



WESTERN CIVILIZATION IN JAVANESE VERNACULAR

**Colonial education policy
Java 1800-1867**

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Preface

The picture on the cover is a Javanese civil servant, employed by the Dutch colonial government as a teacher - *mantri goeroe*. He is seated together with a pupil on the left and a servant on the right. The servant and the *sirih*-box for betel nuts imply his high social status. Both the title and this picture refer to Dutch colonial education policy where western and Javanese normative culture created an amalgamation from which the *Inlandsche school* developed.

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Introduction

No! It is our sacred duty, our calling, to give that poor brother, who had lived in the wastelands of misery and poverty, the means with which he, the sooner the better, could share in our happier fate completely equal to us!¹

The Age of Enlightenment and revolution had shaken the world at the end of the 18th century to its core. Ideals on how states should be governed became reality and those ideals were transferred to policy. The most lasting concept reminding us of these ideals is that of the 'institution'. The institution became the flesh of the ideals enlightened thinkers had for the state, it was an established organization, such as a museum or a ministry, having a large influence on society. According to Charles Taylor, the institutionalizing of society meant the modelling of the state according to an idealistic set of blueprints that were produced by professionalized policymakers.²

When concerned with the institutions that were founded, none of them had as much influence as those of education. Public schools became an important device to educate a society according to the ideals of the enlightenment. According to a Dutch missionary as cited above, education had a function of civilizing. Moreover, a publication by the government of the Batavian Republic (1795-1801), displays a similar objective behind education:

The Society (Maatschappij tot nut van 't algemeen) wants that The Enlightenment and civilization should be extended to its members. Education in elementary schools, as being the first source of a more general

¹ J.C. Neurdenburg, 'Van welke taal moeten de zendelingen in de Molukken en in de Menahasa zich bij de verkondiging des Evangelies bedienen?' *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap; Bijdragen tot de Kennis der Zending ender Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 50-1 (1859) 113.

"Neen! het is onze heilige pligt en roeping, om dien armen broeder, die reeds zoo veel langer dan wij, in de woestenij van ellende en gebrek ronddwaalde, het middel in de hand te geven, waarmede hij, hoe eer hoe beter, in ons gelukkiger lot, een deel erlangt, geheel gelijk aan het onze!"

² Charles Taylor, "Modern Social Imaginaries," *Public Culture*, 14-1 (2002).

enlightenment and civilization originates, should be taken care of according to general laws.³

When concerned with The Enlightenment in the colony of the Netherlands-Indies, it is important to note Frederick Cooper's *Colonialism in question*. There, Cooper is concerned with a concept which he coined 'colonial modernity'. This modernity was ideally shaped the relation the colonial subject had toward the states through institutions. Cooper identified that colonial modernity is a paradox, for he regards colonialism itself as an atavistic practice because conservative powers from Europe would be able to attain the absolute power of the former aristocracy as colonial administrators. However, colonialism also turned those administrators to the political and ethical venture of governing colonial subjects alongside the normative path of the trans-Atlantic world. He then asks whether we may speak of a colonial modernity. He furthermore warns us that we should not mistake: "arguments within colonial regimes for an essence of colonial rule in the "modern" era" to understand that modernity and colonialism are two very distinct concepts that often become entangled in history writing.⁴

Cooper continues by arguing that the historians of India make the most vigorous case for modern governmentality in the colony. In India, colonial administrators placed a great importance in employing institutions. Countering this perspective, Cooper argued that colonial institutions were maladjusted to cope with the collectivity colonial subjects were placed in. The weakness of the new quasi-bureaucratic elite was reflected in its disappointing records in economics, health and education.⁵ However, he concludes, there was a 'modern project' that shaped the structures wherein historical processes are discussed.⁶ To summarize, what Cooper defines as 'modern' is not necessarily a

³ P. Th. F. M. Boekholt e.a. *Tweehonderd jaar onderwijs en de zorg van de Staat* (2002) 354.

"De maatschappij wil dat de verlichting en beschaving onder hare leden zoveel mogelijk worden bevorderd. Het onderwijs in de lagere school, als zijnde de eerste bron waaruit een meer algemene beschaving en verlichting kan voortvloeien behoort te worden geregeld en aan bepaalde en eenparige wetten verbonden.

⁴ Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (2005) 143

⁵ Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 144.

⁶ Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 147

quantitative product, but a changing understand of how colonial subjects were positioned within the colonial state through institutions.

An enlightened thinker such as Daendels was also concerned with the position of the Javanese colonial subjects toward the colonial government. Governor-general Daendels arrived in Batavia in 1808. With his arrival, the Netherlands-Indies, a bulwark of conservatism but also corruption from the late VOC-era, entered the realms of revolutionary Europe. Daendels' vision concerned institutionalizing of the colony. He appointed a committee for education and set out the first ideas for policy to implement an education system for the Javanese peoples. From the times of Daendels onward, the people who had to be civilized and educated were firstly the nobility, *priyayi*, as their position became increasingly important in the colonial administration. Secondly, the colonial administrators argued that common Javanese people that were considered to be talented should be given the opportunity to receive an education, ideally to later function within the colonial bureaucratic ranks. The mission civilisatrice therefore was bearing a universalistic characteristic.

However, the Netherlands-Indies was governed through a dualistic system: the *Binnenlands Bestuur* and the *Inlands Bestuur* wherein Dutch civil servants gave administrative tasks to the local nobility, *piyayi*. The colonial administrators tried to distance themselves from the Javanese people as much as possible within this dualistic system of rule. The Dutch increasingly facilitated this form of 'indirect rule' in the beginning of the nineteenth-century through restoring prestige and power of the *priyayi* regents, who were the heads of the *Inlands Bestuur*. Their position became hereditary and they were given the important task to administrate the plantations during the *cultuurstelsel* – an agricultural system of forced planting. Furthermore, Kees Groeneboer argues that Dutch was used as a language to furthermore enforce this distance, similar to the distance between Javanese social categories that was expressed through High and Low Javanese languages. In that construct, Low Javanese was spoken to servants whereas servants replied in High Javanese. A. Vandenbosch identified that Dutch colonial education was based on the idea of anti-assimilation. Therefore, it is unlikely that the Dutch had any

intention to 'civilize' all Javanese according to Dutch standards.⁷ Therefore, the colonial administration created a school system that was influenced by local Javanese traditions. The development of this system was resulted by an exchange of ideas about education between the Javanese and the Dutch that eventually created the possibility for the Javanese to receive an education at the *Inlandsche school*. In this thesis, the process of creating an education policy based on Javanese and European education systems will be presented as a synthesis. This practice of synthesis shall be associated with the rule of governor-general Godert van der Capellen (r. 1818-1826).

Van der Capellen's rule coincided with a period of turmoil, the aftershock of the British occupation and the beginning of the Java War (1825-1830). It also coincided with the founding of the Dutch colonial state based on the governance polity of 1818. During Van der Capellen's rule, Dutch power had to become consolidated by means of institutionalization and new concepts on governance that originated from the enlightenment. The later colonial presence in the Netherlands-Indies became therefore grounded on this consolidation. This also includes education policies, which became a topic of interest for Van der Capellen in 1819 but only developed very slowly throughout the nineteenth-century. This thesis will therefore pose that it was Van der Capellen's envisioning of a colonial education system that caused the synthesis within the later education system.

Researching a synthesis in colonial contexts is also a research of a paradox. A synthesis is based on universality and equality of concepts and understanding. In colonial practice, this was not the case: western civilization was understood by the Dutch as modern, progressive and better than the presupposed backward and static cultures of the 'east'. This problematizes our understanding of universality in the colony, as there were two education systems (one for Dutch children and one for the Javanese). However, universality and equality may be observed in policy wherein Javanese

⁷ A. Vandenbosch, 'The Effect of Dutch Rule on the Civilization of the East Indies', *American Journal of Sociology* 48-4 (1943), 498.

traditional education systems were not wholly rejected but rather newly 'invented' within a new colonial education policy.

The assumptions of anti-assimilation and synthesis counter with the general narrative on colonial education, which furthermore often studies the early 20th century. Gail Kelly and Philip Altbach, define colonial education as an attempt “to assist in the consolidation of foreign rule” and that “colonial schools [...] sought to extend foreign domination and economic exploitation of the colony”.⁸ Their reasoning was that colonial education was: “directed at absorption into the metropolis and not separate and dependent development of the colonized in their own society and culture”.⁹ Therefore, Kelly and Altbach argue that colonial education was a device to place colonial subjects within colonial power structures and away from traditional learning structures through assimilation. However, this research will offer a new perspective on colonial education policy. This perspective will assume that the colonial government needed schooled Javanese elites to function within the colonial bureaucracy and agricultural projects. However, in the nineteenth-century the colonial government did not create colonial education solely as a device to expand colonial rule, as they did not seek to assimilate Javanese into western values. The dualistic nature of the colony was much rather preserved. This approach will acknowledge the contemporary debate that consisted of idealistic aims to civilize the colony in the wake of the French revolution through a synthesis between western and Javanese education traditions.

I will explore how ideas about European and Javanese education have contributed to colonial indigenous education policy in nineteenth-century Dutch Java. How was policy the result of cross-cultural dialogue (between European and Javanese elites) and how did that dialogue reflect changing ideas on colonial domination in general (e.g. assimilation versus segregation)? Since the thesis focuses on the making of educational policy it will highlight the role of Dutch policymakers in interaction with European and Javanese elites. Moreover, this thesis will investigate the connections with British-India

⁸ Gail Kelly and Philip Altbach, *Education and the Colonial Experience* (1984) 2.

⁹ Gail Kelly, *Education and the Colonial Experience*, 4.

concerning colonial education policy, which will serve as an illustration of the discussions within the Dutch colonial administration and create an understanding of different concepts and pathways the colonial administrators were confronted with. Therefore, this thesis will trace how ideas on colonial education function within different spaces: the colonial spaces for the indigenous elites and the metropolitan spaces of empire for the European elites.

Contemporary research on the history of education in the Netherlands-Indies is very limited. It was a much-discussed topic before 1949. An influential work is I. J. Brugman's *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* from 1938.¹⁰ His work poses an overview of colonial education for Europeans and colonial subjects. It is also a testimony to Dutch progression as it was written in a colonial context. It displays that colonialism was essentially good for the colonial subjects, as the western dominators had the opportunity to introduce or force their own normative cultures upon them. However, contemporary work on the history of colonial education grew silent. Two exceptions of a more recent works are Hendrik Kroeskamp's *Early schoolmasters in a developing country* and a dissertation by J. E. A. M. Lelyveld, titled: '*...Waarlijk geen overdaad, doch een dringende eisch...*'. *Koloniaal onderwijs en onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië 1893-1942*. Kroeskamp posed that his 1974 book was written as a completion to Brugman's publication, as his intention was to add the history of pedagogy and didactics throughout the Indian Archipelago. His research is therefore preoccupied with practice rather than policy. In his dissertation from 1992, Lelyveld focuses on the time period after 1893, when the 'ethical politics' were enforced to develop education policy.¹¹ Lelyveld describes the period before 1893 as a merely preparative period. He investigated the determinants of education policy in the colonial society and measured its influence.¹² From this dissertation can be understood

¹⁰ I. J. Brugman, *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* (1938).

¹¹ Hendrik Kroeskamp, *Early schoolmasters in a developing country: a history of experiments in school education in 19th century Indonesia* (1974).

¹² J. E. A. M. Lelyveld, '*...Waarlijk geen overdaad, doch een dringende eisch...*'. *Koloniaal onderwijs en onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië 1893-1942* (PhD diss., Universiteit Utrecht 1992).

that the relationship of the colonial subjects to the colonial state changed during the time of ethical politics, as the state saw itself more preoccupied providing education for all the colonial subjects of the Netherlands-Indies.

