesia 1600-1950, A History of Language Policy*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 1998, 155.

⁵⁵ Kees Groeneboer, 1998, 155.

⁵⁶ E. Gobée and C. Adriaanse, 1990, xxi.

sections describe how the advisors from period 1899 to 1920 interpreted the colony through the basic framework constructed by Snouck Hurgronje.

II.2.1. the First Advisor, 1899-1906

With Snouck Hurgronje coming to the Indies and sitting in the government as the first advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken*, a new pathway between the colonial government and Islam was configured. Having more knowledge on Islam based on his past experiences in Mekkah, he employed Islam for controlling the Muslims in the colony. He implemented the politics of association to connect the Muslims and the government. One of the recommendations was to separate the religion and politics.⁵⁷ He urged the government to monitor the *Kyais, ulamas* and Islamic organizations that involved in politics and to be friendly to those who did not involve with Islamic politics.

Snouck Hurgronje tried to distinguish clearly between Islam's religious ideals and values and Islam as a political basis.⁵⁸ He also advised that the government should use *adat* institutions to control the natives. Through them, these natives could form the traditionally most powerful barrier against Islam. *Adat* could be used as the expanding influence of the dynamic and universalistic faith of the Prophet of Mohammed-the prophet in which all Muslims believe to be their role model.⁵⁹ Finally, he advised the government to involve in educating the natives, starting from the nation's upper classes by orienting the western system (Dutch system). Hurgronje argued that the Western education was the surest means of reducing and ultimately defeating the influence of Islam in Indonesia.⁶⁰ These three advices were the basic foundation for the advisors of *Inlandsche Zaken* in executing the tasks.

II.2.2. the Second Advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken*

⁵⁷ Karel Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam: Contact and Conflicts 1596-1950*, translated by Jan Steenbrink and Henry Jansen, Amsterdam, Rodopi B.V, 1993, 87. In his argument, Hurgronje monitored the radical Muslim leaders who involved in Politics. Hurgronje, he argued, thought that Islam was a religion and it was these radical Muslims who should have been monitored closely by the government.

⁵⁸ Karel Steenbrink, 1993, 88.

⁵⁹ Harry J. Benda, 1958, 343.

⁶⁰ Harry J. Benda, 1958, 344.

Godard Arend Hazeu (1907-1913 and 1917-1920) was appointed to be the advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken* after Hurgronje went back to Netherlands in 1906.⁶¹ He first served in the *Inlandsche Zaken* as Hurgronje's assistant. Thus, as had been expected, his perspectives and policies were greatly inspired by Hurgronje's ethical approach, especially in the field of education. As soon as he replaced Hurgronje as the advisor, he designated a new concept of Dutch colonial administration. It aimed at close cooperation with modern indigenous elites with a western education.⁶² His idea on educating the natives, creating close relation and association between the government and local nobles actually were corresponding to what had been arranged by Hurgronje before.

During his carrier, Hazeu had important positions as the *Adviseur van Inlandsche en Arabische Zaken* (also known as the *Inlandsche Zaken* from 1907-1912), as *Direkteur van het Departement voor Onderwijs en Eredienst* (1912-1915), and lastly as *Adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken* again (1916-1920).⁶³ Comparing to all of the six advisors, Hazeu was the one who had to deal with the biggest challenges of the Islamic affairs. He also experienced the height of the ethical period (1901-1920). *Inlandsche Zaken* under Hazeu was administratively transferred from *Algemeene Secretarie* to the Ministry of Education and Religion.⁶⁴ He gained unusual position within the colonial administration. On the one hand he exercised a direct influence on the highest authority in the colony, and on the other hand as the advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken*, he had to stand outside the official hierarchy of the regional and local administration, and to establish a direct contact between the natives and central government in Batavia.⁶⁵

II.2.3. D.A. Rinkes, 1913-1916⁶⁶

Dr. Douwe Adolf Rinkes was the advisor (1913-1916) who substituted Hazeu as the advisor when he served as the Director of Education and Religion (1912-1916). Rinkes used to be

⁶¹ G.A.J. Hazeu who obtained a doctorate at Leiden University in 1897 was an expert on Javanese language and culture. Source from Aqib Suminto, 1985, 125.

⁶² L. de Hoop, DR. GAJ Hazeu, *Ethicist and Educational Reformer: A Case Study of Educational Politics in the Dutch East Indies (1906-1920)*, SI, S.N, 1980, 3.

⁶³ L. de Hoop, 1992, 3.

⁶⁴ *Regeringsalmanak van Nederlandsch Indie 1907*.

⁶⁵ L. de Hoop, 1992, 6.

⁶⁶ Dr. D.A. Rinkes was born in 1878. He obtained a doctorate at Leiden University in 1906 and served as advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken* from 1913-1916. Before serving as the advisor, he assisted Hazeu as deputy advisor from 1911-1913. Source Takashi Shiraisi, "A New Regime of Order: The Origin of Modern Surveillance Politics in Indonesia", in James T. Siegel and Audrey R. Kahin (eds), *Southeast Asia over Three Generations*, Ithaca, South East Asia Program Cornell University, 2003, 61.

Snouck Hurgronje's student at the Leiden University with the ability of mastering Javanese, Malay and Indonesian languages. In his argument, he supported the politics of association between the Dutch and the natives, but unlike Hazeu, he believed that all natives should involve in the association, not only the nobles.⁶⁷

During his period as the advisor, the situation in the colony was in the outbreak due to the rising tension of the government towards the establishment of *Sarekat* Islam. It was the first organization established by the Muslims which grew vastly and became the biggest native organization in the colony since 1912. The problem for the government was that *Sarekat* Islam at that time was a national, not a local organization in scope. It did not come from Pan-Islamism (it was basically an organization of Muslim batik traders in Surakarta), but it was established on Malay language newspapers and rallies (*vergaderingen*) and led by journalists-turned to *pergerakan* (movement)-leaders and the organization grew vastly to the entire the colony.⁶⁸ As the advisor, Rinkes was urged to anticipate it. Rinkes was aware that the rise of *Sarekat* Islam was part of the sign of awakening in the natives. Thus, he proposed his idea to change *Sarekat* Islam into independent organizations having small branches in various areas. He also urged the government to "guide" these branches of *Sarekat* Islam onto the path that the government hoped or at least not objectionable to their authority.⁶⁹ His idea was soon implemented by his involvement in the organization. As the steering committee, together with Tjokroaminoto (the prominent figure at *Sarekat* Islam at that time), Rinkes attended numerous meetings aimed at establishing the branches of *Sarekat* Islam in various areas in Java in 1913.⁷⁰ However, both the natives and government suspected his involvement. The government, especially the European officers from *Binnenlandsch Bestuur* did not fully support the idea because most of them did not think far on the result of the advice.⁷¹ They tended to come up only with the conclusion which was based on the fact that *Sarekat* Islam grew vastly in the regions. The worse case was

⁶⁷ Doris Jedamski, "The Subjective Factor in Cultural Change between Political Strategies and Ethical Idea: D.A. Rinkes: A 'Marginal Man' in the Colonial Context", in Bob Hering (ed), *Pramoedya Ananta Toer 70 Tahun: Essays in Honor of Pramoedya Ananta Toer's 70th Year*, Townsville, 1995, 199.

⁶⁸ Takashi Shiraisi, 2003, 52.

⁶⁹ *Zeer Geheime Missive van den Adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken aan den Gouverneur Generaal van Nederlandsch Indie*, 13 Mei 1913 no. 46 and Takasih Shiraisi, *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912-1926*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1990, 69.

⁷⁰ H.W. Van Den Doel, *De Stille Macht : Het Europeese Binnenlands Bestuur op Java en Madoera, 1808-1942*, Amsterdam : Bert Bakker, 1994, 296. Rinkes proposed the idea that *Binnenlandsch Bestuur* had to order their personnel in various areas to do monitoring of the branches of *Sarekat* Islam in the regions, whereas for the central committee of *Sarekat* Islam, He, as the advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken*, would do a close monitoring on them as the steering committee.

⁷¹ H.W. Van Den Doel, 1994, 330.

that they suspected Rinkes as the man behind the scene who involved in the widespread of *Sarekat Islam*. The natives, on the other hand, suspected Rinkes as the representative of government who wished to control the organization.⁷² As a consequence of these accusations, it was hard for Rinkes to keep working as the steering committee the *Sarekat Islam*. In the end, Rinkes had to quit from his position in the *Sarekat Islam* and this remarked his failure in controlling the *Sarekat Islam*.

In 1917, Hazeu returned to the Dutch East Indies and gained his old position as the advisor. Rinkes was then assigned to be the Head of Director of the *Kantoor voor de Volkslectuur*. The *Volklectuur* actually used to be part of *Inlandsche Zaken*. Its main function was to do translations of literatures, documents and regulations from Dutch to Indigenous languages.⁷³

II.3. Personal Archives of the Advisors: Hurgronje, Hazeu and Rinkes

As the advisors, Hurgronje, Hazeu and Rinkes created archives that recorded all of their activities for the *Inlandsche Zaken*. These documents served as the output goals of their works in the organization. However, these archives were mostly collected privately by themselves. Although these records are private collections, the prior research on Hazeu's collection has proven that they keep a lot of information and documents on *Inlandsche Zaken* and its function as the bureau of religious affairs.

In order to prove that their private collections preserve the archives of *Inlandsche Zaken* and reflect their functions as the advisors, the analyses of their personal archives are required. Thus, in the following sections, there will be some analyses and descriptions of the personal archives of Hurgronje, Hazeu and Rinkes. The analysis is done by taking some samples of documents from the collections and assessing the contents and context of the documents to see the background of creations, the purpose of creations, the function of documents, and the type of documents. There will be also an analysis of the arrangement of the collections that had been done by the archivists.

⁷² Soewardi, who was an activist from *Indische Partij* and Marco, who was a journalist of *Doenia Bergerak* (local newspaper), accused Rinkes as a dominant figure behind Tjokroaminoto who operated *Sarekat Islam* for the colonial government. More information on Takashi Shiraishi, *Zaman Bergerak: Radikalisme Rakyat di Jawa, 1912-1926*, translation from Takashi Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912-1926*, translated by Hilmar Farid, Jakarta, Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1997, 95-115.

⁷³ Doris Jedamski, 1995, 190.

II.3.1. Personal Archives of Snouck Hurgronje⁷⁴

The personal archives of Hurgronje are mostly correspondences that were donated to Leiden University Library in 1956. This correspondence is now preserved in Or. 8952 A-B and Or. 8952 C-L at the Leiden University library. There are approximately 1130 folders in every number of the collections. Each folder has 3-4 letters which was arranged in a chronological order. The archives in these numbers have been digitized and can be accessed via the online catalogue of the Leiden University library. The collection mostly contains of correspondences of Snouck Hurgronje with his contacts in Arabia, the Dutch Consulate General in Jeddah, Islamic Scholars from Arabian Peninsula, academicians, officials in the Netherlands and Dutch East Indies, etc. It consists of politics and Islamic affairs, political files, typo scripts of speeches, publications, books, materials related to conferences, membership of academies and other learned societies, manuscripts in Arabic scripts (Arabic, Malay, Acehnese, Ottoman Turkish, etc). However, this collection is not related to the function *Inlandsche Zaken*. The documents are mainly on the communication between Hurgronje as a personal, an academician, an expert of Islam that related to Aceh, whose insurgency Hurgronje was concerned with from 1891, and other topics that linked the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies with Mecca and the wider Muslim world.⁷⁵

The archives which relate to Hurgronje's function as the advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken* is found in the collection of Hazeu, KITLV, inventory number H. 1083 and also in a book published by E. Gobebe and C. Adriaanse in 1959.⁷⁶ Based on the content and context of function of the collection, only the archives created by Hurgronje at Hazeu's collection are analyzed in this research. The following section presents two samples of the archives created by Hurgronje which are kept in the collection of Hazeu.

⁷⁴ All of the details in this section are based on the guide of personal archives of Snouck Hurgronje. The guide of personal archives of Snouck Hurgronje can be accessed online at the catalogue online of Leiden University's library under the code Or. 8952 A-B, Or. 8952 C-L, inventory of Hazeu under code number H. 1083, number of item 15, "Afschriften van Adviezen van Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje over godsdienstige bewegingen" 1889-1907. Onderwerpen: Tjilegonzaak, Bantamsche toestanden in 1892, Brotodiningrat en de Gedanganzaak.

⁷⁵ Michael Laffan, "What Can Collaborators Tell Us about the Idea of an Islamic Indies?" in Midori Kawashima, Arai Kazuhiro, et.al. (Compilers), *Proceedings of the Symposium on Bangsa and Umma: A Comparative Study of People – Grouping Concepts in the Islamic Areas of Southeast Asia*, SIAS Working Paper Series I, May 12, 13, and 19, 2007, Tokyo, 116.