This research will be involved with education policy and its subsequent institutions: ministries, committee's or schools. These institutions had a large influence within society. Then we speak of institutionalizing of society. Significant in this institutionalization is the changing position the colonial subjects had toward the colonial state - the state began to concern itself with their capacity to work within the expanding bureaucracy or the new agricultural program named *cultuurstelsel*. This historical process was set in motion by policy in the field of education. The education policy can therefore be taken as a way to understand the historical processes that were on hand within the early nineteenth-century Netherlands-Indies. This thesis, however, won't investigate the Javanese society in relation toward education policy. However, it will investigate how the process of reflective policy making (institutionalization) changed colonial domination in general.

Contrasting to Lelyveld, this research will consider the period before 1893 not as a preparative period. Rather, it will argue that this period is of central importance in understanding how and why colonial policy was made and what the historical understandings of Western and Javanese education were. Then, this research will contribute to the discussion on historical understandings of civilization, modernity and knowledge. However, to do so, it is important not to engage in quantitative records, as Cooper had argued. Rather, there will be another perspective introduced in this research: the Javanese. As there was a dual system of colonial governance, it was important for the Dutch to understand what the Javanese wanted. The Dutch asked questions on the Javanese customs and traditions in order to use those in their colonial policies. Therefore, a research on colonial governance policies inevitably asks us to consider the Javanese in order to understand how and why policies were made.

This research will consist of three parts. The first part will investigate on the ideals from enlightenment thinking in the Netherlands and ask how these

ideals influenced government policy in the Netherlands-Indies. It will cover: 1) ideals from The Enlightenment in Europe and how The Enlightenment influenced government policy in the Netherlands and the Netherlands-Indies? And: what were the ideals and ambitions of the colonial government? This will be concerned with education policy in the Bataafse Republiek (1795-1806), the Koninkrijk Holland (1806-1810) and the years of Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp (1762-1834) who drafted the constitution of 1818. These periods of Dutch history are important to Dutch colonial history as many statesmen had been sent to the Netherlands-Indies. Therefore, a close connection can be expected between what happened in the Netherlands and causatively in its colony. Then, the focus will move to the Netherlands-Indies from the last years of the VOC onward: 2) what were the ideals and ambitions of the colonial government? Two main characters formulate the position of the colonial government before 1816. They were Gijsbert Karel's brother, Dirk van Hogendorp (1761-1822) and governor-generals Herman Willem Daendels (r.1807-1810). Both had an idealistic perspective on the implementation of a bureaucracy and governing the colony. A third element in the first part is: 3) the situation on Java in the space of the colonial subjects. What was the Javanese education tradition? It is important to encounter with Javanese knowledge systems in order measure the dialogue and eventual synthesis between western and Javanese education systems in colonial education policy. Another important concept in this respect is agency, who were the Javanese intellectuals and how did they talk back?

The second part will be preoccupied with a chronological recount of education policy in the Netherlands-Indies. It will place this development in three different timeframes. These timeframes that will divide the body of the text are: 1) the period before 1830, 2) the period between 1830-1852, 3) the period between 1852-1867. From these different time frames, this part will ask what was characteristic about making education policy for the Netherlands-Indies. It will then pose that policymaking was a process that worked through different administrations and encountered different debates amongst civil servants in each period. Important figures in this part are governor-general Godert van der Capellen (1778-1848), who first sought to create a synthesis in

colonial education policy between Javanese and western education systems. A second figure of importance is minister of colonies Isaac Fransen van de Putte (1822-1902), who put through a comprehensive education policy in 1867. Each time frame will be encountered with the questions on: how did education policy take shape in this period? How could colonial education policy be defined as a synthesis? To what extent can we speak of a synthesis between Javanese and Western ideas on education? What were the debates amongst civil servants? How was colonial education policy implemented?

Lastly, the third part will investigate the understanding of the Dutch colonial debates concerning education policy using the Indian case. This will be made because the colonial government of British-India had implemented a comprehensive education policy before the Netherlands-Indies had done so. Consequently, Dutch civil servants looked at British-India as an example. The third part will furthermore highlight that thinking about colonial policy was not limited to national borders, rather British colonial experiences gave the Dutch an opportunity to decide amongst different pathways. This will create a trans-national perspective on how social systems changed within the colonial sphere. Sebastian Conrad in *What is global history?* argues that: "as the world grew increasingly integrated, social development could no longer be understood without some notion of interdependence."¹³ Therefore it is important to understand this period not as a static narrative that centres the Netherlands, rather as a world in motion where similar changes on education policies occurred. A contrast with India will be drawn through three different timeframes that shall be the main body of this part. 1) The period to 1835, 2) the period between 1835-1854, lastly, 3) the period between 1852-1867. Each timeframe will ask: what were the general debates in British-India concerning education policy? How were these debates involved in the debates that followed in The Netherlands and The Netherlands-Indies? Did British colonial education policy influence the Dutch policymakers?

¹³ Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History?* (2016) 71.

The archival sources for this thesis will firstly be government publications, such as reports or official announcements. Secondly, they will consist of sources that can touch on the discussion that was conducted concerning education policy. These sources are publications in journals and private correspondence or reports. Finally, as this research focuses on Java, it won't engage with archival records concerning education policy in British-India, that part of research will be based on a historiography consisting of secondary sources of education in British-India. A great deal of the archival material has already been published by J. A. van der Chijs, who became the first superintendent in 1864 and kept his own records to understand debates concerning education policy. He published the copies of official documents in 1864 and 1866 for the Department of Education, Religious Affairs and Industry.

My hope for this research is that it will display a world in motion and counter static records on developments within colonial territories. It will prove that concepts consisting of modernity and colonialism are part of global systems. It will furthermore try to highlight the beginning of the nineteenth-century not as a mere preparative period, but rather a period that draws on a world of revolutionary thinkers travelling across the globe, of new experiences with institutionalizing societies, of shared idealisms and perhaps even cosmopolitanism.

CHAPTER I: EDUCATION IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT ERA

Chapter Introduction

The first chapter will introduce The Enlightenment as a driving force behind colonial domination that included western concepts on institutionalization, society and governmental duties toward the members of society. This chapter is divided in two parts concerning The Enlightenment and contrast with a third part on Javanese traditional education systems.

The first and second part concern The Enlightenment in the Netherlands as linked to The Enlightenment in the colonies. These two parts will encounter with the different consequences The Enlightenment had in different places and introduce a persisting gap between the colony and patria. Two men illustrate this narrative very well. These are the liberal colonial Dirk and the conservative Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp. The interactions between Dirk, who became resident on the Javanese east-coast, and his brother Gijsbert, who was a conservative statesman who drafted the constitution of 1818, explain a lot about the politics during the Napoleonic era and during the first years of the Dutch sovereign kingdom. Questions concerning these two parts are: how did The Enlightenment influence government policy in the Netherlands and the Netherlands-Indies? What were the ideals and ambitions of the colonial government?

The third part will engage with the situation of the Javanese. It will display the intellectual world of Islamic boarding schools and classrooms, but also the situation at court with its didactic-moralistic poetry. This part will furthermore highlight school practices, as they will later be re-invented by the Dutch within the colonial education system. Questions on this part are: what was

the Javanese education tradition? Who were the Javanese intellectuals and how did they talk back?

The Enlightenment in the Metropolis

The Age of Enlightenment, usually drawn to the 18th century, is often characterized as a period where humanists understood the world in terms of development. Moreover, in 1784 Kant argued that enlightenment is: "[...] man's emergence from his self-incurred immaturity."¹⁴ Within this sentence hides an implicit meaning of rational development, which Kant claims as a historical development of mankind. Hegel further explains this in his *Phänomenologie des Geistes* from 1807. Hegel poses that mankind is functioning within continuous progress. Therefore, the idea of development is considered as broad, universal and applicable to each member of society.¹⁵

That idea of universal development was put forward as a challenge, which was understood by revolutionaries in the American and French revolutions to structure society on the basis of set blueprints. These blueprints were institutions that changed the relationship people had to the state. These were impersonal ministries, tax offices, chambers of commerce, new forms of legislature, museums and public schools. The public school became the place where both the ideas of The Enlightenment to mature and educate were put in practice and citizens were prepared to become members of an envisioned secular, institutionalized and regulated society.

To create such a society in the Netherlands was the aim of the patriots, the Dutch revolutionaries who had fled after a failed uprising in 1787. During their exile, most of them went to France, such as Daendels who would later become governor-general of the Netherlands-Indies. In France the patriots had witnessed the French Revolution, which inspired them to bring the revolution

¹⁴ Immanuel Kant, Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung? *Berlinische Monatsschrift* (1784) 481-494.

¹⁵ Georg W. F. Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (1841).

to The Netherlands. In 1794 the Dutch Republic had fallen to French revolutionary soldiers as the patriots took over power. They founded the Batavian Republic (*Bataafse Republiek*) under the rule of the National Assembly (*Nationale Vergadering*). Together with this, different societies were founded that aimed to create policy in order to hurry a new constitution.

One of such societies was the *Maatschappij tot nut van 't algemeen* or the 'Society for common profit'. This Society was founded in 1784 by Jan Nieuwenhuyzen and was asked by the National Assembly to produce ideas on creating a national school system. They finalized their plan in 1796, which led to the first school laws of 1801, 1803 and 1806.¹⁶ This plan, titled '*De algemeene denkbeelden over het nationaal onderwijs*' consists of a reasoning displaying late-enlightenment idealism of rationality, bourgeois equality, liberalism, secularization and development:

Each well-structured society is a society of individuals who would support common happiness. Common happiness is the most important law. The society of all individuals exists in order to create this happiness together.

The society thus has the right to ask each member to jointly work toward this goal. Nobody can fulfil this duty unless he is educated on its duties of being a member of society.¹⁷

In these opening sentences, a clear reference to the American declaration of independence is apparent, as it mentions the pursuit of happiness prominently as well. This indicates the trans-Atlantic venture of the Batavian Revolution and a claim on the universality of its ideal. Furthermore, the text also indicates that each member of society has a duty to jointly reach its idealistic goal.

¹⁶ *De Grote Winkler Prins* 15 (1992) 145.

¹⁷ *Algemeene denkbeelden over het nationaal onderwijs, ingeleverd in den jaare 1796 van wegen de vergadering van hoofdbestuurers der nederlandsche maatschappij: tot nut van 't algemeen* (1796) 1.

"Elke welingerichte Maatschappij is eene vereeniging van op zichzelf bestaande personen (individus) ter bevordering van hun algemeen geluk. Het algemeen geluk is de hoogste wet voor allen. De vereeniging van allen die op zichzelf staande personen geschiedt, om te samen geluk, in de meeste uitgestrektheid te genieten. De Maatschappij heeft dus het recht, om van elk haarer Leden te vorderen dat zij, tot bereiking van dit algemeen oogmerk, mede werken. Niemand kan, tot bereiking van het groote doel der Maatschappij, waartoe hij behoort, mede werken, ten zij hij vooraf onderricht zij, van de pligten, welken hij, als waardig Lid dier Maatschappij, te vervullen heeft."

The society can't ask each member to know and accomplish [this duty] unless [the society] will provide the knowledge and make that knowledge available to everyone. "The society is especially indebted to provide this knowledge to the young citizens, so that the new generation will gain the duty and ability that will be asked by the society. Therefore, the society has the commitment to take care of the education of the youth."¹⁸

This passage explicitly argues that the goal of a national school system should be to educate the youth in order to prepare them on becoming members of society and accomplish their duties as citizens. In further passages there is also a reflection upon its universality: "[t]he society is indebted to educate all youth, without regarding any differences that could be indicated through class or gender".¹⁹

These two points, education on becoming citizen and its universal appliance, are essential in comprehending the direct relationship of the unmarked individual to the nation-state. They bear the late-enlightenment idealism of rationality, bourgeois equality, liberalism, secularization, or development. It also bears a singular grid of knowledge and power, which are centred on the government implying universal progress as earlier referenced to by Hegel.

Furthermore, reasoning on the implementation of a national school system based on the enlightenment display the importance it was ascribed to for the nation state. It set in motion a development of institutionalizing society

¹⁸ *Algemeene denkbeelden over het nationaal onderwijs, ingeleverd in den jaare 1796 van wegen de vergadering van hoofdbestuurders der nederlandsche maatschappij: tot nut van 't algemeen* (1796) 2.

"De Maatschappij kan echter, bij voortduuring, van elk bijkomend Lid niet vorderen, dat hij die pligten kenne, en vervulle, ten zij, dat zij zelve vooraf gezorgd hebbe, om de middelen ter verkrijging dier kennis, daar, en voor een ieder open te stellen. De Maatschappij is deeze zorge in het bij zonder verschuldigd aan haare jonge Burgeren; zij is verpligt, om die middelen daar te Hellen, waar door het opkomend geflacht die pligten en kundigheden kan verkrijgen, wel ken de Maatschappij van hen zal vorderen: zij ligt derhalven onder de onvermijdelijke verpligting, om te zorgen voor de Opvoeding en het Onderwijs der Jeugd."

¹⁹ *Algemeene denkbeelden over het nationaal onderwijs, ingeleverd in den jaare 1796 van wegen de vergadering van hoofdbestuurders der nederlandsche maatschappij: tot nut van 't algemeen* (1796) 3.

"De Maatschappij is het eerste gedeelte van het Onderwijs aan allen verschuldigd. De Jeugd, zonder onderfcheid van stand of sexe, moet van hetzelfde gebruik kunnen maaken."

that would characterise the nineteenth-century and which would later be coined as: modernity. Therefore, it is no coincidence that Max Weber, who first issued a much-debated theory of modernization, argued that: "The fate of our times is characterised by rationalisation and intellectualisation and, above all, by the "disenchantment of the world".²⁰ This statement could stand testimony for how the nineteenth-century could be observed, in recurring terms of rationalisation or secularisation.

However, understanding the nineteenth-century nation state through the idealisms of its founding fathers would flatten European history. In 1806 the Batavian Republic would be resolved in the Kingdom of Holland until 1810. Education as provided for by the state would leave its heavily beleaguered secular basis by 1848, as the government would by then also found special schools based on religion. The plans that were made by the Society would be changed fundamentally by the education laws of 1857. Dutch society would also remain its diversity of debate, its parochialisms and consequently displaying its forged mentality of rational universalism, as there were different political groups such as the conservatives and liberals. There were different religious groups or different colonial interests, which all attributed to this.

Yet, the idealisms as called on are not idiosyncratic to their times, on the contrary, they were essential to the changing global intellectual landscape of the nineteenth-century and retained a lasting impact. Janet Polasky has posed such global intellectual landscape in *Revolution without borders*. Polasky bases her idea on the systems of circulation, which can be identified through shared idealisms and a trans-Atlantic debate on these idealisms, such as the pursuit of happiness. Ideas travelled through pamphlets or newspapers and their presupposed universal values caught on with the larger public. However, these intellectual landscapes were also a place filled with dissidents, contrasts and vernacularizations.²¹

²⁰ Basit Bilal Koshul, *The postmodern significance of Max Weber's legacy: disenchanting disenchantment* (2005) 11.

²¹ Janet Polasky, *Revolutions without borders: the call to liberty in the Atlantic world* (2016). See also: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 224.

In 1815 the new Kingdom of the Netherlands would consolidate its rule through a new constitution, drafted by Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp. The brother of van Hogendorp, Dirk, (1761-1822) was resident in the Netherlands-Indies and consequently showed interest in the colonial state. Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp had remained on the background during the Batavian Republic, as he had showed his affection to the Prince of Orange. His brother Dirk van Hogendorp, however, collaborated with the government of the Batavian Republic as he made a revision of the colonial government in the *Bericht van den tegenwoordigen toestand der Bataafsche bezittingen in Oost-Indien en den handel op dezelve* published in 1798. Even though this was understood as a progressive work, Van Hogendorp was heavily beleaguered by his rivals who called his work a betrayal to the Prince of Orange.²² However, Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp, had written pamphlets and books in his favour where he displayed his brother's intentions as realistic, therefore assuring him of his support.²³

This instance shows that a presupposed boundary between the conservative and revolutionary Dutch was one of complexity. It indicates that the conservative powers that would return after the French occupation were not left untouched by the changes that were put in practice during the Batavian Republic. King William I carried on with institutionalization policies, as is apparent in the constitution of 1815. In this constitution article 226 names public education as a persisting concern of the government, while article 145 further announced a considerable change to decentralise supervision.

In 1855 Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp made several reports on the condition of the state, displaying not only what had happened since the constitution of 1815 but also a vision:

²² Otto van Rees, *Verhandeling over de verdiensten van Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp als staatshuishoudkundige ten aanzien van Nederland* (1854) 118.

²³ Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp, *Brieven aan eenen participant in de Oost-Indische Compagnie* (1802).

The enlightenment of the people from all stands in society has increased as our country has worked toward the dispersal of all useful skills through public education. This way, it will enlighten its own sake and its economy.²⁴

Similar terms and idioms as can be seen in the education plan of 1796.

However, Van Hogendorp uses the more expressive term 'enlightenment' to stipulate 'education'. Furthermore, the value of the universality is mentioned just as its benefit for the society. Therefore, it confirms a continuity of ideas on the state's education policy in the Netherlands.

The Enlightenment in the colony

The Enlightenment and its subsequent revolutions were, as we have seen, a trans-national phenomenon. This transnational feature has been expressed by Polasky on the trans-Atlantic revolutions. However, the Netherlands Indies were not mere spectators of political unrest in Europe. The Dutch revolutionary government tried to meddle within the colonies through the 'Comitté tot de zaken van de Oost-Indische handel en bezittingen', even though they were a bulwark of conservatism. The committee stated that: "everything which is just and fair here, should be just and fair there".²⁵ However, this committee had little influence on the situation in the Netherlands Indies. More crucial was change from within, as resident Dirk van Hogendorp tried to influence and rethink the colonial government in his earlier mentioned *Bericht van den tegenwoordigen toestand der Bataafsche bezittingen in Oost-Indien en den handel op dezelve*.

The ideas of Van Hogendorp display revolutionary idealisms in an economic sense, as the Dutch presence in Asia had a background of gaining

²⁴ Gijsbert Karel Hogendorp and Johan Rudolf Thorbecke, *Bijdragen tot de huishouding van staat in het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden, verzameld ten dienste der Staten-Generaal IX en X* part 9 (1855) 52.

"Dagelijks neemt de verlichting toe onder alle klassen van ingezetenen; in ons land vooral werkt de regering met kracht mede tot verspreiding van alle nuttige kundigheden door het openbaar onderwijs, en zoo zal het eigen belang dan ook hoe langer hoe meer verlicht worden en het beste gebruik der kapitalen inzien."

²⁵ H. W. van den Doel, *De stille macht: het Europese binnenlands bestuur op Java en Madoera, 1808-1942* (1994) 22.

profits from the trade monopoly of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). However, Van Hogendorp did not just mention colonial economic benefit exclusively for Europeans. He posed that: "[...] the lands [could be understood as] belonging to our commonwealth and its inhabitants as our subjects. Then, we have the right of benefitting from this situation [...] but also the duty to provide good governance, assuring liberties, possessions, protection and executing fair justice [for the Javanese]."²⁶ He also promoted free trade for the Javanese, which would lead to the benefit of the whole commonwealth.

To encounter Javanese people in terms of 'liberty, equality and fraternity' was new (and tantum) in the colony and displayed a growing sense of duties based on the principles of the Enlightenment, as the enlightenment proclaimed universality of laws and new thinking about society and the state. The *Bericht van den tegenwoordigen toestand der Bataafsche bezittingen in Oost-Indien en den handel op dezelve* can therefore be seen as the first envisioning of a colonial state based on the principles of the enlightenment. However, Sebastiaan Nederburgh successfully opposed Van Hogendorp through writing a different report to the National Assembly. Based on this report, the *Charter voor Aziatische bezittingen van de Bataafse Republiek* was published in 1804. In this instruction, the basis of the colonial state was laid out where former Company men would become civil servants were given the order to improve the 'fate of the natives'. Yet, what was different was that the VOC-systems of forced planting and non-interference with Javanese *priyayi* administration were maintained.²⁷

After the publication of his plans in 1798, Van Hogendorp became a parvenu on Java and was roughly transported from his residency in Surabaya to

²⁶ Dirk van Hogendorp, *Bericht van den tegenwoordigen toestand der Bataafsche bezittingen in Oost-Indien en den handel op dezelve* (1799) 8.

"Ik denk, het land als toebehoorende aan ons gemeenebest, en de inwooners als onderdaanen van hetzelve. Als zoodanig beschouwd, hebben wij recht tot de inkomsten daar van, tot goed maaking der onkosten van het bestuur en de verdediging van die landen, en ook bovendien tot een gedeeltelijken onderstand voor ons gemeenebest zelve. Dan, daar tegen legt dit ook op ons de verplichting, om deeze landen en derzelve inwooners te beschermen tegen alle geweld en vijandelijkheden van buiten en van binnen, aan hun, door een goed beftuur, te bezorgen en te verzekeren, burgerlijke vrijheid, eigendom van bezitting, bescherming tegen alle onderdrukking, en de uitoefening en pleeging van het onzijdigste en billijkste recht."

²⁷ Van den Doel, *De stille macht* 24.

Batavia, where the *Oudgastenpartij* - the ruling elite on Java - accused him of several misconducts of which self-enrichment was the heaviest of all. One of the signers of the acquisitions made against Van Hogendorp was Johannes Siberg, later governor-general from 1801 to 1805.²⁸ The Batavian Republic took Siberg out of his position as governor-general after he was accused of similar misconducts he had earlier charged Van Hogendorp with. This instance indicates that the reasoning to put Van Hogendorp under trial was not based on conscience of the *Oudgastenpartij*, it was rather a power play of the influential families that ruled over Java.²⁹

Therefore, Java remained a bulwark of conservatism, which did not change until the arrival of a man who was able to change this: Herman Willem Daendels, the Marshall of Holland, became governor-general of the Netherlands Indies in 1808. His main occupation was to protect the Dutch colony against a British invasion. This was a task that could only be fulfilled through extensive reform of colonial governance, formally ending the VOC period and founding the colonial state as it had functioned throughout the nineteenth-century.

By 1801, the Batavian Republic had fallen, as Napoleon Bonaparte had placed his brother, Lodewijk Napoleon, on a new Dutch throne. As Daendels was appointed Governor-General, he was given instructions by the king that displayed, apart from the importance of his military duties, a continuation of earlier developments that: "the thoughts on notable changes which are discussed in the report of the *Commissie tot de Indische zaken* of 1803 and the Charter as proposed by that committee, should be adopted in parts or in completion." The king furthermore suggested that it could serve as a "constitution for our Asian dominions."³⁰

²⁸ Dirk van Hogendorp, *Verzameling van stukken, rakende de zaak van Dirk van Hogendorp, opperkoopman in dienst der Oost-Indische Compagnie, en gezachhebber over Java's Oosthoek* (1801) 5. In a list of 7, Siberg's name appeared second.

²⁹ L. Brummel, *Achttiende-eeuws kolonialisme in brieven* (1972) 175.