⁷⁶ Since the research only focuses on the archives in the private collections of the advisors which relate *Inlandsche Zaken*, this chapter only discusses Hurgronje's archives in Hazeu's collection.

a. The Tjilegon Affair 1888⁷⁷

When Hurgronje was first appointed to be the Advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken*, the Tjilegon affair was one of his first cases. Image 1 below is an advice from Snouck Hurgronje to the Governor General on the Tjilegon affair. In his letter, Snouck reported that the name “Hamim” and “Kamim” was used by many people in Tjilegon. He suggested that the government could not just suspect the person with these names because they were general names of the people who lived there. He advised the government to be meticulously in judging the suspects. Based on his experience in Mekkah and his research in Banten, he concluded that the name “Hamim” and “Kamim” is the name of most Muslims in Tjilegon.

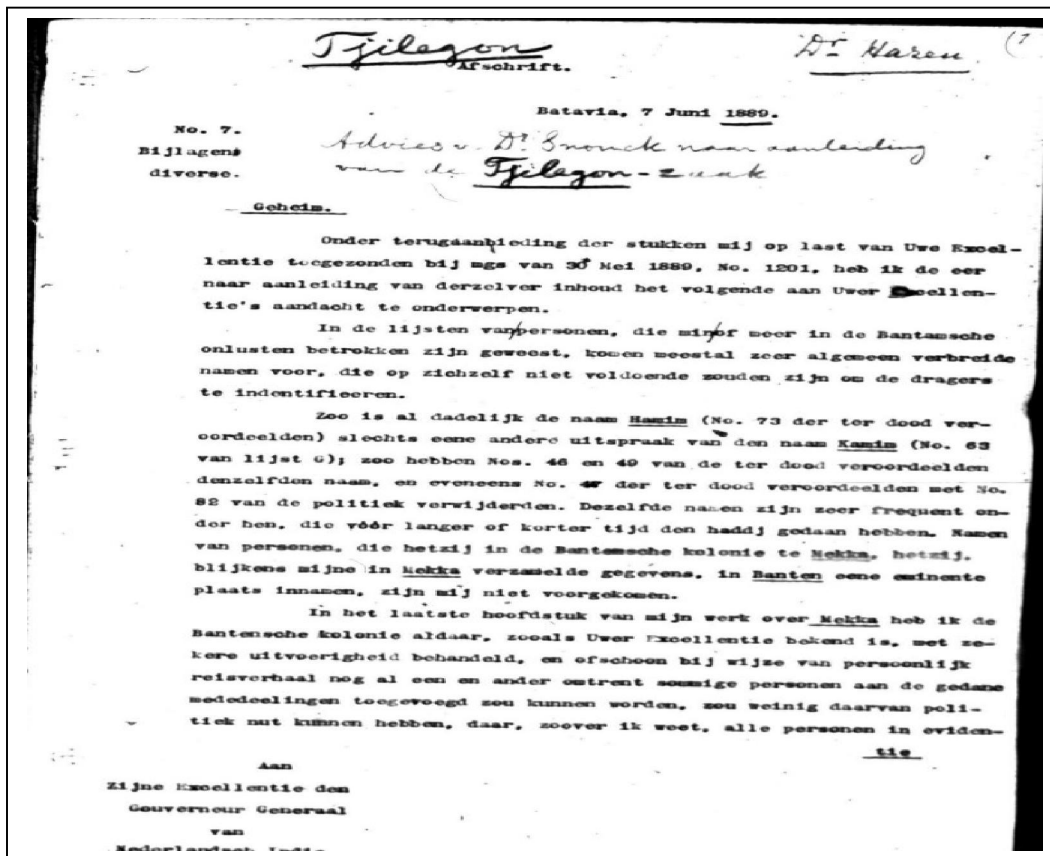


Image 1: A recommendation letter from Snouck Hurgronje to Governor General on June, 7, 1899 regarding the Tjilegon Affair⁷⁸

⁷⁷ The Tjilegon affair was chosen because this was the very first case of Hurgronje after he was appointed as the advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken*.

⁷⁸ Leiden, KITLV, Hazeu Collectie, H1083, Inv. Nr. 15. The Tjilegon affair was one of the biggest riots in Java before Hurgronje served as advisor in 1888. It was a serial of rebellions by the *Kyais* and *Ulamas* who had just been to a

In the letter, it can be seen that he used his past experiences and knowledge in Mekkah and employed it to give a recommendation for the government regarding the Muslim conflict in the colony. Moreover, before taking conclusions on a case, in the document he explained that he did a survey and research in the place of the conflict to get into the real situation in the field. This reflected the way of how the advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken* worked. They did a careful research, assessed the situation based on their knowledge and gave recommendation to the governor general.

Most documents for Snouck's advices were *geheim* (confidential) with numbers and date of the letters. They were confidential because only the high officers such as governor general and directors of departments could read the report.

b. The Gedangan Affair 1904⁷⁹

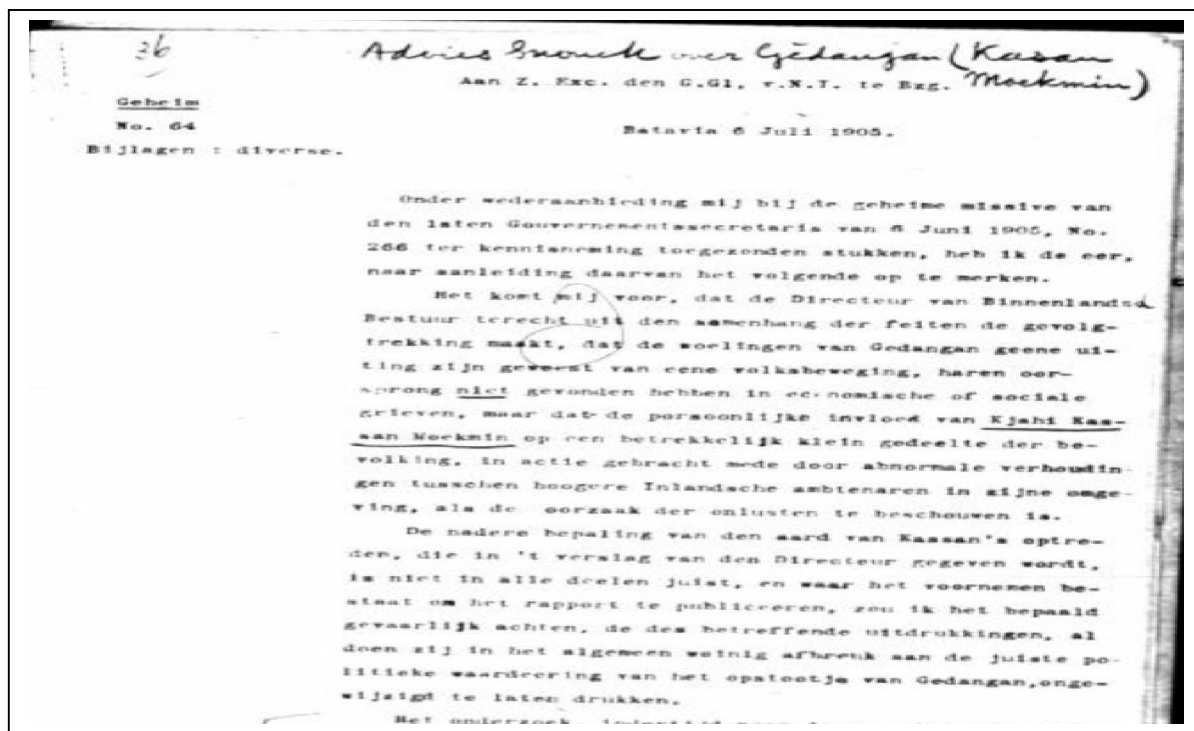


Image 2: A letter of Recommendation from Snouck Hurgronje to Governor General on the Gedangan Affair⁸⁰

pilgrimage journey to Mekkah. They were not satisfied with numerous harsh actions of the Dutch officers who treated the Muslims arrogantly. Under the name of Jihad they tried to be separated from the "infidel" government.

⁷⁹ The Gedangan affair was chosen because this was the biggest conflict at the end of Hurgronje's service as the advisor. I want to compare between the first and the last case of Hurgronje.

The letter in Image 2 is an advice from Hurgronje to the Governor General regarding the Gedangan affair in 1904. In the letter, Hurgronje mentioned that it was important to watch carefully *Kyahi* Kassan Moekmin as the leader of the rebellion. But at the same time the government also needed to monitor to the relationship between the local ruler in Gedangan (the *wedana*) and *Kyahi* Kassan Moekmin, but at the same time developed good relationship with the *wedana*. Most importantly, the government could not judge easily that the rebellion was related to the Muslim movement and “*Jihad*”. From the letter, we can see that Hurgronje recommended the government to monitor the *wedana* and his relationship with the *Kyahi* Kassan and to be meticulous in judging the involvement of the Muslims in the conflict. This is parallel to his policy to watch carefully, develop good relation with the local rulers and simultaneously monitor every of their step. Only in this way, the Muslims in the colony could be controlled.

II. 3. 2. Personal Archives of Hazeu⁸¹

Archief Godard Arend Johannes Hazeu is the personal archives of the second advisor of the *Inlandsche Zaken*. The archives consist of the works and correspondents which had been done by three advisors in the period of 1899-1920, namely, Snouck Hurgronje, Hazeu and D.A. Rinke. There are 80 numbers of items of archives in the inventory. However, most of the archives relate to the roles of Hazeu as the advisor. The archives consist of copies of government documents with stamps and signatures from Hazeu himself and various officers vice versa when Hazeu served the Dutch East Indies. The division of the collection is based on the general themes of Hazeu’s works during the period of of 1899-1920. It seems that the classification of the archives is based on the principle of provenance, where the archives were arranged based on the original order of Hazeu as a teacher and a politician, and also related to the person who involved with him in his carrier (his former supervisor, Snouck Hurgronje and his successor D.A. Rinke) in the government.⁸²

⁸⁰ Leiden, KITLV, Hazeu Collectie, H1083, Inv. Nr. 15. Gedangan case was a bloody incident between the Muslim in Gedangan, East Java on May 27, 1904. There were thirty three natives who were killed in the incident. It happened due to the conflict between the government and one of the Islamic leaders in Garut. They were forced to cultivate agricultural products on their land and sell them in cheap prices to the government.

⁸¹ The research in this section is done based the collection of personal archives of Hazeu, Leiden, KITLV, no.H.1083. All archives are in microfiche and can be accessed via online catalogue of Leiden University library.

⁸² The principle [of provenance] may have an outward application, which is to respect the archival body as it was created by an individual, a group or an organization as a whole. We call this Respect *des fonds*. The Principle of provenance may also be applied inwardly, respecting the original order given to the documents by the administration that created them. Based on Peter Horsman, “Taming the Elephant: An Orthodox Approach to the

In the guide, there are small descriptions of the archives which are divided into several numbers of items. For the archives related to Hazeu's position as *Direkteur van het Departement voor Onderwijs en Eredienst*, the inventory numbers are H1083 26, 40, 49, 55, and 7 whereas the rest of the other items are on related to the function as the advisor of the *Inlandsche Zaken*.⁸³

Each of the items and sub items in the Hazeu's inventory is similar to what is presented in image 3. They are divided into the general theme of Hazeu's works and subdivided into several specific sub items that relate to the general theme with the details of page numbers on every page of documents.

H. 1083, 59 A

Inhoud.

Afschriften van eenige der bijdragen voorkomende in de, jubileum - uitgave van het Indologenblad ter herdenking van het kerstfel van ons Oorlog in Nederlandsch-Indië (1816-1916), no. 6, en in de Amsterdamer (Indië) nummer van 14 October 1916.

<u>Adriani</u> , Bestuursambtenaren en tondelingen.	pag. 1.
<u>Carpentier Alding</u> , Belangstelling in Volksrecht.	.. 4.
<u>J.C. van der Zee</u> , De Bestuursambtenaar in dienst van de Inlander.	.. 8.
<u>P.H. Tromberg</u> , Hormat als instelling.	.. 10.
<u>van Heerde</u> , Bijdrage.	.. 17.
<u>Knobel</u> , Een en thans.	.. 21.
<u>van Kol</u> , Een schoone taak.	.. 24.
<u>de Heerlee</u> , Normen zij omien.	.. 29.
<u>Noto Soetoko</u> , Wat gava van Nederland verwacht.	.. 35.
<u>Oudemans</u> , De drie gemetrische Sultans van Cheribon.	.. 38.
<u>C. Snauck Kuygrongje</u> , De Larikat Islam in het Credit van ons koloniaal bestuur.	.. 43.
<u>Suardhy Suryaningrad</u> , De Indische Beweging vluchtig geschetst.	.. 46.
<u>Ronkes</u> , Maatschappelijke en politieke	

Image 3. The list of sub items archives Invt Num. H.1083.59⁸⁴

Principle of Provenance," in *The Principle of Provenance: Report from the First Stockholm Conference on the Archival Principle of Provenance*, 2-3 September 1993, Stockholm, Swedish National Archives, 1994, 51.

⁸³ *Guide and Concordance to Papers of Colonial Advisors on Politics, Culture and Religion in the Netherlands Indies, c. 1895-1949: Part I. Papers of Godard Arend Johannes Hazeu (1870-1929), Period 1895-1929 on microfiches*, Amsterdam, Moran Micropublication, 2009. The Inventory can be accessed online at the Leiden University Catalogue under the number of H 1083.

⁸⁴ Leiden, KITLV, Hazeu Collectie, H1083, Inv. Num. 59.

Although the collection is under personal records, the items in the guide are mostly copies of official records with stamps and signatures from the senders. The types of documents which relate to the function of *Inlandsche Zaken* are *geheim* (confidential) and *zeer geheim* (extremely confidential). Most of the archives are letters of advices and recommendations. They served as secret documents because they contained surveillance reports, data, even sometimes insulting recommendations about the natives and the officers who involved in certain cases. These letters were official with numbers and dates. The reports and opinions are part of the advice and functioned as the attachments. These bundles are kept in an item list in the inventory under the name of a case and the year when it occurred. The information, which was reported by the advisor, was the personal information on certain names. These names were suspected to involve in certain crucial cases, including their families and relatives as well as their activities. Through the surveillance reports, the advisor recommended some actions for the governor general or for certain high-ranked officials. Many of surveillance documents are also the collections of news and articles from press which were published at that time.

The politics of “association” of Snouck Hurgronje was also found the archives Hazeu. But, comparing to Hurgronje who wanted to tame Islam (the religion), Hazeu tried to tame the Muslim figures (not the religion) and treated them as partner who had similar position with the government. The archives regarding Hazeu’s politics of association are as follows:

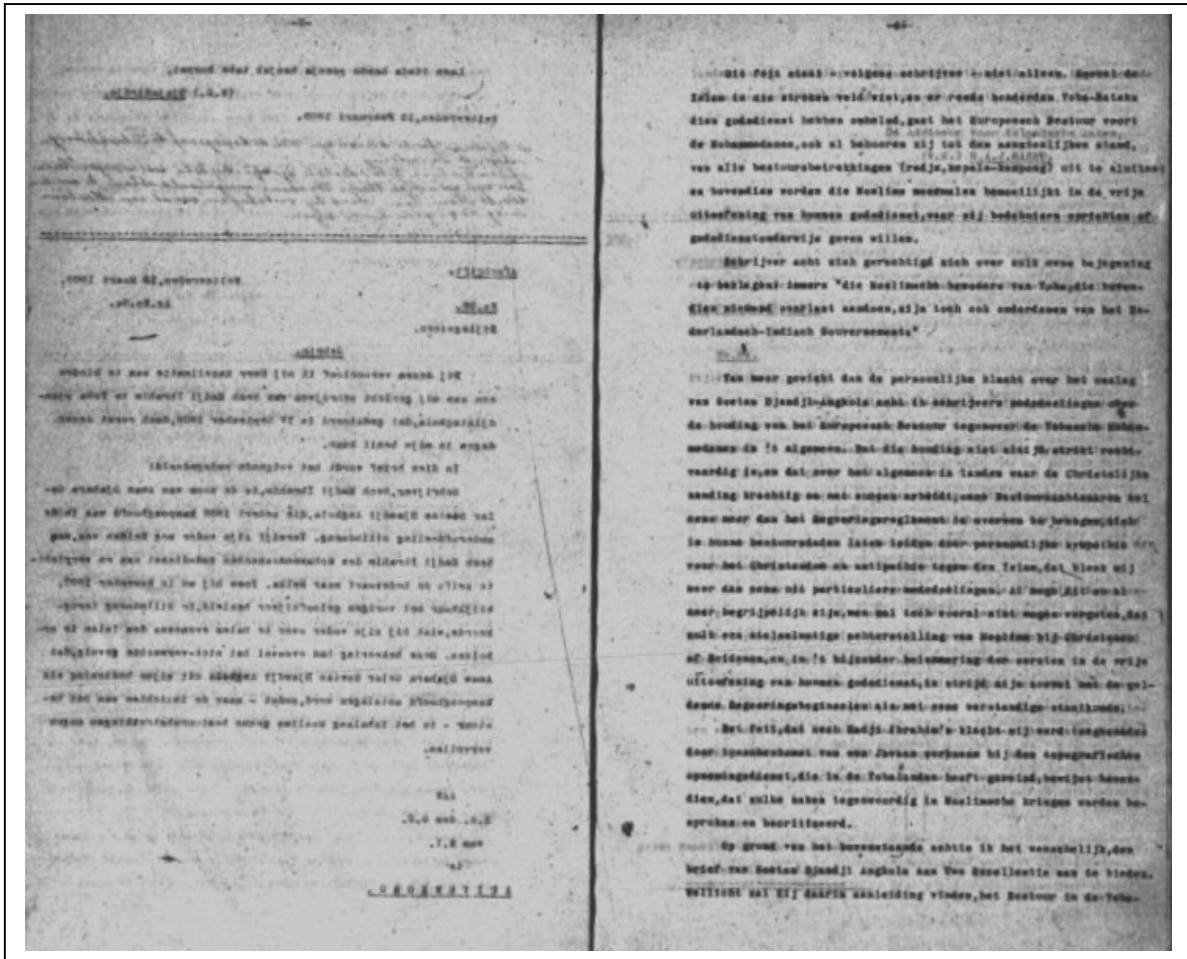
a. The Tapanoeli Affair 1903⁸⁵

The Tapanoeli case was one of the Hazeu’s first challenges. At first Hazeu thought that the conflict was merely between the officer who was pro-Christian and the head of village who had just converted into a Muslim. However, later he found out that behind this officer there was an official involvement, namely, the department of *Binnenlandsch Bestuur* (on behalf of the government).⁸⁶ At that time, there was not any Muslim who ruled the Christian areas (this was part of the missionary mission by the government).

⁸⁵ A Head of village in North Tapanoeli and South converted his religion into Islam after serving in his position in 23 years. However, he was then removed from his position as soon as his conversion into a Muslim. His son, Syaikh Ibrahim, who had just returned from a pilgrimage journey protested Hazeu and the government. The case was chosen in this section because this was the first case that Hazeu had to deal with.

⁸⁶ Karel Steenbrink, *Kawan Dalam Pertikaian: Kaum Kolonial Belanda dan islam di Indonesia (1596-1942)*, translation from Karel Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Islam in Indonesia: Conflict and Contact 1596-1950*, translated by Drs. Suryan A. Jamrah, MA, Bandung, Mizan, 1995, 128-129.

Having seen the situation, as an ethicist who considered the Muslims as the partner of the government, Hazeu argued that the government made a huge mistake. The attitude would trigger more revolts to the government. Hazeu's opinion was clearly written in his recommendation letter below.



4. A Letter of Recommendation from Hazeu to Governor General on March 10, 1909⁸⁷

In his letter of Image 4 above, Hazeu reminded the government that the dismissal of the head of village after being converted into a Muslim would hurt the pride of the Muslims. The conversion of this head of village might be a sign for the widespread of Islam among the nobles in the colony. Thus, in order to remain in control of the Muslims, the government should have

⁸⁷ Leiden, KITLV, Hazeu Collectie, H1083, Inv. Num. 42.

maintained good relations with the Muslim figures who were respected by most natives. Only in this way, the government would gain loyalty from the natives and easily control them. Through the recommendation, we might say that this was one of the politics of “association” by Hazeu. First, he built good relationship with the Muslims’ nobles, gained their trust then controlled them. However, in the implementation, Hazeu had numerous difficulties because not all colonial officers approved his perspective.

b. The Garut Affair 1919⁸⁸

This was the most crucial case at the end of Hazeu’s career as the advisor. The conflicts between Hazeu and Department of *Binnenlandsch Bestuur* also intensified due to the case. The *Binnenlandsch Bestuur* (Department of Internal Affairs in the Dutch East Indies) and the police considered the killing action of the Muslims in Garut was appropriate. However, Hazeu as the person who was in charge to do the investigation condemned the action of the police as wrong.⁸⁹

The letter from Hazeu to Governor General on August 10, 1919, tells on the report from Hazeu regarding Garut case. In the letter, Hazeu reported that he had not yet finished drafting his report on *Djimat* (mystical tool used by the natives to curse people) and its relation to Garut incident. In the letter Hazeu also recommended that Wignjadisastra⁹⁰ (one of the native figures from West Java) was a trusted person that could tell more on the use of *Djimat* and the story behind Garut incident. Hazeu was confident that Wignjadisastra could explain what the *Djimat* was and what really happened in the incident to the government.

⁸⁸ During the last year of Hazeu’s service as the advisor, there was an awful violence on July 7, 1919 in Garut. This occurred when the police killed a number of people in Garut who had barricaded themselves in a house after refusing to sell rice to the government. The incident had killed four men, including the leader H. Hasan, his sons and nineteen people were wounded and taken to a hospital. Because of the case, Hazeu had to retire from his position and went back to Netherlands. The story was chosen in this research in order to see how Hazeu dealt with the case on his archives. More stories on the incident in Karel Steenbrink, 1993, 95.

⁸⁹ *Guide and Concordance to Papers of Colonial Advisors on Politics, Culture and Religion in the Netherlands Indies, c. 1895-1949 Part 1, Papers of Godard Arend Johannes Hazeu (1870-1929), period 1895-1929*, Leiden, KITLV, 2009, 5.

⁹⁰ The letter can be seen in Leiden, KITLV, Hazeu Collectie, H1083, Inv. Num. 36. It is a letter from Hazeu to Governor General on August 10, 1919. Wignjadisastra was an editor of local newspaper in the Dutch East Indies. He represented the product young and educated native who was born after ethical policy was implemented by the colonial government. Source from Kees Van Dijk, *The Netherlands Indies and The Great War 1914-1918*, Leiden, KITLV Press, 2007, 57.

From the letter, we can see the politics of “association” of Hazeu in dealing with the conflict. Hazeu gave his trust to one of the natives named “Wignjadisastra” to uncover Garut case. This was not natural for a high-ranked official like Hazeu to trust Wignjadisastra (although he was a noble) to explain the case by himself to the governor general. As a power holder, the governor general would approve the advice. On the contrary, Hazeu might argue that giving more trusts to the natives was proper since the nobles were the government’s partners. Therefore, it was no wonder that the investigation on the case resulted in a disappointment for Hazeu. The Governor General supported the police and *Binnenlandsch Bestuur* and blamed Hazeu as being too subjective to the Muslims. The government decided that Hazeu’s report did not attach much value to the members of the commission and that Hajji Hasan was a threat for the colonial government.⁹¹ Knowing this, Hazeu chose to retire from his position and went back to Netherlands with broken heart.

II.3.3. The Personal Archives of D.A. Rinkes

The personal archives of D.A. Rinkes can be found in two collections, namely in the collection of D.A Rinkes and G.A.J. Hazeu. The collection of D.A. Rinkes is kept under inventory no. Or. 8952. It consists of 30 letters from D.A. Rinkes to Snouck Hurgronje in the year 1911. All letters have been digitized and can be accessed via an online catalogue of Leiden University library. The letters mostly refer to Rinkes’s research on the art and culture in the Dutch East Indies. Image 7 below is a letter regarding the temple of Borobudur in Central Java. There is not archive that relates to *Inlandsche Zaken* in the collection. Thus, the collections of Rinkes cannot be analyzed in this research.

⁹¹ Het Nieuws van Den Dag, “Derde Blad and Vierde Blad, Najaarszitting van den Volksraad”, 25 November 1919, no. 275, taken from www.delpher.nl, accessed on 27 November 2016.