³⁰ Herman Willem Daendels, *Staat der Nederlandsche Oostindische bezittingen, onder het bestuur van den gouverneur-generaal Herman Willem Daendels, ridder, luitenant-generaal, enz. in de jaren 1808-1811* (1814) 9.

"Hij zal zich inzonderheid toeleggen, om met alle naauwkeurigheid op de plaats zelve te onderzoeken de denkbeelden over notable veranderingen, te maken in de plaatshebbende inrigting onder de Javanen, welke verhandeld zijn, bij het Rapport van de personeele Commissie tot de Indische zaken, gedagteekend den 31sten Augustus 1803, en of de Charter, door die Commissie voorgesteld, geheel of

Daendels gave out instructions as well, the *Instructie voor de respectieve regenten in het voormalige gouvernement van Java's Noord-oostkust* gained momentum when concerned with education for Javanese. Article 13 reads that:

For education of youth in morals, customs, laws and useful religious concepts of the Javanese and the foundation in the respective departments and districts of schools, as well as the placement of good and suitable teachers in should be taken care of.³¹

That this instruction did not have any subsequent action is not surprising. Daendels must have understood that it was impossible to found a public school system similar to the Netherlands at once. Therefore he also ordered an issue that the 'priests', supervised by the regents, should execute education.³² The instruction of 1808 then seems rather a wish than a real instruction. It has been given at a time when education coordinated by the colonial government did not exist. However, it could be read as a starting point where idealisms from the enlightenment would be placed in practice. Idealisms of a colonial education system that sought to educate its whole population to become good Javanese. However, Daendels knew that clergymen gave education to the Javanese and pursued this based on Enlightenment idealisms. Because of the intention to involve the Javanese on education affairs, even without any policy, it can be argued that this was the first time a synthesis was hinted at. This becomes apparent when Daendels describes Javanese traditions as a matter of concern such as: "morals, customs, laws and useful religious concepts". Furthermore, the 'priests' as *goeroe* places this envisioned structure in close association to already existing education tradition, as we shall see in the following chapters.

gedeeltelijk, zoude kunnen worden geadopteerd, als eene Grondwet voor onze Aziatische Bezittingen, dan welke veranderingen, het hoorbaar zoude zijn daarin te maken."

³¹ Daendels, *Staat der Nederlandsche Oostindische bezittingen* 151.

"Voor het onderwijs van de jeugd in de zeden, gewoontens, wetten en Gods dienstige begrippen van den Javaan en het oprigten van de daartoe in de respectieve hoofd-negorijen en districten benodigde scholen, mitsgaders het plaat sen van goede en geschikte onderwijzers in dezelve zal ook door dezelve ge zorgd moeten worden."

³² Daendels, *Staat der Nederlandsche Oostindische bezittingen* 115.

However, Daendels did not create any synthesis in his plans. He wanted to implement liberal and revolutionary ideals from the Enlightenment but in practice he had to impose them. Therefore, Daendels is mostly remembered for his strong appearance as the *Tuan Besar Guntur* (lord of the thunder) who sought to reform the colonial government drastically. The residents had to become colonial governors that were ruling the colony, rather than fulfilling any diplomatic roles towards the Javanese regents, as had been the case during the VOC-era. He is most well remembered for constructing the road 'de groote postweg' from Anyer to Panarukan in only one year. Other changes were the redistribution of power within the corrupt colonial government, as Daendels made the *Raad van Indië* an advisory council. What appears to be characteristic in these reforms is the incorporation of the 'east' within the imposed revolutionary idealisms of the 'west'. During Daendels' period as governor-general, it became clear that the Netherlands-Indies were to be governed in a western, liberal manner. This was the focal point from Dirk van Hogendorp's ideas, which found their way through Daendels.

What also brought a lasting impact to change the colonial government and mentality was the British occupation period after Daendels from 1813-1816. The general tendency was to reform the colonial system by putting a new liberal economic system in place. The reasoning behind this was that Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826) and Colin Mackenzie (1754-1821) wanted to make both the colony more lucrative and increase the prosperity of its inhabitants. What was also distinctive about these men was their interest in Javanese peoples and culture. Testimony to this stands their comprehensive literary works on Javanese history, cataloguing of ancient monuments and the revival of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (*Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*).³³

On August 19 1816 the British held a ceremony at the city hall of Batavia. They proclaimed that authority over the colony was given back to its former Dutch rulers. Formally, this moment meant the foundation of the Netherlands-

³³ Van den Doel, *De stille macht* 37-42.

Indies. In patria there was a restoration as well; prince Willem Frederik was crowned king of The Netherlands in 1815. The king sent three commissioners-general to restore Dutch authority, which was a long process that would include the Java War (1825-1830). However, the change that had been set in motion gave the colonial government a completely different outlook as it had evolved to become a colonial state, rather than primarily a *wingewest*. This includes that the state also had duties to care for the peoples whom lived within it.

Javanese education tradition

Education for Javanese youth before the nineteenth-century was not secular. Schools that were provided for by clergymen had a religious character. Portuguese and the Dutch schools, which existed with the intention of doing missionary work, can for account the same. However, Javanese Islamic schools were the primary source of education that focused on existing Islamic textual traditions to be taught to the students. Such education is also named *ngaji* and was given to the students in the Islamic boarding schools - *pesantren*.³⁴

The *pesantren* tradition can be understood as enclosed spaces (*madrasah*) that were functioning as autonomous districts within a kingdom. They were also sites that also influenced villages on Islamic practice, raising money for religious enterprises.³⁵ Their relationship to the courts appears to be Janus faced. Firstly, they received royal favours and gave in return the legitimacy to rule based on Islamic values. Such values were expressed through portraying the rulers as deputies of Muhammad and opposing their rule was treason in the face of God. Islamic scholars (*ulama*) also issued religious orders and even direct policy at court.³⁶ Secondly, the *pesantren* could also be a threat through its autonomous status within the kingdom, as it could become a place of refuge for royal dissidents.

³⁴ R. Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad: Negotiating Identity and Modernity in Muslim Java* (2005) 54.

³⁵ Jean Gelman Taylor, *Indonesia: peoples and histories* (2008) 177.

³⁶ Michael Laffan, *Islamic nationhood and colonial Indonesia: the umma below the winds* (2003) 18.

Yet, the *pesantren* was not the only place for Islamic teaching. There were travelling *ulama* who taught Islamic teachings at houses.³⁷ This was especially true for families who enjoyed a high social position. The Javanese class system was therefore a decisive element in determining Islamic education. This was not based on money, as the tuition fee was derivative on income. Moreover, Islamic teachings were also given in the *langgar*, an oratory. There, Islamic teachings in form of the *ngaji* were similar to the *pesantren*. In 1831 the resident of Surabaya reported that anyone who could understand Arabic founded a *langgar* near his house. He furthermore reported that the amount of *langgars* in his residency reached to more than 700 with more than 9000 pupils. He explained that the founder of the *langgar* would teach there himself, first to his children and befriended families while later also to strangers. If this person was not skilled enough to do so, he would hire a clergyman to fit this position.³⁸

Ngaji was the basic education on Islamic textual traditions, as it focused on reading and reciting of Quran texts together with elementary Arabic grammar. A second step in *ngaji* education can also extend the pupil's knowledge on the meaning of Islamic texts. At the *pesantren*, this education was provided for by the *kyai*, the Islamic teacher. Each *pesantren* had one or more *kyai*. The relationship the *kyai* had toward the *santri* was important, as the schools were not structured by classes that divided pupils by age. The *kyai* therefore was a person who, apart from the *ngaji*, also educated the *santri* on moral behaviour and normative practice of Islam. This was based on the *kyai-santri* bond that reached beyond the *pesantren* and therefore remained of importance after the *santri* had left the *pesantren*.³⁹

Various reports on *ngaji* practice on Java appear at the beginning of the nineteenth-century. These are two reports that have been after circulars have been sent in 1819 and one in 1831 with questions on the Javanese school systems.

³⁷ In a Javanese context, the term *ulama* does not refer to the plural of *alim*, rather it refers to one person.

³⁸ J. A. van der Chijs, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het inlandsch onderwijs aan officiële bronnen ontleend* "Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde" 14:4 (1864) 230.

³⁹ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, "The Pesantren Tradition: A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java" *The journal of Asian studies* 59:4 (1999) 1092.

They reveal that reading of the Quran was a practice that occurred in each *pesantren* or *langgar* and at home. According to the resident of Batavia, it consisted of "parroting their teachers" while some pupils also studied Arabic writing.⁴⁰ However, the reports show a strong diversity amongst education practices that seem to differ from standard *ngaji* practices on Java. In some *pesantrens* there was space for studying Javanese language, such as in Japara, Pasuruan or Tegal. However, it was generally pointed out that skills of reading and writing of Javanese and Arabic were showing inadequacy to the extent that sometimes teachers and regents could hardly write or read Javanese.⁴¹ Rather, Javanese reading and writing was taught amongst friends who were within a high social position or at the courts.⁴² The courts of Banyuwangi and Tegal however had said that extensive teaching of Javanese language was very difficult to obtain.⁴³

A more comprehensive report on teaching of Javanese language can be found in the report made by the resident of Japara. There he noted that it was a general belief that mankind was not able to understand any kind of knowledge unless a basic understanding of the Quran was taught.⁴⁴ The report includes a description of the *ngaji* at a *pesantren*. This report has a high value for the purpose of understanding *ngaji*, as it had been written by Javanese: the regent of Patti, the *jaksa* and the *penghulu* of Japara. It states that *ngaji* education started with instructing Arabic script using the tuturan on specific writing styles used in the Quran. After that, the Quran was read together, followed by the *semoro-kandi* (the catechism of Samarqandi). According to the authors, the *semoro-kandi* served as an explanation on the Quran it also features as one of the most popular Islamic texts during the early nineteenth-century.⁴⁵ The last book was the *kitab* Sittin, which serves as an explanation on prayer.⁴⁶ There is

⁴⁰ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 216, 219, 228.

⁴¹ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 219, 215.

⁴² Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 219, 218, 217.

⁴³ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 229, 219.

⁴⁴ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 231.

⁴⁵ Michael Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past* (2011) 33.

⁴⁶ Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam* 142.

almost none who understands the Quran in Arabic. However, there are always Javanese translations at hand: the *kitab* Tafsir.⁴⁷

The report further explains that the foremost objective of this teaching is reading the Quran, rather than writing Arabic or Javanese. The children that were sent to the *pesantren* therefore have excelled in religious teachings that were given in their villages. The time they spend at the *pesantren* lasts several years. As boarding was free, there are many children from families with a low income, while there are also children of the higher classes. Yet, those are taught separately from the other children. The children of the regents are seldom taught at the *pesantren*. When they are taught there, different men, the 'suro-noto', teach them separately as well.⁴⁸

There are no formal tuition fees. However, *santri* have to ask for money on Thursdays in the surroundings. They furthermore have to do repair tasks and present a meal and a small sum of money to their teachers when they finish their studies. Then there is a gift after the month *puasa*, where the *santri* give five *katti* of rice, this gift is called *pitra*. The parents give two to eight bunches of *padi* annually, this gift is called *jakat*. Finally, *santri* who show little progression in their study have to buy oil for the *pesantren*, which is an allusion to their mind that needs to be enlightened.⁴⁹

A recurring value for attaining Islamic knowledge was travelling. *Santri* who sought to gain knowledge on different topics, such as grammar (*nahw*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*) or mysticism (*tasawwuf*), repeatedly travelled to different *pesantren* to be with a particular teacher. It is further noted that an *alim* is only considered as learned when he had travelled.⁵⁰ Such instances are also conveyed in the reports as sent by the residents. According to the resident of Japara, all other knowledge than knowledge on Islam became unnecessary if this person had acquired knowledge on various places including on a

⁴⁷ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864)232.

⁴⁸ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864)233.

⁴⁹ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864)234.

⁵⁰ Laffan, *Islamic nationhood* 19.

pilgrimage to Mecca.⁵¹ The *pesantren* therefore were a place of connection to different parts of the Indian archipelago and to the Malay world.

Other than the *pesantren*, *langgars* or informal teachings there were also other instances of teachings. Javanese literati upheld a strong literary tradition at the courts. Moreover, the nineteenth-century is generally named the renaissance of Javanese literature (*kakawin*). Literati in this time were based on the literary tradition that existed in Surakarta, which enjoyed a mixed heritage of Kartasura *sufi* mysticism and Pasisir (east-Java) literary works. Typically, these works were strongly influenced by classic works that were rewritten in modern Javanese by authors in Surakarta. Quite interestingly, the sultan of Sumanap declared that: "Similar to the pilgrimage to Mecca is a visit to Surakarta concerning Javanese language."⁵²

Literati who are involved with this period are named *pujangga*. The *pujanggalas* are ascribed to with certain qualities such as *paramengsastra* (expert in the field of letters and language), *paremengkawi* (expert in writing), *awicarita* (expert in telling tales), *mandraguna* (expert in the field of arts) or *sambengana* (an honourable person).⁵³ These standards for poets reveal their high social position and the popularity of their works. Amongst those *pujanggalas* were Yasadipura I (1729-1802) and Ronggawarsita (1802-1873). Firstly, their works were based on Old Javanese classical texts such as Ramayana and Mahabaratha. Yasadipura I rewrote these texts in modern Javanese, such as the late 18th century Serat Rama and Serat Bratayuda.

Secondly, another important theme the *pujanggalas* were occupied with was didactic-moralistic literature. This literature had strong messages on very diverse topics, ranging from statecraft, kingship and ethics to etiquette. An example of poetry written on didactic-moralistic topics is the late 18th century Walangipun Ratu Cina by Yasadipura I on teachings for women who are about

⁵¹ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864)231.

⁵² Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 301-302.

⁵³ Bernhard Arps, "The regulation of beauty", *The canon in Southeast Asian literatures : literatures of Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam* edited by David Smyth (2000) 126.

to join in marriage.⁵⁴ Another example by Ronggawarsita is *Niti Sastra Kawijarwa* from 1864. This is a collection of rewritten Old Javanese texts on ethics and is read as critical on society and political matters.⁵⁵ There were lighter topics, such as humours poem *Serat Mas Nganten*, composed by Jayadiningrat I in 1819. This poem covers etiquette and tells the story of a *nouveau riche* who doesn't understand court etiquette.⁵⁶ A didactic-moralistic poem intended for Javanese youth was written by *susuhunan* Pakubuwono IV. He composed the *Serat Wulang Reh* in 1809, which is a well-known poem concerned with gaining religious knowledge. It opens with "Padha gulangen ing kalbu", which can be translated as "practice the science of the heart".⁵⁷

Moralistic-didactic literature and other literary works often had a religious component within them. The literary traditions of Surakarta can therefore be connected to the religious tradition at the *pesantren*. Javanese literature traditions were also taught at the *pesantren* as there were *kyai* who also wrote Javanese literature.⁵⁸ Moreover, *pujanggas* received Islamic education at the *pesantren*. Ronggawarsita, for example, received an education at the Gebang Tinatar *pesantren* in Tegalsari.⁵⁹

Javanese education was practiced as normative Islamic education given at sites such as the *pesantren* or *langgar*. However, it had an informal character where distinction between social class, personal bonds between pupils and teachers and informal gatherings were typical. Schooling at home or from hearing or reading didactic literature was also common. These practices were based on older traditions where travelling was important. The sites of education were places that connected students from all over the Indian

⁵⁴ Nancy K. Florida, *Javanese literature in Surakarta manuscripts: introduction and manuscripts of the Karaton Surakarta* (1993) 1:252.

⁵⁵ Florida, *Javanese literature* 244.

⁵⁶ Florida, *Javanese literature* 253.

⁵⁷ Florida, *Javanese literature* 251.

⁵⁸ Florida, *Javanese literature* 209.

⁵⁹ Merie C. Ricklefs, *The seen and unseen worlds in Java 1726-1749: history, literature and Islam in the Court of Pakubuwana II* (1998) 286.

Tegalsari is a village allegedly founded by *kyai* Agung Kasan Besari, a hermit who attracted students. There is a tradition which tells that Pakubuwono II sought refuge and assistance in Tegalsari, which he got through prayer of the *kyai*. If he returned to his court victorious, he would make the *pesantren* the cradle of Islam. Eventually, he did regain his court and kept his promise.

archipelago and taught Islamic values on the basis of a much broader literary tradition.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has introduced The Enlightenment in the first two parts as contrasting between the Netherlands and the Netherlands-Indies. Where The Enlightenment in the Netherlands is based on concepts of universality, equality and society, the colony was based on making profit. There were, however, debates between both places as illustrated by the brothers Dirk and Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp. These interactions display the fluidity of the conservative position of Gijsbert Karel, who backed his liberal brother. Real change in the colony had to come from a strong man such as Daendels, who was inspired by the ideals from The Enlightenment, but who had to search for practical methods to govern the colony. However, his intentions to implement an education system on Java by governmental means can be understood as a turning point in colonial history. From this time, the colonial government started to interfere with the lives of colonial subjects. This was similar to Dirk van Hogendorp's idealistic plan to govern the colony.

The Javanese, on the other hand, were not completely silent. The Javanese nobility was given administrative positions within the dualistic government. Because of that they came in a position to report to the residents, such as the report made on a *pesantren*. The position of these formal schools toward less formal *langgar*, the courts and also schools overseas, indicate an engaging practice of interaction where knowledge could travel alongside court poets and *ulama*. It also indicates a space of knowledge wherein formal (*pesantren*) and informal (poetry) sources of knowledge could join each other on the basis of Javanese hierarchy and status of the court poets, *kyai* and *ulama*.

CHAPTER II: EDUCATION POLICY IN THE NETHERLANDS-INDIES

Chapter Introduction

This second chapter will pose three different time frames in which colonial education policy was developed. The first time frame, before 1830, encounters with two influential persons who explored the possibilities to develop a colonial education system. First, this time frame will encounter with governor-general Daendels, who initiated government interference with education for Javanese. Second, governor-general Van der Capellen will be introduced as the person who initiated a synthesis between western education and Javanese education systems and to develop a colonial *Inlandsche School*.

The second time frame, 1830-1852, will encounter with different proposals that based themselves on Van der Capellen's initiatives. This time frame encounters a gap between the Netherlands and the Netherlands-Indies. A gap that had to be bridged by Gericke, a missionary from the Bible Society. This society had formed a committee with other missionary societies that had sent a proposal to the colonial government and the Dutch government in The Hague. The debates that follow these proposals display the further development of the synthesis. These debates lead to the governance polity of 1855, which became the basis of the *Inlandsche school*.

The third time frame, 1852-1867, will focus on the implementation of this education policy as worded in the governance polity of 1855. It will start with the founding of a school for Javanese teachers and explain the measurements taken to enforce Javanese traditions within the colonial school system. Minister of colonies Fransen van de Putte, will be displayed as a man of importance to the implementation of education policy as he founded the Department of Education, Religious Affairs and Industry in 1867. Questions that are encountered with in each timeframe are: how did education policy take shape in this period? How could colonial education policy be defined as a synthetises?

To what extent can we speak of a synthesis between Javanese and Western ideas on education? What were the debates amongst civil servants? How was colonial education policy implemented?

Before 1830

Aside from the Javanese school system, there had been Dutch and Portuguese missionary schools from the arrival of the Jesuit Francis Xavier (1506-1552) on the Moluccas onward. During VOC times, missionary activities, similar to the Portuguese Jesuits, seeded schools throughout the Indian archipelago. From 1684, these schools were controlled by the VOC. In Batavia, schools were part of the *armenhuizen*, which were houses that supported families who lacked financial means in order to support themselves. European schools outside Batavia were rare and not sustainable.

One outcome from the idealisms from the enlightenment was the idea public school. The Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in 1780 had written out a competition on ideas for a school system on Java. However, all responses were occupied with the idea of religious Christian schooling, which on Java wouldn't have covered the need for education. Secular public schools have been mentioned by Daendels in 1808 as stated above. During the British occupation period, however, there was little room for the development of an education system. The schools that were connected to the *armenhuizen* were not functioning properly anymore. Still, there were also reports on improvement in this time. The regent of Tegal explained that during the British occupation it had been: "easier to find a good teacher" for his children in order to teach them Malay and Javanese language. Whether this statement has a connection to the British colonial government or not is unclear, as there are no details given. However, a connection may be assumed as the British were mentioned.⁶⁰

The emergence of the colonial state brought the duty to change the earlier VOC governance into a bureaucratic system equal to what had become customary in Europe. In this process, the new civil servants understood their

⁶⁰ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 229.

rights but not their duties, as their goal remained to keep the colony profitable. This can be seen through the later *cultuurstelsel*, an agrarian system of forced planting that proved to be very profitable for the Dutch treasury. Nevertheless, the commissioners-general, who had arrived in 1816, made their own policy plans even before they had left to Batavia. This was the governance policy of 1818, of which article 99 and 100 are: "The government will take care of the existence of schools on various places throughout The Netherlands-Indies. The teachers will be paid for by the government and from tuition fees."⁶¹ It goes on with: "The government makes highly needed progression for the schools of 'inlanders' [i.e. indigenous peoples]. The government gives those peoples the opportunity to be taught in Dutch schools."⁶² In other words, the government now had the duty to see to education for the Javanese.

However, the commissioners-general placed the highest of importance on establishing 'European' schools rather than to worry about Javanese education. These European schools did not primarily exist to create 'good Christians'. Values such as 'reasonable social virtues' created a secular outlook of these European schools, while also underlining the importance of society. Such stand evidence to mentality change that had taken place.⁶³ Another novelty is the clear distinction made between 'European' and other schools. This means that the commissioners-general also identified a distinction between 'European' and 'Javanese' peoples in so far that they would be allowed to join 'European' schools but ideally would receive education within their own 'native' school. Such ideas are contrasting to the concept of universality as expressed in the enlightenment.

The ideas by Dirk van Hogendorp on the Javanese and the Dutch working together to improve the commonwealth as a 'society' therefore

⁶¹ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864)213.

"De regering zorgt, zoo veel mogelijk, dat er op de onderscheidene plaatsen in Nederlandsch-Indië scholen bestaan. De Onderwijzers worden uit 'slands kas of uit bijzondere schoolfondsen bezoldigd."

⁶² Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen*(1864) 214.

"De regering maakt ook de noodige verordeningen omtrent de scholen der inlanders. De regering geeft aan de inlanders gelegenheid om op de Nederlandsche scholen on derwezen te worden. Zij beraamt tevens de geschiktste middelen, tot uitbreiding der kennis van de Maleische, Javaansche en andere talen, onder de Europesche bewoners."

⁶³ I.J. Brugman, *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* 71.

becomes futile at the basic foundation of the colonial state when members of that society are treated differently. This principle would also create tension between what was considered as 'western' and therefore right or 'eastern' and therefore backward. However, it will become clear that these two concepts of East and West had to co-exist if the Dutch and Javanese would work together to administrate the colony.