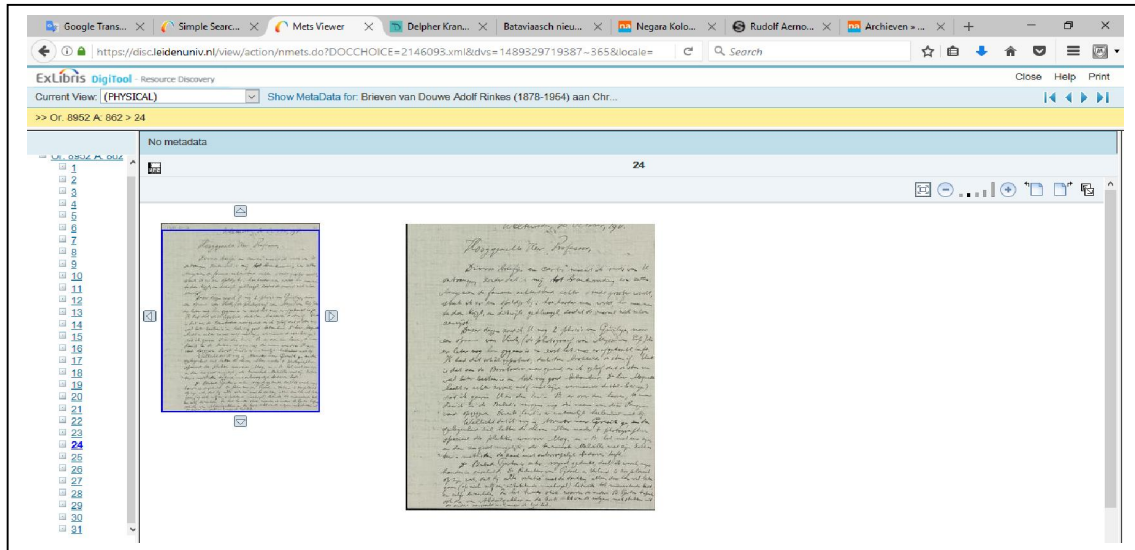


Image 6. A sample of correspondences between D.A. Rinkes to Snouck Hurgronje in the personal file of Rinkes⁹²

For the documents which relate to his function as the advisor can be found in the collection of Hazeu H. 1083, no. 35. The reports can also be found in *Bescheiden betreffende de Vereeniging Sarekat Islam*, 1913 published by Batavia Landsdrukkerij. In the collection, there are two secret reports from Rinkes, namely, *Geheim Missive van den Adviseur Voor Inlandsche Zaken aan Den Gouverneur General van Nederlandsch Indie* on August 24, 1912 no. 191 and *Zeer Geheim Missive van Den Adviseur Voor Inlandsche Zaken aan den Gourverneur Generaal van Nederlandsch Indie*, on May 13, 1913 no. 46.

In the secret report as pictured in image 7 below, it was a written advice of Rinkes regarding *Sarekat Islam* and its movement in the colony. In the report, he mentioned that Islam as a religion was not dangerous and harmful for the government. Islam acted only as a tool to bind the natives from different regions into one organization, namely *Sarekat Islam*.⁹³ To control the *Sarekat Islam*, the government should have only involved in the organization and monitored closely the elite figures in the *Sarekat Islam*. The statement regarding Islam and *Sarekat Islam*, reminds me of what had been argued by Hurgronje during his reign as the advisor in 1899-1906 that it was the radical Muslim figures that needed to be monitored closely not Islam as the religion. It seems that Rinkes followed Hurgronje's idea in analyzing the *Sarekat*

⁹² The personal file of D.A. Rinkes can be accessed in the online catalogue of Leiden University library number Or. 8952.

⁹³ *Bescheiden betreffende De Vereeniging "Sarekat Islam"* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1913): 34.

Islam. He wanted to develop close relationship to the elite group of *Sarekat Islam*, teach them in managing the organization and at the same time control them under the government.

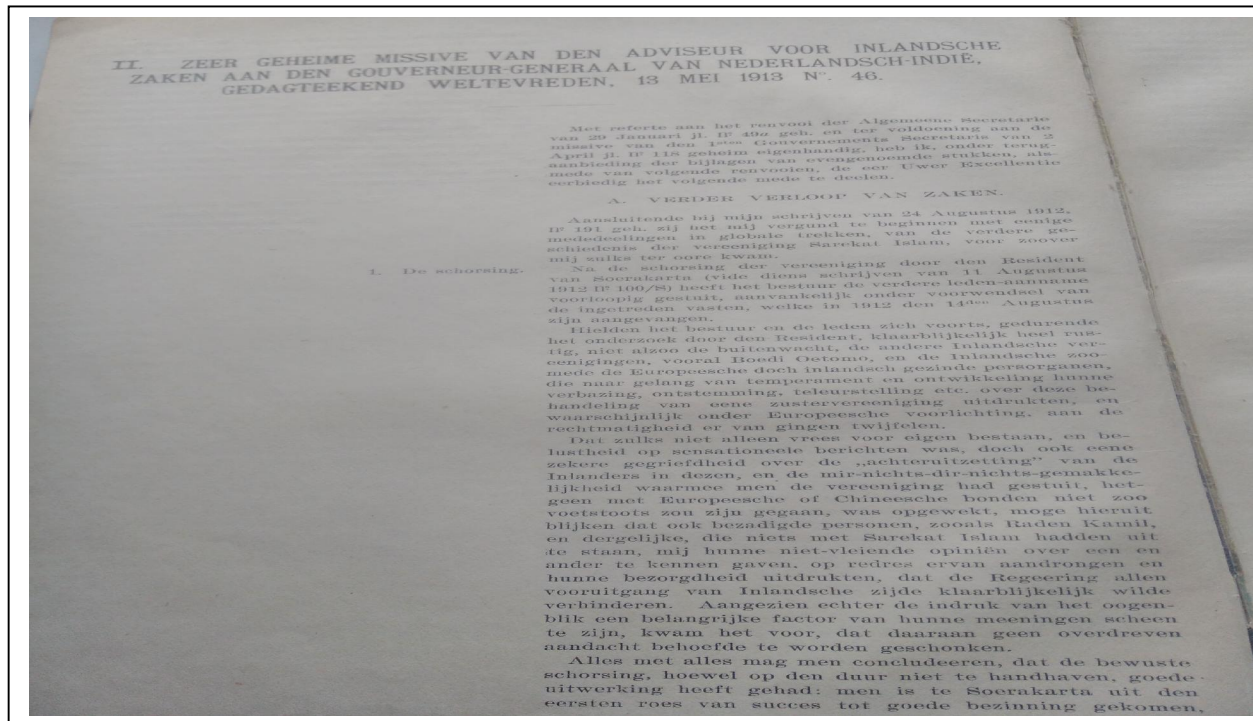


Image 7. Secret Report of Rinkes regarding Sarekat Islam on May 13, 1913 No. 46.⁹⁴

The archives in the collection created by Rinkes in Hazeu's collection are mostly copies from the original documents. It seems that Hazeu collected these documents for his own archives in order to support him in executing his tasks as an advisor. The archives in the collection were arranged based on the years and topics of the documents.

II.4. Conclusion

Snouck Hurgronje brought a new chapter of the relationship between the Muslims in the colony and the colonial government. His knowledge on Islam was such a wonder in his era, that everybody asked his advice regarding Islam and its affairs. His advice was also the foundation for the advisors of *Inlandsche Zaken* in dealing with their tasks. These are all clearly seen in the collections. In executing their tasks as the advisors, Hazeu and Rinkes were linked by the politics of association of Snouck Hurgronje. Hazeu associated the government with the nobles to

⁹⁴ *Bescheiven betreffende De Vereeniging "Sarekat Islam", 1913, 34.*

control the natives in the colony, whereas Rinke associated himself as an officer of the government to the elite group of *Sarekat Islam* organization in order to control the Muslims.

Through the personal archives of Hurgronje, Hazeu and Rinke, we can see the intellectual journey of them. In the archives, we can see Hurgronje as an expert, academician and a politician in the field of Islamic affairs, whereas Hazeu and Rinke were as the linguists of Javanese language with the ability not only to interpret the language of the natives but also the culture, customs and the entire colony. The ability was really useful to help them in performing their tasks as the advisors of *Inlandsche Zaken*.

There is no *Inlandsche Zaken* archive in the collection of Hurgronje and Rinke. It was possibly because the archives might have been transferred to their successor (the advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken* after them, namely Hazeu). But, from the personal archives of Hurgronje which contain of the correspondences to his counterparts regarding the customs, rules, and cultures of the Muslims and Islam, we can see the way how Hurgronje collected information on the Muslims and Islam. He made connections to the insiders, made associations to the Muslims to gain valuable information. This was the method that was then followed by his successors in the *Inlandsche Zaken*.

The personal documents of Hazeu keep the information and work processes of *Inlandsche Zaken* during the period of 1899-1920. It contains detail information regarding the cases in a chronological order. The data and correspondences serve as supporting information that Hazeu used in making recommendations to the government. These documents showed to readers that in executing his tasks as the advisor, Hazeu worked earnestly and the recommendations that he made was based on a scientific research which could be proven formally.

The documents of *Inlandsche Zaken* in the collections are *geheim* (confidential) and even some of them are *zeer geheim* (extremely confidential). It means that mere officials in the government could not see the report. Only special and high officers could access them. This might reflect the assumption that the position of *Inlandsche Zaken* in the colonial government at that time was substantially important.

By keeping the documents for his own collections, Hazeu might want to show his emotions, which he could not share to anybody, towards the colonial administrations. As Catherine Hobbs argued that the *fonds* of an individual archive is a site where personality and the events of life interact in documentary form.⁹⁵ The extensive clipping of news from various newspapers that criticized Hazeu and his point of view showed that he tried to associate the

⁹⁵ Catherine Hobbs, 2001, 156.

government and the Muslims but he failed due to the absent support from the government. Moreover, Hazeu might want to be as close as possible to these archives because during this period, it was forbidden to access the confidential archives without having special permission from the governor general. So he wanted a direct access to these archives by keeping them under his private collection.

Having seen the arrangement of Hazeu's archives, it seems that the archivist arranged them by using the principle of provenance. It is done by showing the functionality of the archives in order to witness to a life of the creator, order them in relation to each other and 'place' them in the context of related activities.⁹⁶By using the principle of provenance, the detail of Hazeu, his works and the tasks and functions of *Inlandsche Zaken* can be presented. In his personal collection it seems that *Inlandsche Zaken* was Hazeu himself. His personal collection gave a detail picture on the situation of *Inlandsche Zaken* in the colonial administration at that time where internal conflicts and incompatible perceptions often occurred. This recordkeeping activity might be one of the efforts by Hazeu to struggle against the colonial power.

⁹⁶ Sue McKemish, "Evidence of Me", *The Australian Library Journal*, 45 (3), 2013, 176, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00049670.1996.10755757> , accessed on March 17, 2017.

CHAPTER III
HARDENINGS AND PARTINGS:
R.A. KERN, E. GOBEE AND G.F. PIJPER, 1921-1942

This chapter features the roles of R.A. Kern, E. Gobee, and G.F. Pijper as the advisors after Hazeu returned to Netherlands in 1920. There will be narratives on their roles in the *Inlandshe Zaken* in order to give a detail situation in the period of 1921-1942. The chapter also analyzes their personal archives and roles in the *Inlandsche Zaken*. The chapter will answer research questions on how the advisors conducted their tasks and functions, how the tasks and functions of *Inlandsche Zaken* were recorded in archives, what kinds of documents kept in the collections, what types of information kept in the archives, and how the documents were arranged.

III. 1. The Dawn of *Inlandsche Zaken*

After Hazeu left his position in 1920, *Inlandsche Zaken* struggled in gaining trusts of the colonial government. Most of the advisors were in conflicted situations with other departments and the governor general. The tension between the officers and the advisors were so intense especially during the conflicts between government and the Muslims. They were often alienated by the governor general and directors of departments especially whenever the conflicts between the colonial officers and the natives took place. Moreover, the situation in the Dutch East Indies at that time had changed tremendously. In the early period of *Inlandsche Zaken*, the native political parties and mass organizations did not exist.⁹⁷ The conflicts were only related to religious affairs between ethnic groups. However, after 1920s the emergence of the native political parties, press and nationalist movements grew vastly. In this period, the natives became so independent and modern that both the government and advisors did not fully prepare to anticipate them.

The following sections describe the descriptions of the advisors during the period of 1921-1942 and how they performed their tasks in the middle of the situation. The descriptions are important in order to give the background situation that happened in these periods.

III.1.1. R.A Kern, 1921-1926 (except 1923)

⁹⁷ Takashi Shiraishi, "A New Regime of Order: The Origin of Modern Surveillance Politics in Indonesia", in James T. Siegel & Audrey R. Kahin, *Southeast Asia over Three Generations: essays Presented R. O'G. Anderson*, Ithaca, Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2003, 61.