In 1818 a governance polity was drafted which became the basis of the colonial state. This governance polity put forward a governor-general as the highest authority of The Netherlands-Indies. Commissioner-general Godert van der Capellen (1778-1848) filled this position and was inaugurated in 1818 when the governance polity was placed in practice. Van der Capellen's rule was of lasting importance to Dutch colonial domination. It should be foremost noted that the position of governor-general had a different outlook than during VOC-era. A development that could be witnessed during the rule of Daendels, but became more concrete in this period as government publications stated that the governor-general had to take care of the 'wellbeing of millions' and to wash out the negative image of the Dutch who had earlier lost the colony. Van der Capellen's period of government was therefore preoccupied with state building and had a lasting impact on the colony.⁶⁴ Moreover, an increasing importance of a comprehensive approach to education was adopted. This approach became based on a synthesis between western and Javanese education systems, as we shall see later.

Van der Capellen had followed an education in law at the university of Utrecht. There, statecraft of the Batavian Republic was his favourite subject of study. However, the study of statecraft in The Netherlands was at a low level, which can be illustrated by the lack of readers for Adam Smith's *Wealth of nations*, which was therefore not published as a translation there until after Van der Capelle's study at the university in 1802.⁶⁵ However, he was drawn to the teachings of reverend J. Warnecke, who originated from the university of

⁶⁴ Godert Alexander Gerard Philip baron van der Capellen (1860) 3.

⁶⁵ G. W. Vreede, *De invloed der wetenschap op het openbaar leven van den minister van Staat*, G.A.G.P. baron van der Capellen van Berkenwoude (1848) 9.

Göttingen, Germany. Warnecke sent him to the university there. During his study, Van der Capelle was influenced by historical and philological approaches on statecraft. Influential were the teachings by Heeren and Sartorius on history and statecraft and Martens on international law. The historian G.W. Vreede reported that these teachings focussed on man's relationship toward society through the medium of the state.⁶⁶

Arnold Ludwig Heeren (1760-1842) taught about the main subject of study, history of statecraft. He understood that his teachings had to be practical and therefore suitable for statesmen, as Heeren wrote in his autobiography.⁶⁷ He taught about a comparative method for different governance models based on statistics and historic observations. These teachings were presented in a book titled: *Ideen über die Politik, den Verkehr und den Handel der vornehmsten Völker der alten Welt* from 1815. It is a global comparative history of civilizations from the antiquities of Phoenicia, Egypt, Babylon and India. Another influential work on Van der Capellen's study was William Robertson's *The history of America* (1777), which traced the erosion of the feudal system in Europe to the emergence of the United States of America in 1776 and its subsequent revival of law studies and new balances of power. Van der Capellen's philanthropy came from a book titled *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et des commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (1770) from Abbé Raynal, who identified what was wrong in colonial affairs and propagated a more liberal and enlightened polity.⁶⁸

After his studies he started a governmental career and later on became the Dutch minister of state during the Kingdom of Holland. His loyalty to the Dutch sovereign state was expressed through his abdication from office when the Kingdom of Holland became part of the French Empire. This attitude caught the interest by king William I, who sent him as a Dutch representative to the Congress of Vienna and later to The Netherlands-Indies with the prospective to become governor-general.⁶⁹ During his time of governor-general

⁶⁶ Vreede, *De invloed der wetenschap op het openbaar leven van den minister van Staat*, 12.

⁶⁷ Vreede, *De invloed der wetenschap op het openbaar leven van den minister van Staat*, 13.

⁶⁸ Van den Doel, *De stille macht* 49.

⁶⁹ Godert Alexander Gerard Philip baron van der Capellen (1860) 2.

he had to practice colonial state building from scratch amidst a period of turmoil and unrest after the British occupation.

Van der Capellen's style of governing seemed to be influenced by his scientific and philanthropic background. He took a liking to base his policies on statistics and field reports made by commissioners and residents as well as by the many trips he undertook throughout the Indian archipelago.⁷⁰ On education, this attitude seemed prevalent as well. In the governance polity of 1818, in article 100 he argued that it was of utmost importance develop an education policy: "especially when concerned with the teaching of Javanese writing and reading."⁷¹ Important was that Van der Capellen made clear that comprehensive policy should be drafted on the basis of existing education systems on Java. Van der Capellen set out to acquire as much data as possible on these existing systems. As we have seen earlier, in 1819 he had sent a circular to the residents of Java concerning Javanese education in order to create an idea of such education systems. The questions that the Van der Capellen was preoccupied with indicates his envision for how a colonial public school system should look like. The four queries the residents had to report on were:

1: What kind of education was given to the Javanese, who were the teachers, where and how they received such education, how did they settle the tuition fees and who received this education.

2: What should be the means to make it more general and expedient and to make it subject to certain conditions.

3: Would the be useful to have the teachers encouraged to help through different sets of measurements or whether it be better to resort on different means.

4: Whether it not be efficient to develop an education for the youth within the existing systems of their *desa*.⁷²

⁷⁰ Vreede, *De invloed der wetenschap op het openbaar leven van den minister van Staat*, 15.

⁷¹ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 213.

"Bijzonderlijk ook met het oogmerk om door eene meer dere uitbreiding van het lezen en schrijven onder de Ja vanen de betere werking van de bestaande wetten en reglementen voor te bereiden."

⁷² Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 213-214.

An important notice accompanying this circular also made clear that this enquiry was made for the purpose of creating policy. Van der Capellen hinted that this policy aimed at developing knowledge of the Javanese youth on writing and reading their native language and secular virtuous concepts.⁷³ This enquiry indicates a clear envisioning of education policy where Van der Capellen was exploring the possibility of a synthesis between the existing Javanese education system and a western education system. This synthesis becomes clear in his search for autochthonous practice and the possibility to have secular values from the enlightenment, as earlier expressed for the European schools, be placed on top of an existing Javanese education tradition.

However, in 1819 there were no further developments. Perhaps Van der Capellen was not satisfied with the answers and the diversity of education systems that existed on Java, as we have seen earlier. This might have been the reason why he assigned his intentions to the regents: "The regents are responsible with superintending of the *inlandsche scholen* [i.e. 'native schools']. They will expand these schools in order to create the possibility for children to learn how to read, write and [should be taught on the] duties of virtuous people as well.⁷⁴ This instruction displays a similarity to Van der Capellen's earlier intentions of a synthesis between 'western' and Javanese systems of education.

This approach would become fundamental in colonial polity of anti-assimilation. Western values, languages or government systems were not to replace existing traditions in the Netherlands-Indies; rather they had to co-exist as an amalgamation. During Van der Capellen's period in office, the residents

"1°. welk onderwijs toenmaals aan de kinderen der Javanen werd gegeven; wie dat onderwijs gaf; waar, op welke wijze en tegen welke betaling zulks werd genoten, en over welk gedeelte van de bevolking zich het uit strekte; 2. welke middelen zouden kunnen worden aangewend om dat onderwijs meer algemeen en doelmatig te maken en het aan zekere bepalingen te onderwerpen; 3°. of het daarbij nuttig zonde zijn de toenmaals bestaan de leermeesters door geschikte maatregelen aan te moedigen en hun meerdere hulp toe te voegen, dan wel of de noodzakelijkheid zoude medebrengen om daartoe geheel andere voorwerpen te gebruiken; 4°. of het niet het doelmatigste en eenvoudigste zonde zijn om de bepalingen ten aanzien van het onderwijs der kinderen in verband te brengen met de dorps huishouding."

⁷³ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 214.

⁷⁴ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864)220.

"de regenten zijn belast met het toezigt over de inlandsche scholen; zij trachten dezelve zooveel doenlijk uit te breiden en zorgen, dat zoo vele kinderen, als mogelijk is, in het lezen en schrijven worden onderwezen en dat men hun vroegtijdig leere, wat de pligten van goede en deugdzaame menschen zijn"

were instructed to extend their rule in association to the regents, whom they had to consider as their 'younger brother'. The duties of the residents were expanded: they had to actively protect the colonial subjects against all forms of repression, maltreatment, forced labour or extortion. For this purpose they had to become the heads of the local justice councils called *landraad* together with the Javanese regents and their ordinances. The cooperation between the regents (*Inlandsch Bestuur*) and the residents (*Binnenlands Bestuur*) was known as the earlier named dualistic system. The first envision of two education systems, one for Europeans and one for the colonial subjects can be understood as an extension of this dualistic approach on colonial dominance. This means that concepts on universality and synthesis existed within a segregated system. The Dutch and Javanese were working together separately.

During his time as governor-general, Van der Capellen took more measurements to create constructive basis for studying Javanese vernaculars. In 1819 he wrote that knowledge of a Javanese language (Sundanese, Madurese or Javanese) would make a candidate preferable for a position within the colonial government.⁷⁵ People such as the industrial and assistant-resident of Surakarta Paul van Vlissingen (1797-1876) were encouraged to excel in their study on Javanese languages. Van Vlissingen was able to create a printing press for Javanese characters, which was put in use in 1821 along with a department for Javanese languages (*Inlandsch Departement*).⁷⁶

Actual development of schools on Java was very limited. However, during his characteristic field trips to different residencies, Van der Capellen pressed the subject of education to the residents, as a way to counter dissoluteness. When he was in Tegal in 1822, he had a discussion on regulations for an education system, of which a concept was drafted. However, this draft has been lost.⁷⁷ Van der Capellen also had similar conversations on Javanese vernacular with the resident of Pasuruan in 1823. It was decided that a school for Javanese language should be founded in Pasuruan. However, the resident

⁷⁵ Brugman, *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* 75.

⁷⁶ H. W. Lintsen, *Geschiedenis van de techniek in Nederland. De wording van een moderne samenleving 1800-1890* (1995) 6:87.

⁷⁷ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 220.

couldn't find suitable staff members for the school and the plans were abandoned. More fruitful were plans for schools in Krewang and Pandeglang in 1823.

Van der Capellen found a friend in Caspar Reinwardt (1773-1854), who became the director of agriculture, arts and sciences. Reinwardt is generally acknowledged for continuing the work done by Raffles on Javanese antiquities and the founding of the botanical gardens in Bogor (*'s Lands plantentuin*). Yet, he can also be acknowledged for the first set regulations for European education in 1818. This regulation initiated superintending the European schools, a system that would become of use for the *inlandsche scholen* much later. Reinwardt was succeeded by the idealistic Jan van der Vinne (1793-1870) who had personally known Van der Capelle as a secretary at the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences.⁷⁸ Van der Vinne became *head inspector* and made his contributions to further expanding European education for women and European education in the exterior parts of The Netherlands-Indies.

When Van der Capellen left office in 1826 Leonard du Bus de Gisignies (1780-1849) became commissioner-general. He was appointed as such in order to economize the colonial expenses. Therefore, most of the developments that had been set in motion for the *inlandsche scholen* were disregarded. Subsidies were stopped, causing the newly opened schools to be closed again. Van der Vinne's position was also abandoned and Van der Vinne became one of the members in the new *hoofdcommissie van onderwijs* in 1830. This committee remained importance in government policy until 1867.

Surprisingly, despite the heavy cutbacks on government expenses for education, article 100 from the governance policy of 1827 reads that: "[t]he government will take precautions for the upkeep of schools for 'natives'."⁷⁹ Another article was drafted three years later, explaining that: "The government takes care of [European] schools serving 'natives'. Those schools will be

⁷⁸ Hans Groot, *Van Batavia naar Weltevreden: Het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1778-1867* (2009) 194.

⁷⁹ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 223.