Rudolf Aernoud Kern (1875-1958) was the advisor who was originated from the *Department van Binnenlandsch Bestuur*. Possibly, he was appointed to be the advisor in order to lower the tension between the *Inlandsche Zaken* and *Binnenlandsch Bestuur* after Garut case in 1919-1920. Besides that, Hurgronje's influence in the *Inlandsche Zaken* was still strong that he preferred the candidate of the advisor as a figure who had a solid grounding in language and law.⁹⁸ However, although he was from the department of *Binnenlandsch Bestuur*, like other advisors, he also had different perspective with the department regarding the native affairs. During his service, he even accused his former fellows as being incompetent personnel who could not separate between private and political affairs.⁹⁹

By the time Kern was appointed as the advisor, there had been numerous challenges not only from the colonial officers which were unsympathetic to him, but also from the political condition in the colony which was hostile. The rise of a communist movement followed by the escalation of *Sarekat Islam* (SI) was undeniable. By 1921 the leading communist members had formally resigned from SI, taking some important branches of the local SI with them and then formed a new organization under the name the Nationalist Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia, PKI).¹⁰⁰ Moreover, there was also an agitation of Abdoel Moeis, the Member of the central committee of the CSI (Central *Sarekat Islam*) in the Residency west coast of Sumatra in April 1923. Kern also had to struggle with other officers including the high officers in order to maintain his tasks as the advisor. He had to learn from the experience that the function as the advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken* after Hazeu retired offered little opportunity for making decisive action and that an advisor was hardly taken seriously in the colonial atmosphere.¹⁰¹ The governor general sometimes agreed with him but mostly he only took for granted of what had been recommended by Kern. It was so hard for Kern to maintain the position of the advisor of the *Inlandsche Zaken*. Feeling so desperate and disappointed with the governor general, Kern once wrote:

“The post of advisor for Native Affairs entailed that one gave the Government – in the Netherlands Indies, this meant the Governor General – advice on all matters, if he wished to take it. In those days that related to the nationalist movement in all its manifestations and

⁹⁸ Michael Laffan, 2011, 217.

⁹⁹ Aqib Suminto, 1985,136.

¹⁰⁰ Justus M. van der Kroef, "The Role of Islam in Indonesian Nationalism and Politics", *Western Political Quarterly*, Mar 1, 1958, Vol.11(1), 33

¹⁰¹ B.J. Boland and I. Farjon,1983, 34.

purely Muslim affair. One can imagine that a Governor General with understanding of and sympathy for nationalism would deem it worthy of taking such advice, whereas on the other hand, another, who felt the correct way to proceed, was by running the country as a police state would feel no inclination to consult the advisor.”¹⁰²

Apart from the hardenings and partings, Kern enjoyed his capacity as a linguist and expert in the indigenous laws, cultures and customs in the bureau. During his reign, he ratified various religious jurisdictions and self government for the Muslims in the colony, such as Islamic education, religious taxes, the pilgrimages, mosques, property in mortmain. All of these documents made *Inlandsche Zaken* officially become the bureau of religious affairs. These documents had been published by the *Kantoor voor Volklectuur* and were well recorded in the personal archives of Kern.

III.1.2. E. Gobeë, 1923, 1927-1937¹⁰³

Emile Gobeë was first appointed to be the acting advisor in 1922-1923. He was assigned to be the advisor when R.A. Kern was on a leave to Netherlands. In 1926 he went back for his position as the advisor until 1937. He was Hurgronje's student at Leiden University when he studied Arabic in 1915. Due to his ability in mastering Arabic language, Hurgronje proposed Gobeë to be the consul at Djeddah until 1921. He was then transferred to a position as the advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken* due to the communist and subversive political activities outside the colony that might influence the nationalist and Muslim movement in the Indies. Prior to his service, Hajjis traveling to and fro the Middle East became prime suspects in the transmission of subversive politics between pan-Islamic and anti-colonial movements in the Middle East and political agitators and groups such as PKI in Southeast Asia in the 1920s.¹⁰⁴ It was one his main task as the advisor to monitor closely the Hajjis traveling.

As the advisor, he also had to do surveillances to the Muslims and Arabs in the colony who made contacts with Mekkah and Djeddah. Besides that, he was assigned to give counsel to

¹⁰² Michael Laffan, 2011, 217.

¹⁰³ E. Gobeë was born on December 3, 1881. Before he became the advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken*, he was the second lieutenant at the Royal Naval Institute in 1901, aspirant-controleurtijd in Menado (1908-1910), consul at Djeddah (1917-1921). Source from, *Guide and Concordance to Papers of Colonial Advisors on Politics, Culture and Religion in the Netherlands Indies, c. 1895-1949 Part 2. Papers of Emile Gobeë (1881-1954) Period 1908-1951 on Microfiche*, (Amsterdam: Moran Micropublication, 2009): 5 and <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn5/gobeë> accessed on March 20, 2017.

¹⁰⁴ Kris Alexanderson, "A Dark State of Affairs": Hajj Networks, Pan-Islamism, and Dutch Colonial Surveillance during the Inter war Period", *Journal of social history*, Vol.47(4), 2014, 1025.

the government in all matters which related to nationalist and Muslim movements.¹⁰⁵ However, the position of the advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken* was no longer prominent to the governor general. Possibly it was because Gobebe always held more trusts on the Muslims and natives that they were able to manage their affairs by themselves. He argued that the government should only have monitored and guided them.¹⁰⁶ The governor general opposed this perspective. As a result, Gobebe was often alienated in the colonial administration and his recommendations were never approved by the governor general. Despite the conflicted position with the government, Gobebe enjoyed his position among the natives and Muslims. He was even awarded by *Hoofd Bestuur van Muhamadiyah* (Islamic organization) in Jogjakarta as the best colonial officer, for his warm and wise attitude.¹⁰⁷ He was willing to open his office just to hear the complaints from the natives and Muslims to the government. This made him to be the most respected colonial officer at that time.

III.1.3. G.F. Pijper, 1937-1942

Guillaume Frédéric Pijper was the last advisor of the *Inlandsche Zaken*. After 1942 the Dutch East Indies was occupied by the Japanese and all colonial administration in the colonial region was expelled. He was an advisor who mastered several indigenous languages with his specialty on theology and oriental languages. Before serving as the advisor, he was appointed as the assistant of advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken* (1932-1937). He was the witness of the dawn of *Inlandsche Zaken* in colonial administration starting from the era of Kern then ended in his own era as the advisor. During his service at the office, Pijper showed his concerns on Islamic Movements and the figures who involved. Like Snouck Hurgronje, Pijper had his own particularly Christian take on Islam.¹⁰⁸ His argument on Islamic movement in the colony was much influenced by his teacher, Snouck Hurgronje. When he was sitting as the assistant of Kern and then later under Gobebe's direction, he frequently had correspondences with Snouck Hurgronje discussing on matters related to Islam and its movement. Prior to his period as the advisor, the situation in the colony was in chaotic. There were conflicts between the modernists

¹⁰⁵ During his period as the advisor, Gobebe had to deal with the rise of nationalist movements in the colony, such as the rise of PNI (the Indonesian Nationalist party under Soekarno), PKI (Communist Party) and Islamic Movement such as (congress Al Islam).

¹⁰⁶ Aqib Suminto, 1985, 144-147.

¹⁰⁷ Aqib Suminto, 1985, 143.

¹⁰⁸ Michael Laffan, 2011, 227.

and traditionalists Islamic organizations in the Indies.¹⁰⁹ The modernists under *Muhammadiyah* (an Islamic organization founded by the natives) urged to reform the foundation of Islam which was pure from *adat* and customs' influences. The traditionalist which at that time was being supported by the advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken*, on the other hand, refused the idea.¹¹⁰ Although Gobee, the advisor at that time, acted on behalf of the government, the real situation at that time was that he and *Inlandsche Zaken* was alone. The government did not support him. What made things worse were that due to his plea for the traditionalists, Gobee was mistrusted by the natives.

The mistrust continued when Pijper was appointed as the advisor in 1937. Many Indonesians had lost their patience for being patronized by the Dutch colonial government, not to mention the *Inlandsche Zaken* as the office of native affairs.¹¹¹ Moreover, as the advisor, Pijper chose not to involve more on political matters in the colony. He argued that the tasks and functions of advisor and *Inlandsche Zaken* should be only on investigations deeply on Islamic affairs based on secret researches.¹¹² His opinion seemed to be much influenced by Hurgronje's point of view on Islam in the colony. Of course, it was not relevant anymore with the current situation at that time. Most natives urged the government to be more open. Secretive actions would cause more troubles to the government. Thus, the result that happened was that nobody in the government supported his argument. This made him to be alienated from the colonial administrations especially in the political affairs in the colony. Until the end of *Inlandsche Zaken's* era, Pijper mostly acted as the translator rather than as an advisor.

III.2. Personal Archives of Kern, Gobee and Pijper

In dealing with their tasks and functions as the advisors of *Inlandsche Zaken*, Kern, Gobee and Pijper created archives and documents that recorded all of their activities. These documents would serve as their accountability in the organization. The archives were mostly collected privately by themselves.

¹⁰⁹ Harry J. Benda, 1983, 86-89.

¹¹⁰ *Guide and Concordance to Papers of Colonial Advisors on Politics, Culture and Religion in the Netherlands Indies, c. 1895-1949 Part 2. Papers of Emile Gobee (1881-1954) Period 1908-1951 on Microfiche*, Amsterdam, Moran Micropublication, 2009, 5.

¹¹¹ Michael Laffan, 2011, 229.

¹¹² Aqib Suminto, 1985, 148-150.

In order to prove that the personal archives of the advisors keep the archives of *Inlandsche Zaken* and reflect their works, the analyses of their personal archives are required. Thus, in the following sections, there will be some analyses and descriptions of their personal archives. The analyses and descriptions of their personal archives are done in order to observe the policies that were implemented by these advisors. The analyses are done by taking some samples of documents from the collections and assessing the contents and context of the documents to see the background of creations, the purpose of creations, the function of documents, and the type of documents. There will be also an analysis of the arrangement of the collections that had been done by the archivists.

III.2.1 Personal Archives of R.A. Kern

The collection of Rudolf Aernoud Kern, (1875-1958) is kept at the library of the Leiden University under inventory number of H.797, H 1009, D H 724 en D H 794 and in the collection of J.W. Meijer Ranneft, 1907-1967, code number 2.21.121 at the National Archives of Netherlands in The Hague.¹¹³ The archives contain documents related to the works of Kern as the civil servant of the colonial government in 1896-1955. There are 11 boxes of archives and documents which were handed in the library. Nowadays, most of these archives have been duplicated in microfiches. The archives are divided based on the function of Kern in the government, namely, as the civil service: *Aspirant-controleur* in 1896-1902, *Controleur te Patjitan, residentie Madioen*, 1906-1908, *Controleur in de Preanger-regentschappen*, 1908-1911, *Assistent-resident te Brebes, residentie Pekalongan*, 1914-1917, *Assistent-resident te Modjokerto, residentie Soerabaja*, 1917-1920, *de assistent-residentie Modjokerto*, 1800-1850, *assistent-residentie Modjokerto*, 1819-1953, *advisor voor Inlandshe Zaken*, 1920-1926, and as a lecturer at Leiden University, *Lector en oud-adviseur voor Inlandse Zaken*, 1927-1955. The collection is one of the biggest documents which record the tasks and functions of *Inlandsche Zaken* as the bureau of religious affair.

¹¹³ In this research, the personal collection of Kern in Leiden University was used.