"De regeering neemt ook de nodige maatregelen tot de instandhouding van de scholen der inlanders"

financially supported by the government."⁸⁰ This regulation would later on be heavily criticised, even though there would be only 35 Javanese pupils in these schools by 1850.⁸¹

1830-1852

Governor-general Johannes van den Bosch (1780-1844) had the same assignment as Du bus de Gisignies: to make the colony profitable. Van den Bosch, however, understood that this could only happen through providing enough education as the higher ruling classes of Java would gain more responsibilities during his *cultuurstelsel*, a system of forced planting. Therefore, we move from an idealistic man, Van der Capellen, to a practical man, Van den Bosch, who both sought to establish an education system for the Javanese. The situation in which both men worked was also different. Van den Bosch needed much more civil servants to help with the administration for the increasing number of plantations because of the *cultuurstelsel*. However, during Van den Bosch's period in office, new developments came from outside the government. In 1830, the combined board of the Bible Society (*Bijbelgenootschap*) and the Missionary Society (*Zending*) created a committee that would send a proposal to the governor-general concerning education.

1830 was not just the year of Van den Bosch's appointment as governor-general. It was also the year the 5 years Java War ended. This war, which had begun as a rebellion by the rejected prince Diponegoro, had a devastating impact on the mentality of the Dutch toward their colonial subjects. Next to being an expensive war, it displayed how weak the position of the Dutch was against the Javanese rulers. The end of this war meant that education became not just a fancy ideal: it became a way to govern the colony. Its purpose on the

⁸⁰ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 224.

"de regering zorgt, zooveel mogelijk, dat er op de on derscheidene plaatsen in N. I. scholen voor het lagere onderwijs, ook ten dienste der inlanders bestaan. Voor zoo verre er geene bijzondere en voldoende schoolfondsen zijn, worden de onderwijzers uit 's lands kassen bezoldigd."

⁸¹ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864)304.

outset was to both create a capable bureaucratic force amongst the ruling Javanese and to create a bond between the Javanese and the Dutch colonisers. Therefore, Van den Bosch was given an instruction by the king stating that the governor-general should be aware whether the spread of Christianity would create a bond between the Javanese and the Dutch colonial government or if it were better to search for alternatives.⁸²

The speech given by the liberal parliament member Daniël van Alphen (1774-1840) became famous on this topic, and lingered throughout the nineteenth-century.⁸³ He stated that:

After two centuries of glory, peace of mind and uninterrupted domination in the 'Great East', our government enjoyed a respect and luster there. It had a moral strength that has never been surpassed by any of the colonial powers. Trust and reverence were its pillars; good faith and straightforwardness made it the foundation. Unfortunately, this state of affairs was replaced by a period of violence, reversal and then enemy control, and for a moment that old and venerable tree of prosperity and prestige was cut down. It had stretched out its branches so wide and whom found itself beneath its beneficent shadow discovered peace and security; an indulgence, in one word, for all, against those devastating evils which are inseparable from the state of wildness and uncivilizedness.⁸⁴

⁸² Brugman, *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* 79.

⁸³ Tweede Kamer 1852-1853 XVII-2 *Vaststelling van het Reglement op het beleid der regering van Nederlandsch Indie* 540.

"Eén lid, die het stelsel der Regering verdedigde, vond zijn gevoelen bevestigd in de bekende redevoering, door den heer Van Alphen den 27sten Februarij 1826 in de Tweede Kamer uitgesproken"

⁸⁴ Pieter Meijer, *Kronijk van Nederlandsch Indie, loopende van af het jaar 1816* (1826) 29.

"Na twee eeuwen roem, gerust en onafgebroken bezit van heerschappij in de Groote Oost, genoot ons Bestuur aldaar een aanzien en luister, had het eene zedelijke kracht, die door geen Bestuur van eenige Kolonien ooit is overtroffen geworden. Vertrouwen en eerbied waren er de steunpilaren van; goede trouw en regtvaardigheid maakten er het fundament van uit. Ongelukkiglijk werd die staat van zaken vervangen door een tusschen tijdvak van geweld, omkeering van alles en daarna vijandelijke Overheersching, en voor een oogenblik werd ter neder gehouden die oude en eerwaardige boom van voorspoed en aanzien, die zijne takken zoo wijd uitstrekke en onder wiens weldadige schaduw de zwakke en magtige rust en veiligheid vond; eene toevlugt, in één woord, voor allen, tegen die verwoestende onheilen, welke van den staat van wildheid en onbeschaafdheid onafscheidelijk zijn."

These words must have reached the king as well, as he had stated that there must be a revival of a bond between the Javanese and the Dutch rulers. It is characteristic that this message implies that the colonial presence was essentially good for the colonial subjects and that this colonial presence had to be revived again. However, Van Alphen also stated that the Dutch presence must foremost bring material benefits for the Netherlands.⁸⁵

It is very likely to assume Van den Bosch would have thought about an education system to cover this purpose, to increase the Dutch colonial presence through employing more civil servants. What had frustrated serious efforts before 1830 was a lack of comprehensive government policy. The earlier named combined effort by the Bible and Missionary societies was an important step toward such policy. These societies named a committee, which was chaired by the linguist Johan Gericke (1798-1857), whose publications on Javanese languages are well known. This committee primarily looked at how education should be practiced under the superintending by the colonial government.⁸⁶

The committee made plans to create textbooks for pupils in Latin alphabet. It was therefore their first concern to create textbooks that were written in Malay concerning topics on reading, writing and mathematics. Javanese therefore became a separate subject whereas the language the classes were given in became the colonial lingua franca. Furthermore, the textbooks were to be written outside of any Christian contexts. An important characteristic to how the committee worked was that Gericke called in help from the Javanese regents as a continuing proof of anti-assimilation polity from the times of Van der Capellen.⁸⁷

The committee proposed the government to cooperate in developing a polity for Javanese education based on the Malay language and the textbooks produced by Gericke. That proposal initiated a second circular enquiry, which was sent to the residents. The circular was accompanied with a notice from the governor-general, requesting compliance of the Javanese mind-set on

⁸⁵ Meijer, *Kronijk van Nederlandsch Indie* 30.

⁸⁶ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 225.

⁸⁷ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864)225.

education. The proposals that would be given by the residents would therefore deem important. The ideas of the residents on an education system display conformity on several points. First, they all shared the idea that schools were necessary to fill in on the absence of capable civil servants - an indication of why Malay was adopted as the language for the schools, as Javanese civil servants spoke to the Dutch in Malay. Furthermore, this point on producing new civil servants became a continuous argument throughout the nineteenth-century. It was something that could be understood very well in the Netherlands. Secondly, they would advise to found a *kweekschool* (training school) for educating suitable Javanese teachers that would later become the teachers of the colonial schools.⁸⁸ There were also disagreements, not only amongst the residents but also amongst the regents, on the tuition fees and the title the teachers were allowed to carry.⁸⁹

A lingering difficulty remained the spatial, bureaucratic and situational gap between the Netherlands and the Netherlands-Indies. It often appeared that the situation on Java was understood differently in the Netherlands, which can be exemplified by King William I asking whether it be better to create a bond between the colonizers and colonized through the medium of Christianity. The spatial distance made it difficult to create experimental policy and change it along the way of implementation. Finally, different bureaucratic layers made it difficult to reach the highest authorities from below. For example, because of the *cultuurstelsel* and dual governance, the regents gained more duties in controlling plantation output and their position became hereditary. An education system was needed not just for the residents but also for the newly implemented bureaucracy of the regents.⁹⁰

These pleas would have hardly reached someone with high authority in the Netherlands if it weren't for Gericke's continuous interest in the subject of education. In 1838, Gericke had returned to The Netherlands, where he placed

⁸⁸ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 286.

⁸⁹ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 287.

⁹⁰ G. J. Nieuwenhuis, "De ontwikkeling van het Indisch onderwijs" *Gedenkboek voor Nederlands-Indie : ter gelegenheid van het regeeringsjubileum van H.M. de Koningin, 1898-1923* edited by L F van Gent, W A Penard, D A Rinkes, et al (1923) 156.

the subject under the attention of the minister of colonies, Jean Chrétien Baud. Finally, in 1839 the government seemed willing to subsidize the development of schools on Java. Yet, it took some time before the next step was taken.

However, Gericke was an idealistic person as he had shaped an idea of *Groot-Nederland* (a greater Netherlands) wherein all inhabitants should jointly work together on its prosperity. The universal opportunity to receive education seemed an essential part of this construct. This is why he put much work in developing a Javanese-Dutch dictionary and textbooks on the Javanese language together with people such as Wilkens and Winter.⁹¹ Gericke insisted that the ministry of colonies would see to creating a plan in 1844. This plan was sent to the governor-general and shows similarity to the earlier plan made by the committee. There had to be 16 schools on Java, where children were taught by Javanese teachers that would gain a certificate on a newly found *kweekschool* in Surakarta, which would be under European command. The subjects had to consist of reading, writing, speech, mathematics, geography and geodesy. Moreover, this education should feature a moralistic orientation for its pupils. That geodesy would be concerned a subject displays the intention that these schools were aiming to create a vast bureaucratic corps.⁹² Indeed, the program clearly reads: "founding of schools for future civil servants and operated by native teachers."⁹³ A letter from minister Baud's successor, minister ad-interim Rijk, conveys a similar view, where the use of Malay language is proposed as the language used for communication between Dutch and Javanese civil servants and therefore the use of the Malay language in the schools would be fundamental to create good Javanese civil servants.⁹⁴

After the report by Baud the decisive moment for the development of education for the Javanese finally arrived. King William II decided in 1848 that opening schools throughout Java would be necessary for acquiring Javanese civil servants and that a sum of 25,000 guilders would be supplied for.⁹⁵ This

⁹¹ Nieuwenhuis, *De ontwikkeling van het Indisch onderwijs*, 156.

⁹² Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 292.

⁹³ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 273

⁹⁴ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 301.

⁹⁵ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 303-304.

sum of money was already reserved by 1849 in the colonial budget.⁹⁶ Two years later, Gericke's textbooks arrived from the Netherlands and in 1852 the *kweekschool* for 15 upcoming teachers would be opened in Surakarta.

In 1850, Gericke pressed that he was afraid that Javanese teachers would lack the didactic qualities a European teacher would have and that he therefore became pessimistic about the future of the *Inlandsche School*. He furthermore educated pupils of mixed decent on his own in Javanese language, whom he thought would be suitable to teach the Javanese language and he proposed them to become teachers. The colonial government replied that their intention was to create new possibilities for the Javanese peoples and that they would require Javanese teachers for that.⁹⁷ Such response uncovers an idealistic outlook on what would seem a pragmatic choice at this point. It seems that there were practical choices to develop an education system for the Javanese, as we have learned from the necessity to educate civil servants. However, there remains an underlying idealistic trope to 'create new possibilities' for the Javanese peoples and would aim for a synthesis by educating Javanese teachers.

Yet, the question on suitable teachers would remain open for debate, as the whole idea of secular education was new on Java. The discussion arrived to the point where the colonial government had to decide who would be most suitable for becoming teachers. The decision from 1851 was subtle; it stated that the pupils for the *kweekschool* had to arrive from a *decent* class and that others would not be accepted. This decision was final, but was still open for debate as it shall never be completely obvious what was meant by *decent*. This gave the colonial government, who finally had to appoint the teachers, some space in determining any admissions.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 304.

⁹⁷ J. A. van der Chijs, "Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het inlandsch onderwijs aan officiële bronnen ontleend" *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde* 16:4 (1866) 3.

⁹⁸ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 5.

1852-1867

Thus, in 1852 the *kweekschool* of Surakarta was opened and with that, the slow progression that has been made up to that point, would have certain outcome: an education system for the Javanese. However, many topics were still open for debate as much of the practical issues had yet to be resolved. Firstly, the Dutch estates-general had to discuss this matter in parliament. They were presented with the first draft of the government polity in 1851. Before, in government polities, the subject of education was lastly named in the instructions of the governor-general in 1836. The polity as presented in 1851 reads:

Public education is a matter of persisting concern for the government. Further organisation of public education will be carried out by the governor-general, respecting religious difference. The governor-general will see to that, accordingly the to the numerousness of European inhabitants, there will be public *lager onderwijs* [European elementary education]. Decidedly, the governor-general will also take heart to organising of education for the 'native' [i.e. inlandsche] inhabitants, in accordance to their own needs.⁹⁹

First of all, this regulation draws striking similarity to article 226 of the constitution of 1815 on education, which also reads that: "Public education is a matter of persisting concern for the government". This can be understood as a persisting call for universality, as both the European and Javanese inhabitants are named within the same article. Furthermore, "in accordance to their own needs" point directly at a synthesis. It is therefore a paradox of universal foundations but different in practice.