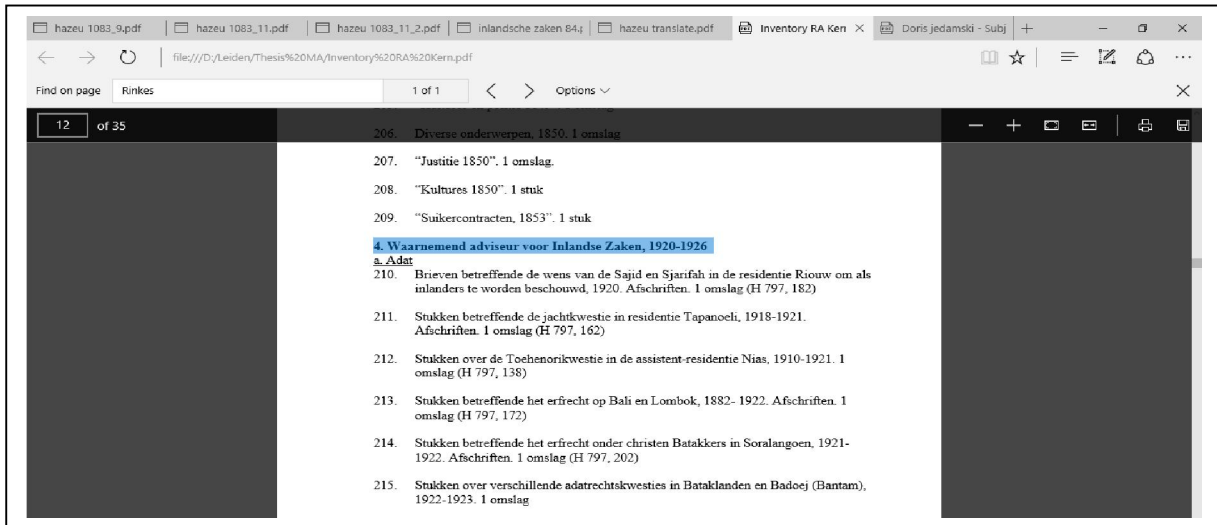


Image 8. List of item and sub item of archives of *Inlandsche Zaken* in Kern Collection¹¹⁴

Image 8 shows a list of item and sub items of archives of *Inlandsche Zaken* which was divided based on the function of the organization. There are nine categories for the items of archives. They are, *Adat* (customs), *Godsdienst* (religion), *Huwelijken* (Marriage), *Pelgrimkwesitie* (Pilgrim issues), *Gronden* (Land), *Verenigingen* (organization), *inlandse bewegingen* (indigenous movements), *andere politieke zaken* (other political matters), and *diverse onderwerpen* (miscellaneous topics). The items are then divided into sub items which consist of the details of documents and year of creation. It seems that the classification of the archives is based on the principle of provenance, where the archives were arranged based on the original order of Kern as an officer and a lecturer, and also related to the person who involved with him in his carrier (his former supervisor, Snouck Hurgronje and his successor E. Gobee, and other officers which relate to his function as the advisor such as the counselor general of Djeddah, local rulers and governor general). Each of the categories contains the process of drafting the regulations for the Muslims in the colony. The process included correspondences between local rules, surveys and interviews with some nobles in various regions. The interesting part was that these rules and regulations were different from one island to other islands, depending the customs and rules that applied in the regions. From the documents, it can be concluded that the basic foundation of regulating the religious affairs was not only from the religious perspective but also from the customs and mythology that was used in certain islands.

¹¹⁴ Leiden, KITLV, Kern Collectie, H. 797.

Most of the documents are copies from the original documents and a few of them are drafts made by Kern himself with his own notes and corrections. There are also reports from the officer of *Inlandshce Zaken* regarding the recommendation on certain cases, such as the case of the dispute of building a mosque in Tjilatjap in 1925. The officer in the report (which was the native officer) recommended that building a new mosque in Tjilatjap was not necessary because an old mosque already resided in the area. From this case, we can see that the role of advisor was not the solely figure who had to decide every case by himself. He could assign his staffs to do a research, survey, and interviews with the natives and decide which solutions that would be applied. Unlike the era of Hurgronje, Hazeu and Rinke who did the research and investigations by themselves, Kern did those differently. Image 9 below shows the report of Mas Djajengwasito. He was an officer of *Inlandsche Zaken* who did a survey in Tjilatjap and he delivered his recommendation based on his findings in the field.

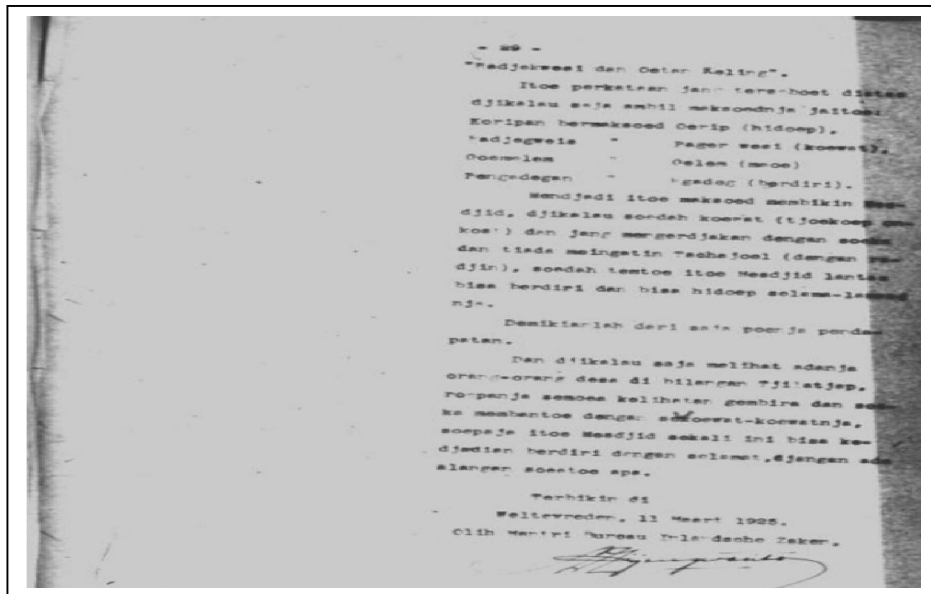


Image 9. The recommendation letter of the officer of *Inlandshce Zaken* on Tjilatjap affair¹¹⁵

From Image 9 we can see that Kern trusted his staff, who was actually the native and the Muslim to give recommendation to the Tjilatjap affair. It seems that Kern built the politics of “association” by giving more trusts to the natives and Muslims to solve their own problem and the government would only act as the controller. However, his viewpoint was once again

¹¹⁵ Leiden, KITLV, Kern Collectie, H. 797, Inv. Num. 250.

contradictive with most European officers in the government. The governor general disapproved his efforts.

For the type of documents, unlike the archives in Hazeu which are mostly *geheim* and *zeer geheim*, the documents in Kern, like what has been illustrated in image 9, are open documents. It was not classified possibly because the information written in the documents was not a secret. Moreover, it might also due to the roles of *Inlandsche Zaken* which was no longer important in the colonial administration or perhaps, Kern as an advisor did not want to attract the government's attention on the report. As Ann Stoler argues that classified documents served as a signal to direct attention and cued for one's repeated return to what knowledge should be valued and what their readers should know.¹¹⁶

III.2.2. Personal Archives of E. Gobee

The personal collection of Emile Gobee consists of the documents and archives related to him having numerous positions in the colonial government from 1908 to 1951. The documents were divided into nine parts following the chronological order of Gobee as the colonial officer in the Tentana en Poso, *afdeling* Menado, Consul in Djeddah, advisor of *Inlandsche Zaken* and lastly based on the topic of Islam and political party in Indonesia. There are 102 items in the collection which are kept under the inventory number KITLV H. 1085 at Leiden University library. Most of these archives have been duplicated in microfiches. For the collection related to the function of *Inlandsche Zaken*, it was divided into three items, namely *adat* (customs), Islam, and *politieke aangelegenheden* (political issues). Each of the items consists of sub items of brief descriptions on the documents. Having seen the collection, the type of documents and the way Gobee created his archives were quite similar like what had been done by Kern in his collection. In the documents, there are some regulations and rules for the Muslims in the colony. Moreover, the report and recommendations were not *geheim* (confidential). Most of letters and correspondences in the collection were official and had numbers and attachments as inseparable part of the letters.

Image 10 below is one of the reports by E. Gobee regarding his opinion on the regulation of the treasury for Mosques in Tjilatjap (central Java) in 1933. In the letter he argued that all Muslims had the rights to control the budgets, including the treasury for the development of the mosques. The government did not suppose to supervise attentively regarding this matter.

¹¹⁶ Ann L. Stoler, 2009, 27.

Afschrift.

20

Batavia, den 12de Januarij 1933.

No. 67/3-11.

Bijlagen: -

Onderwerp: Is de Moskeeën eene door het openbaar gezag opgerichte instelling.

Verwijzende naar Uw bevoenschrift van 30 September 1932 No. 2904/32, verzoeken 19 December d.a.v. en hier 21 December ontvangen, heb ik de eene "Hoogheidsontzage beleeft" mede te deelen, dat ook ik geneigd ben, de vraag of de Moskeeën kan worden gerekend te behooren tot de door het openbaar gezag opgerichte instellingen", ontienend te beantwoorden.

In wetsrechtboek VII, bladz. 297 - 311 vindt men gegevens over de herkomst en geschiedenis der dergenaamde Moskeekassen. Het blijkt, dat deze kassen haren oorsprong vinden in het korten van een bepaald percentage van de inkomsten welke de Parahoele en zijn personeel, uit de huwelijksgelden, soms ook uit de dijkst of dijkst, gewoon waren te trekken, en het blijkt tevens dat deze kasting diende om te kunnen beschikken over een fonds waaruit men de gewone kosten van den eeredienst kon bestrijden. Aan de zijde, welke de Parahoele's verplichtte, uit hunne deel der bevolking opgebrachte inkomsten het noodige af te zonderen voor het onderhoud van moskeeën en voor andere behoeften van den eeredienst, is een vaste vorm gegeven door de instelling van Moskeekassen, stichtingen welke voornamelijk, maar zelfs Europeesche bestuurambtenaren het initiatief hebben genomen. Men mag echter spreken, dat Indische en Europeesche bestuurambtenaren niet qualitate jur te instelling bevorderen hebben maar slechts gebruik gemaakt hebben van hunne sociale en zakelijke invloed te verkrijgen op de besteding van gelden, rechtens der Parahoele's of hunne ondergeschikten toebehoorende. Het is alomteen bekend, dat er vroeger een aantal misbruik gemaakt is van de dergenaamde Moskeekassen, die voor veel vonden dat niet het onderhoud van moskeeën te maken had.

Men kan daarom, a.n.m., niet spreken van de Moskeekassen als van "door het openbaar gezag opgerichte instellingen" in den zin van artikel 11 sub 9 der Regeling van 1921. Nochtan ook als van "van Landwege beheerde fondsen", naar de "ongede Overheidsbevoens" met de Moskeekassen juist het doel heeft gehad, de kassen onder zelfstandig beheer te plaatsen en overheidsbevoens te verminderen.

Het gevolg van deze slotzin zal zijn, dat voor de bewijzen van ontvangst voor betalingen uit de Moskeekassen wel regelrecht verantwoord zal zijn. K.I. in dit lang zoo ons niet, als dat de Moskeekassen, beschouwd worden als "door het openbaar gezag opgerichte instellingen" of als van Landwege beheerde fondsen", t. l. kent voorzeker zouden worden vanwege de Genevise "thesaurie". Dit zou ontevredenheid wekken, men beschouwt Moskeekassen nu eenmaal als gelden die alleen der Korinnische werkdienst dienen, en het de laatste hervorming van het beheer der Moskeekassen is er controle aangebragt op, dat er geen ongerechtigheden met de gelden gebeuren.

De Adviseur voor Inlandse Zaken,
W. G. G. G. G.

A.G.

Image 10. A recommendation letter from E. Gobe to Resident van Priangan on January 12, 1933¹¹⁷

From the letter, we might conclude that Gobe was trying to conduct his “association” policy by granting more independency to the natives. The government should have only monitored them from afar. As for his personal collection, it seems that he kept the documents as the evidences of his works as an advisor, a colonial officer working and having relationship with other officers

¹¹⁷ Leiden, KITLV, E Gobe Collectie, H. 1085, Inv. Num. 21.

in colonial administration.¹¹⁸ Through his archives, he showed the real Emile Gobeë as the advisor who tried to tame the Muslims in the colony by giving them more freedom to take care of their matters and the government only guided them.

III. 2.3 Personal Archives of G.F. Pijper¹¹⁹

The collection of G.F. Pijper was divided into three categories, namely scholarly notes, manuscripts and correspondences. For the collection of scholarly notes, it was kept under the inventory number Or. 26.337. The scholarly notes were arranged by Pijper himself according to subjects and are kept in 61 small portfolios. They are completed by various related documents like clippings, leaflets, letters, postcards and photographs. For the collection of manuscripts, it consists of nineteen pages of manuscripts, with texts in Arabic, Malay, Javanese and Sundanese, all documents are original and one of them was from Indonesia. They were collected by Pijper before Second World War (they are kept under the inventory number Or. 26.316-26.334). In the collection, Pijper also kept his correspondence with C. Snouck Hurgronje. They were kept under the inventory number Or. 26.335. The collection consists of the correspondence written between 8 January 1827 and 8 October 1935. However, none of these categories relates to the tasks and functions of *Inlandsche Zaken*. In the category of correspondence, Pijper did discuss about his tasks in the *Inlandsche Zaken* with Hurgronje whom he always asked on his advices and reported on situations in the colonial region. One of the examples of his letter was a report when he attended the meeting of *Muhammadiyah* in Bengkoelen in 1933. The letter also reported the Islamic movements in some areas in the colony. But in the letters, he did not mention his tasks and the reports in detail. The letter can be seen in image 11 below.

The archives created by Pijper which concern on the tasks and functions of *Inlandsche Zaken* are found in the collection of E. Gobeë in code number H.1085 inventory number 36 on "*Actie der Vereeniging Moehammadiyah in Benkoelen*". *Rapport opgesteld door de adjunct-adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken, 1933*. The type of documents in this inventory number was not *geheim* (confidential). Possibly, his report was used as archives for the process of drafting a recommendation of Gobeë for the governor general.

¹¹⁸ The concept of understanding that is used for Gobeë's personal archives is based on Sue Mckemmis, 2013, 175.

¹¹⁹ The archives are kept at the library of Leiden University and can be accessed online via the catalogue online of Leiden University library.

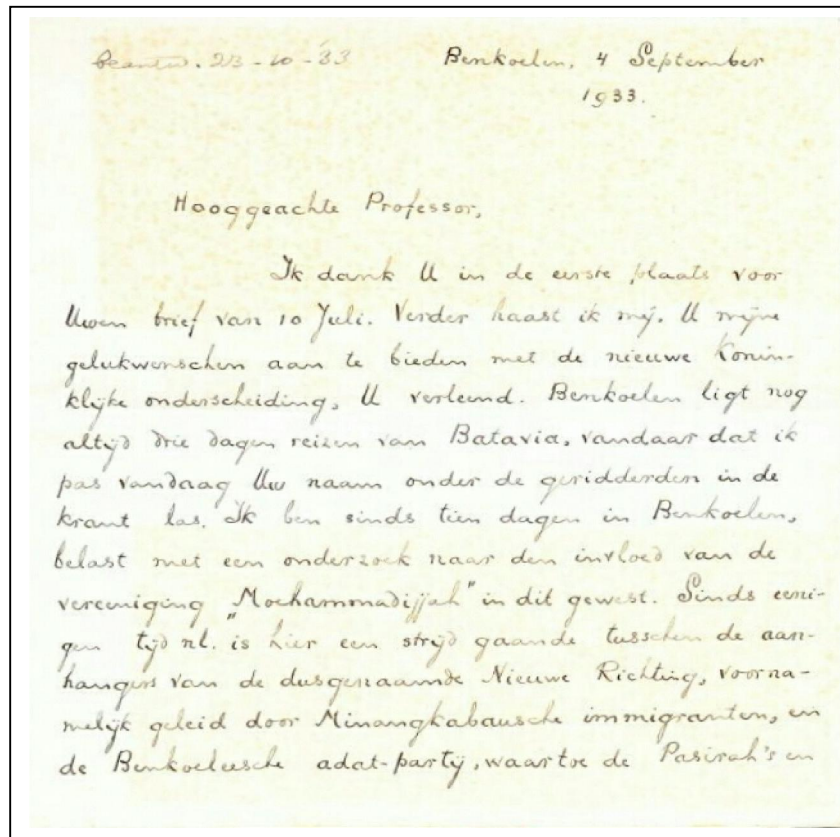


Image 11. A Letter from Pijper to Snouck Hurgronje on September 4, 1933¹²⁰

Image 11 shows the letter of Pijper to Hurgronje regarding his task in Bengkoelen. From the letter it can be seen that he participated in the meeting *Muhammadijah* as the government officer to monitor the organization. In his report, he argued that the task of an officer from *Inlandsche Zaken* should have been only as a supervisor who controlled his/her subordinates from afar.

III.3. Conclusion

Since Hazeu left his position as the advisor, *Inlandsche Zaken* had been in difficult situations due to the mistrusts from the governor general and other departments. Moreover, the rising of political tension and the more independent and modern thinking of the natives worsen the situation. The advisors tried a new approach to anticipate the movement by giving more

¹²⁰ Lieden, KITLV G.F. Pijper Collectie, Inv. Num. Or. 26.335.

chances to the natives, including the Muslims to be more independent. The advisors only served them as a guide, followed them, and monitored them from afar. However, their approach was a failure due to the lack of support from the government and the rise of mistrusts of the natives.

Analyzing the collection of Kern and Gobee, it seems that *Inlandsche Zaken* in their periods was no longer essential for the government. The advisor might not have strong influence to the governor general because most documents in the archives are copies of government documents and they were open for public. Kern and Gobee kept the archives probably in order to remember, to remind, to be reminded and also for their own evidence of their works in the colonial government and how the government perceive their achievements. The drafts of letters in their collection show the fact that they wanted to record their work processes until finally it became their output in the organization. This archiving function could be concluded as archives serve as the evidence of its creator.¹²¹

Even though the tasks and functions of *Inlandshce Zaken* were not recorded in the personal collection of Pijper, but the general condition of *Inlandsche Zaken* was pictured in his collection. His archives depicted *Inlandsche Zaken* as an organization which was on the edge. No parties dared to concur with the organization. In his correspondences with Snouck Hurgronje, he described how Gobee tried hard to convince the government based on the occurrences but the governor general did not approve at all.

Having seen the arrangement of Gobee, Pijper and Kern's private collections, it seems that the archivist arranged them by using the principle of provenance. By grouping the archives based on the principle in chronological order, it might help the users to capture the real person of these advisors. The archivists ordered them in relation to each other and 'placing' them in the context of related activities.¹²²

¹²¹ Sue McKemmish, 2013, 175.

¹²² Sue McKemmish, 2013, 176.

CHAPTER IV

THE REALM OF PERSONAL ARCHIVES OF THE ADVISORS

After analyzing the roles of the advisors and their personal archives in the previous chapters, this chapter describes the reflection of their archives and the archival consequences of the collections to the *Inlandsche Zaken*. This chapter will answer the research question on what were the archival consequences of personal collections of the advisors to the *Inlandsche Zaken*.

IV. 1. The Bond between Archives and Organization

Archives are bound to the coherent work process.¹²³ It is in the archive we can see the work process of the organization. For the *Inlandsche Zaken*, its archives were mostly recommendation letters and advice because *Inlandsche Zaken* worked by giving recommendations and reports as the output goals. It was in the reports and recommendations that the real *Inlandsche Zaken* appeared.

The advisor was the sole figure who played a central role in the *Inlandsche Zaken*. He was the actor behind the work process of *Inlandsche Zaken*. As Theo Tomassen argued that the bond between archives, work processes and actors are much close to each other in the organization.¹²⁴ Thus, the archives and documents were bound to the advisors. Therefore, it might serve an explanation of why the archives of *Inlandsche Zaken* were kept under the personal records of the advisors in the period of 1899-1942.

Records and archives have in common that they are linked to the process that produced them.¹²⁵ Dealing with its daily tasks, *Inlandsche Zaken* had to give recommendations and reports to the governor general through *Algemene Secretarie*, directors of departments in the Dutch East Indies (such as *Binnenlandsch Bestuur*) and the Ministry of the Colonies. These colonial institutions were linked to the process of the creation of the archives of the *Inlandsche Zaken*. Therefore, the archives of *Inlandsche Zaken*, besides being kept by the advisors, possibly

¹²³ Theo Tomassen, 2001:374.

¹²⁴ Theo Tomassen, 2001: 375.

¹²⁵ Theo Tomassen, 2001:374.

might be found in these institutions under the name of recommendations and reports by the advisors.

IV. 2. Access, Restrictions for Colonial Archives

Almost everyone, including an organization, a small and big one, keeps archives as a part of their life. The archives contain documentations from the past as a memory, proof and accountability of someone's existence in the family, in an organization and society. It also occurred with the politicians and high officials who worked during the colonial period in the Dutch East Indies. They created archives for the sake of the organization and at the same time for their own presences in the colonial administration. However, during the period of colonial administrations, all archives were restricted for everybody including for the creating agencies.

It was difficult to access the archives at that time and all archives created were closed for public according to the Royal Decree 1854. The Decree stated that, without explicit permission of the government, no one in the colonies was allowed 'to access or to provide copies or excerpts of government records or records of any other institution of public administration, [...] [and was] not allowed to publish [...] or to possess any record that is not required for conducting his duties'.¹²⁶ The regulation also urged to all high officials in the colonies to transfer all of their archives, including personal collection to the government soon after they retired from their positions.

In the meantime, in 1892, the *Landsarchief* (the archives of the colonial government) was established. The archives had a function as the central repository of the colonial government's archives in the colony. However, even after its establishment, the accessibility of the archives was still limited. In order to access personal files or documents belonging to former civil servants, the interested parties must submit an official statement from the Dutch colonial government.¹²⁷ In the twentieth century, the access of archives was still highly restricted. De

¹²⁶ Charles Jeurgens, "The Bumpy Road to Transparency: Access and Secrecy in the 19th Century Records in the Dutch East Indies", in Fiorella Foscorini, Heather MacNeil, et.al. (ed), *Engaging with Records and Archives: Histories and Theories*, London, Facet Publishing, 2016, 140.

¹²⁷ Intan Lidwina, "Het Landsarchief, de plaats waar de Herinnering aan het Verleden Ligt, The History of the Landsarchief in Indonesia (1892-1942), Unpublished Master Thesis, Leiden University, 2012, 3.

Archiefwet 1918, article 1 mentioned that all archives and documents kept at the archives repositories were restricted to everyone and any form of duplication was not allowed.¹²⁸

Apart from these restrictions, all politicians and high officers in the colonial administration were obliged to conduct their daily tasks and functions to the best of their abilities. But, in dealing with their tasks, they needed archives. Without archives, no satisfactory answer could be provided to questions such as: what did we do to produce and how, what means were available for doing this and how could they be used, what agreements had been made and what commitments had been taken on and how did these come to be, etc.¹²⁹ This is the process by which archives are bound the information they contain. It is the information generated by work processes that are all connected. The information is structured and recorded by these processes in such a way that it may be accessed from the context of the work processes.¹³⁰ However, the restrictions of access by the government could cause troubles for many officers including the advisors of *Inlandsche Zaken*. For the advisors, such as Hazeu, Kern and Gobee, after they retired from their positions, they went back to Netherlands, leaving everything including their works in the Dutch East Indies. There was no guarantee at that time that the archives were safe from the disposition. They could be directly disposed of because what they wrote in the archives sometimes was controversial. The government might ban everyone including the advisors themselves to access the archives. For the advisors who had been disillusioned by the government such as Hazeu, Kern, and Gobee, they might become hesitant to transfer their archives to the government because they wrote many contradictive perspectives towards the government. Furthermore, these advisors worked as researchers in doing their tasks. They needed to do analysis on certain cases that happened at that time and in the past. To make a good analysis they needed archives and documentations from the past. That was why almost all advisors made copies of the *Inlandsche Zaken's* archives and kept the archives under their personal collections. They needed the archives in hand so that they could make analysis and decisions by themselves as soon as possible and at the same time to secure their own works.

¹²⁸ R. Fruin, *De Archiefwet 1918, Staatsblas no. 378 zooals Zij is Gewijzigd en Aangevuld bij de Wet van 14 Mei 1928 (Staatsblad no. 177), met Uitvoeringsvoorschriften*, Alphen Ann den Rijn, N. Samsom, 1929, 3.

¹²⁹ Theo Tomassen, 2001, 375.

¹³⁰ Eric Ketelaar, "The Archive as a Time Machine", Proceedings of the DLM-Forum 2002, access and preservation of electronic information: best practices and solutions Barcelona, 6-8 May 2002, INSAR European Archives News, Supplement VII, Luxembourg 2002, 576.

IV. 3. Type of Documents in the Realm of Personal Archives

Although most of the documents in the personal archives of the advisors were the original and copies from the official documents, since the trio Dutch (Muller, Feith and Fruin) stated that official records are documents which are received or produced by administrative bodies or officials in their official capacity, documents received and produced by the members of the administrative bodies and private letters to the officials,¹³¹ it might be concluded that they only serve as semi-official files. They functioned as semi-official files because they were kept in the private collections. They do not belong to the official organisational memory, but to a twilight zone: it is neither strictly private, nor strictly official.¹³² The personal archives of the advisors did not end up in the official files but in the hands of the advisers for use as the civil servant, so they were less complete and authentic. For the records and archives which are kept in the convenience file of the politicians and other officers, official records are not considered as official records.¹³³ The original documents of the recommendations, letters, and advices from the advisors which were kept in the collection of the Ministry of Colony and *Algemene Secretarie* held a role as the official files because they ended up in the official files.

With the exception of its function as semi-official document, as users, we do not have to differentiate between these archives. Whether they are official archives or not, they still can be reliable sources because they were created by the actors of the organization. Moreover, since there is no collection under the name of *Inlandsche Zaken*, the collection of these personal archives can be used to form a link between the memory of the advisors and the organization. Sometimes the semi-official files have become so important that the official files can no longer give an authentic and reliable representation of what happened.¹³⁴ In the case of *Inlandsche Zaken*, it might be applied.

IV. 4. Reflections of the Personal Archives

When reading personal archives as the reliable sources of research, we have to bear in mind on their reflections. There is an intimacy in the personal archives not present in the collective, corporate archives which are formalized in the record-keeping system. These intimate elements

¹³¹ Muller, Feith and Fruin, *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives*, translated by Arthur H. Leavit, New York, The H.W. Wilson Company, 1968, 15.

¹³² Eric Ketelaar, 2002, 577.

¹³³ Eric Ketelaar, 2002, 577.

¹³⁴ Eric Ketelaar, 2002, 577.

are reflected not only in the content and organization of personal records, but come into play in the archivist's direct interaction with the creator/donor during appraisal, acquisition, and subsequent management of personal archives.¹³⁵

In the case of the personal collection of the advisors, the experiences recorded in the archival material include not just the acts and facts about their activities, but also their views, opinions, prejudices and emotional reactions concerning the publications of their works in media, opinions from their counterparts and the amount of work that they did are the intimacy points in their personal archives. Catherine Hobbs argued that the *fonds* of an individual archive is a site where personality and the events of life interact in documentary form.¹³⁶ These matters uncover much about the evolving personality and character traits of the advisors. Thus, as researchers, we have to pay attention on those points. They might play as the biases in the archives which could distort our perception. Nevertheless, besides serving as biases, these points also might reflect the psychological situation at that time. By reading these personal archives, we can feel the nuances of the time period in which the archives were created. This might be useful for developing our perspectives in building historical narratives.

IV. 5. Personal Archives of the Advisors as the Door of the Perception of Islamic Affairs

Terry Cook argued that archival principles are not fixed for all time, but, like views of history itself, or literature, or philosophy, they reflect the spirit of their times and then are interpreted anew by succeeding generations.¹³⁷ This is due to the archival principle; we can reflect and interpret the spirit of the creators, view the situation, the philosophy, and perceptions of the past. Consequently, the archival principle would open up our understanding of archival theory and methodology to other previously unimagined possibilities.¹³⁸ All of the personal collections of the advisors of *Inlandsche Zaken* are arranged in original order where all items are categorized based on a case or events. Every case contains specifications of activities and the relationship between the advisors and all parties involved. The archives then contain the relationship between the creators and the related parties and the activities. They are all arranged and described in the records in chronological order. This kind of method is parallel to what had been discussed by Jennifer Meehan:

¹³⁵ Catherine Hobbs, 2001: 127.

¹³⁶ Catherine Hobbs, 2001: 127.

¹³⁷ Terry Cook, "What is Past is Prologue: A History of Archival Ideas Since 1898, and the Future Paradigm Shift," *Archivaria* 43, 1997, 21.

¹³⁸ Jennifer Meehan, "Rethinking Original Order and Personal Records", *Archivaria* 70, 2010, 29.

“Original order is ultimately concerned with the relationships between records and activities, the assumption being that the internal relationships of a body of records bear a direct relation to the development of the specific activity or activities that gave rise to the records”.¹³⁹

By analyzing the relationship between the activities, emotions, events and archives in the personal archives of the advisors of *Inlandsche Zaken*, I might come to two conclusions. First, their archives were connected by Snouck Hurgronje’s ways of thinking of Islam in the colony. Second, although they are connected to each other, there are different perspectives of the advisers in managing the religious affairs in the Dutch East Indies.

All archives, even though they were different to each other, showed similar basic foundations, namely “to associate the Muslim and the government in the colony”. The policy was first issued by Snouck Hurgronje when he established the organization and then his successors followed his path in implementing the policy. However, the ways they implemented the policy was different. Hazeu, for example, in his archives connected the government and the Muslims with his way of thinking that all nobles in the colony including the Muslim nobles were partners of the government. For Rinke, he connected the Muslims and the government by entering the inside body of their organization (*Sarekat* Islam organization), whereas Kern and Gobe used *adat* and customs of the natives for associating the government and the Muslims. Then, Pijper followed his predecessors to associate the Muslims with the government by giving more chances to the natives in deciding their ways of life. However, in their execution, each of the advisors used different approaches and perceptions in associating the natives and the government. Their archives also show how these differences were applied. For the period of 1899-1920, for example, the natives were the subject of research by the advisors. In their eyes, the nobles (including the Muslims) had to be monitored closely. Furthermore, based on the arrangement on Hazeu’s collection, which is based on cases in chronological order, it could be assumed that *Inlandsche Zaken* controlled political issues in the colony.

For the period after 1920s to 1942, the natives were given more independence to decide their own matters and the advisors only guided them from afar. The type independence for these natives was reflected in the arrangement of the personal archives of Kern and Gobe. The arrangement was on the basis of three functions of *Inlandsche Zaken* (*Adat*, Islam and Political Issue). Based on this arrangement, I might assume that it was not actually a full

¹³⁹ Jennifer Meehan, 2010, 35.

independent for the natives in this time period. It was a controlled independence with certain rules and regulations. In the archives, *Inlandsche Zaken* issued these rules to be executed by the natives.

IV. 6. Archival Consequences

The shifting function of *Inlandsche Zaken* in the colonial bureaucracy also had an impact on the changes in the creation of the archives. When *Inlandsche Zaken* was a bureau of translation, the translation activities were the major outputs of the organization. The creation of documents after the shifting of *Inlandsche Zaken* was more complicated since they created not only translations but also documents of researches, analyses, recommendations, advices and correspondences to and from various organizations. The amount of documents which had been created also doubled following the complexity tasks of *Inlandsche Zaken*. The shifted documents were the first archival consequence that happened in this organization.

After shifting into a bureau of religious affairs, the actor responsible for the operational organization was also shifted. It was the advisor who became the sole figure in the *Inlandsche Zaken*. The advisor was also the actor who created the archives for the *Inlandsche Zaken*. Therefore it might explain on the location of the archives which are kept under the names of the advisors because they were closely linked to the actor who created them. The close relation between these two becomes the second archival consequence for the *Inlandsche Zaken*.

Being an actor of the organization, the advisors needed archives to support their tasks and functions. The archives in their hands played as the source of data, details and analysis in giving recommendations and reports to various officers in the government. To produce recommendations and analysis for the government, the advisers needed archives in hand. The need for accessing these archives made them creating their own private archives collection. The private collection of the advisors of *Inlandsche Zaken* is the third archival consequence.

The last archival consequence for the private collection of *Inlandsche Zaken* was the quality of the archives as a source of research. As the archives were kept under the private collections of the advisors, there was no guarantee of the originality and purity of the information kept inside the collections. Moreover, the personal collection of the advisors includes not only the acts and facts about their activities, but also their views, opinions, prejudices and emotional reactions concerning the publications of their works in media, opinions from their counterparts and the amount of works that they did.

CONCLUSION

After analyzing the personal archives of the five advisors, I might conclude that the archives of *Inlandsche Zaken* are found in the personal collections of the advisors. The collections of Hazeu, Kern and Gobee preserve the most records on the information of the roles and work processes of the bureau. Besides preserving the information and work processes of the bureau, the private collections of these three advisors also keep the emotions, fragmented voices and perspectives of the five advisors regarding the colonial government.

This research on tracing and locating the archives of *Inlandsche Zaken* has revealed multidimensional perspectives of the advisors in managing the native and Muslim affairs in the Dutch East Indies in the 19th-20th centuries. Each of them, based on their personal records, had different understandings on the politics of association. Although Snouck Hurgronje initiated the politics of association as the basic foundation for the *Inlandsche Zaken* to resolve the native and Muslim affairs, the advisors after Hurgronje implemented the politics differently. Possibly, they had to reformulate the politics of association because there were some circumstances which forced them to adapt it.

As have been explained before that archives are bound to the actor in the organization. That serves the background of this research. However, the result of this research shows that it is not only the actor of the organization that is bound to the archives. The content and context of function of the archives might also serve as the ground to put the archives of *Inlandsche Zaken* under the names of the advisors. The archives preserved different perspectives of the advisors on the politics of association. The differences demonstrate the fact that these advisors worked and visualized the politics differently. It is true that the politics of association was their basis, but the way they managed and implemented it was totally different. If these archives were arranged under one collection, namely, *Inlandsche Zaken*, these differences would not have appeared.

The different perspectives and voices of the advisors in their personal collection demonstrate their real attitude in conducting their tasks. They acted not only as mere colonial officers, but also they were independent advisors, politicians, and academicians with their own perspectives and voices. Although all of them were closely related to Snouck Hurgronje, they still had freedom to interpret and implement the politics of associations to the best of their knowledge and capacities. This freedom was one of a new consequence that *Inlandsche Zaken*

might have after it shifted into the bureau of religious affairs. When *Inlandsche Zaken* was still the bureau of translation, it maintained the uniformity of policies, namely producing translations. The secretaries (the head executive of *Inlandsche Zaken* at that time) conducted translations based on the strict standards whereas after 1899 onwards, there was no strict standard or procedure in implementing the policies.

From the institutional perspective, in performing the tasks and functions as the bureau of religious affairs, *Inlandsche Zaken* had undergone some transformations. The first transformation was from the bureau of translation to the bureau of *Adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken* in 1870. Then, it shifted into the bureau of religious affairs in 1899. After that in 1917, it was divided into two organizations, namely *Inlandsche Zaken* with a function of bureau of religious affairs and *Kantoor voor Volklectuur* for the bureau of translation. As soon as *Inlandsche Zaken* was as the bureau of religious affairs, it gained full independence in responsibility and coordination. The transformation and shifting functions of *Inlandsche Zaken* showed a real sample of how bureaucratic evolution was done by the colonial government. It would have been a perfect transformation if it was fully supported by all agencies. However, in the case of *Inlandsche Zaken*, the government was not consistent in giving their full support to the advisors.

Related to the type of documents in the personal archives of the advisors and the role of *Inlandsche Zaken* in the period of 1899-1942, I might come to the conclusion that during the period from 1899 to 1920, *Inlandsche Zaken* was a very important organization because all recommendations and reports made by the advisors were classified or highly classified. This means that the information inside the documents was highly valued by the government and only high-ranked officers could access them. Moreover, during the period of 1889-1920, it seems the relationship between the government and the natives (nobles and local rulers) was merely between employers (government) and subordinates (natives). The employers secretly monitored their subordinates in every step. Nevertheless, after 1920s to 1942, the documents were open. This would mean that *Inlandshce Zaken* was not so important anymore. All officers could access the documents without exceptions. Additionally, it might also be possible that during these periods, the government wanted to be more open to the natives because at that moment they were more modern and educative. The secretive attitude would not have been recommended anymore to control them.

Having seen the locations of the archives of *Inlandsche Zaken* which have been divided in various places, namely at National Archives of Indonesia in Jakarta, National Archives of

Netherlands in The Hague and in Leiden University library, I might recommend that there should be an archive guide with the explanation of the locations of the archives of *Inlandsche Zaken*. The guide could consist of the lists of archives of *Inlandsche Zaken* from period 1820 (which are kept at the National Archives in Jakarta) to 1942 (which are kept at the National Archives of Netherlands and the Leiden University library). The guide would open up a new access for the archives regarding the colonial perspectives on Islamic and nationalist movements in the 19th-20th centuries. The archives of *Inlandsche Zaken* might preserve many detail information on how the colonial government used and produced their knowledge to maintain their power and the different interpretations on every conflict that happened at that time. This research, then, would be the foundation in bridging the information preserved in the archives of *Inlandsche Zaken*.

This research opens up a new method in arranging the personal archives of the politicians who served the colonial government, like the advisors of *Inlandsche Zaken*. During their services in the colonies, many politicians and high officers kept their archives in their private collections. Many of these archives were transferred to the National Archives or the libraries after they passed away. There is still no standard and procedure of the arrangement of these archives. After analyzing the arrangement of the personal collections of the advisors, I might suggest that there are three important points in the personal archives that need to be observed before arranging them. First, we have to see the organization in which the politicians served for. The archives which were kept in their private collections might be the part of the archives of that organization. By connecting the archives to the organization there would be a chance for an archivist to link the archives with other archives which might relate to each other. Second, we have to analyze the content of the archives. What kinds of information recorded in the archives? By analyzing the content, we can formulate the method of arrangement, whether it is in chronological order or in other concepts of arrangement. Third, we have to see the functional context of the archives. Were the archives created for the need of an organization or for the creators' private purpose?

Finally, this research is the first impression made from some samples of archives from the personal collections of the advisors. It still opens up new arguments and questions on why the archives of the advisors recorded different types of documents and advices for the organization between the period of 1899-1920 and 1921-1942. Moreover, since the personal archives of the *Inlandsche Zaken* do not belong to the official organisational memory, but to a twilight zone: it is neither strictly private, nor strictly official. It would be interesting to

elaborate more on the realm of this twilight zone. Are they reliable enough to be the main source of research comparing to official archives? Moreover, it still opens up a question on how to make a good arrangement for these personal archives. Should these archives be arranged only on the basis of the principle of original order, or is there another effective method?

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