First in 1853 the committee of reports (*rapportagecommissie*) of the Dutch parliament brought out a lengthy advice on education for the Javanese.

⁹⁹ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 237.

"Het openbaar onderwijs is een voorwerp van de aan houdende zorg der regering. De inrigting van het openbaar onderwijs wordt, met eerbiediging van ieders godsdienstige begrippen, door den gouverneur-generaal geregeld. Deze zorgt, zooveel mogelijk, dat overal, waar de talrijkheid der Europesche bevolking dit vordert, openbaar lager onderwijs gegeven worde. Bepaaldelijk wordt ook door den gouverneur-generaal behartigd de inrigting van het onderwijs voor de inlandsche bevolking, in overeenstemming met hare eigendommelijke behoefte."

A change of mentality is clear in this report as it concerns the system of colonial governance as: "[t]o take care of material benefits, which were the ultimate goal of the conquest [of the colony] in order to create a positive balance for the Dutch treasury. This has been done without noticing the sacrifices, which have been made by the native inhabitants, and what the consequent disasters had cost them."¹⁰⁰ This report is filled with rhetoric that is usually ascribed to a much later period, the ethical policy. The ethical policy is grounded on the so-called *eeerschuld* (debt of honour), which is most well known for its grand scale of implementing education. The report goes on that: "[t]o that system also belongs an anxious clinging to the existing [wrong doings] and thus also a perpetuation of gross abuses and wrongs, which, according to these members, take place in that system and furthermore deems to be inseparable."¹⁰¹ This sentence further indicates that a swift in colonial governance should be made in order to develop something new. This is furthermore explicated, as the committee beliefs that:

The choice for the new governance polity for the Netherlands-Indies should be founded on completely new principles. Acquiring material benefits for the motherland should not be placed on the foreground; rather the prosperity of the *Indische* [East Indian] inhabitants.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Tweede Kamer 1852-1853 XVII-2 *Vaststelling van het Reglement op het beleid der regering van Nederlandsch Indie* 539.

"Tot dat stelsel behoort, zoo als de Memorie van Toelichting dit zelve te kennen geeft, om bovenal te letten 'op de stoffelijke voordeden' die het doel waren der verovering. Dat is op het bedrag der batige sado's die de Nederlandsche schatkist uit de Oost-Indische bezittingen geniet, zonder genoegzaam indachtig te zijn aan de offers, welke die saldo's aan de inlandsche bevolking gekost hebben en nog kosten en aan de rampen daardoor over haar gebragt."

¹⁰¹ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 539.

"Tot dat stelsel behoort tevens een angstvallig vastklemmen aan het bestaande en dus ook eene bestendiging der grove misbruiken en verkeerdheden die, volgens deze leden, in Indie plaats vinden en van dat stelsel onafscheidelijk zijn."

¹⁰² Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 539.

"Naar hunne, overtuiging moet bij de keus van een regeringsstelsel voor Nederlandscli Indie van geheel andere beginselen worden uitgegaan. Het verwerven van stoffelijke voordelen voor het moederland moet daarbij geenszins op den voorgrond staan; maar wol de bevordering van het welzijn der Indische bevolking, zoodat alleen voor zoover het verwerven van bijdragen voor de Nederlandsche schatkist met dat hoofddoel is overeen te brengen, daarnaar mag worden gestreeld."

These texts were later on discussed by a committee that would look at the governance polity. A report on that account reads that there was disagreement about coining the main goal of colonial domination. However, it was resolved when the members agreed that both material as intellectual prosperity of the colonial subjects were considered to be beneficial for the Dutch as well. They concluded that: "the meaning of '*wingewest*' put aside - as prosperity can also mean moral and intellectual development. The committee wanted reform and development in the Indies, however placed under certain constraints."¹⁰³ It goes on that:

With regard to the maintenance of the ancestral institutions and customs, the colonial government did not become idle and adheres to it that the intellectual, religious and moral development of the natives, especially through the powerful lever of education, should keep that progression on the foreground. However, it was recognized that caution is required here and through that caution the wrong doings from the ancestral institutions and customs, could be taken away.¹⁰⁴

This passage refers to the dual nature of the colonial administration, the *Binnenlands Bestuur* and the *Inlandsch Bestuur*. It claims that the latter should not be standing in the way of progression of the Javanese if the Javanese were to be educated.

Another motive can be found when the committee discussed colonial governance by the regents, whom were understood to be: "useful tools of governing if they were bonded to the colonial government. However, the colonial government should not resist to protection of the peoples against

¹⁰³ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 540.

"Wingewest nu daargelaten— niet enkel van de welvaart maar ook van de zedelijke en verstandelijke ontwikkeling der inheemsche bevolking melding ware gemaakt. Het was toch onder zekere beperkingen, dat men hervorming en ontwikkeling in Indie wilde."

¹⁰⁴ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 540. "Ook

"Met opzigt tot de handhaving der voorouderlijke instellingen en gewoonten moest de Regering niet het stelsel van stilstand en onbewegelijkheid aankleven, maar op de verstandelijke, godsdienstige en zedelijke ontwikkeling der inlanders, vooral ook door den krachtigen hefboom van het onderwijs, het oog houden. Men erkende echter, dat hier dubbele behoedzaamheid noodig was, en dat slechts allengs wat verkeerd in de voorouderlijke instellingen en gewoonten is, kon worden weggenomen."

oppression from the same regents. "[...] The *cultuurstelsel* consequently placed the interests of these regents first while forgetting the interests of the colonial subjects."¹⁰⁵ This passage therefore claims that the rule of the regents had unwished effects on the Javanese because of the *cultuurstelsel*, which were to be countered by bonding the colonial subjects to the colonial government. The most straightforward method by doing so was placing the colonial subjects in the immediate sphere of influence of the colonial government through education. It was therefore stated that education for Javanese youth was considered to be equally important as education for European youth.¹⁰⁶

After these deliberations, a revised governance polity was proposed to the Dutch parliament. In 1854 there was a debate on this matter where the liberal Member of Parliament Johan Thorbecke (1798-1872) was most outspoken on implementing a comprehensive education system. He said that the regulations on education are:

Applauded by me, as it is completely new. [...] I have taken notice of the reports and I must say that the steps that are taken are small but they are being taken. It is our task, our duty, to spread light throughout the Indies in order to enlighten the Javanese on its own history, so that he can be shown what he was without us and then we can show him the way toward Christian civilization. I believe that through this the bond between The Netherlands and the Indies will be strengthened. Mutual respect (*wederkerigheid*) should be placed as a foundation in the soul of our community between the peoples, which could

¹⁰⁵ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 540-541.

"Men zag met andere woorden in de bedoelde zinsnede der Memorie van Toelichting de strekking doorblinken, om de inlandsche hoofden, als nuttige werktuigen van regering, aan zich te verbinden, maar zich aan het beschermen der groote menigte tegen knevelarij en onderdrukking van de zijde dierzelfde hoofden niet te laten gelegen liggen. Dit achtten de bedoelde leden uitermate verkeerd en eene zaak van veruitziende gevolgen". Zoo de instandhouding van het cultuurstelsel het Indisch Bestuur tot nu toe maar al te zeer op den weg had gebragt, om alleen op de inlandsche hoofden te zien en het volk te vergeten, dat met die hoofden in vele gevallen geheel strijdige belangen had, dan moest die weg worden verlaten, gedachtig aan den plicht, die op elke regering rust, om de zwakken tegen de willekeur der sterkeren te ondersteunen."

¹⁰⁶ Tweede Kamer 1852-1853 XVII-2 *Vaststelling van het Reglement op het beleid der regering van Nederlandsch Indie* 243.

exist only through the moral and material development, which we shall bring there.¹⁰⁷

Thorbecke furthermore requested that the colonial government would bring out annual reports on the matter. Developments on education would therefore become an important concern of not just the colonial government but also the parliament in The Hague.¹⁰⁸

There was much critique on this liberal attitude, initially shared by the minister. An interesting critique was given by the conservative P. J. Elout van Soeterwoude (1805-1893), who originated from Java and was involved with education laws in the Netherlands. He argued that Christianity had overcome the wrong thinking by Rousseau and Voltaire on the state of nature. He proposed that in his youth he had a conversation with a Javanese prince from which he understood that the Javanese were poisoning each other. He brought forth an anecdote on a Javanese regent testing his *kris* (knife) on one of his servants.¹⁰⁹

On a different occasion the matter was brought to the senate, which had the task to approve of the governance polity. The conservative and friend of Thorbecke, Charles Pahud, minister of colonies, replied in the senate that the education law would create: "an increasing development of progression and civilization of the indigenous inhabitants."¹¹⁰ Concluding from Thorbecke and Pahud, the education laws were clearly adopted also as a civilizing mission.

¹⁰⁷ Tweede Kamer 1853-1854 (August 8 1854) 1434-1435.

"Ik juich dit hoofdstuk toe. Het is eene nieuwigheid. Het regeringsreglement van 1836 behelst geene bepalingen van dezen aard. Men, zoo ik mij niet bedrieg, eerst in de laatste jaren bedacht geweest. Ik heb aandachtig kennis genomen van hetgeen daaromtrent in de twee verslagen betreffende de koloniën, aan de Kamer medegedeeld, wordt berigt. Het is weinig, maar een begin. Het is onze taak, onze plicht, licht in Indie te verspreiden. Zoo de Javaan opgehelderd wordt over zijne eigen geschiedenis, zoo hem wordt aangetoond wat hij was zonder ons, zoo hem door ons de weg tot Christelijke beschaving wordt geopend, ik geloof, Mijnheer de Voorzitter, daardoor meer dan door iets anders zal de band tusschen Indie en ons land worden versterkt. Wederkerigheid van belang moet de grondslag en de ziel onzer gemeenschap met de onderworpenen volkeren worden, en die kan slechts uit de zedelijke zoowel als materiele ontwikkeling ontstaan, waartoe wij hen brengen."

¹⁰⁸ Tweede Kamer 1853-1854 (August 8 1854) 1435.

¹⁰⁹ Tweede Kamer 1853-1854 (July 17 1854) 1104-3.

¹¹⁰ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 249.

"Ik voor mij heb de overtuiging, dat langs dien weg zal worden verkregen, wat ook de geachte spreker uit Zuid-Holland verlangt, namelijk toenemende ontwikkeling en beschaving van de inheemsche bevolking."

This mission was articulated through the idea that eventually western civilization should become implemented through education. This was in stark contrast with the ideas and aim of the colonial government, initiated by Van der Capellen, which took a stance of anti-assimilation policy through their pursue on finding a synthesis between traditional Javanese education and the western public school. However, the words by Pahud and Thorbecke are significant as they came from the highest officials concerned on colonial governance in the Netherlands, presenting a new mentality on the relationship of the government toward its colonial subjects. This relationship had to be one of finding mutual understanding through developing material and educational prosperity. The words by Pahud and Thorbecke had no further influence on education policy other than asking the colonial government to annually report on developments in education, exhibit a new mentality on the government's involvement to Javanese peoples and, finally, the approving of the governance polity in 1855.

The final governance polity of 1855 differs from the earlier draft in naming both education for Europeans and colonial subjects as equal (but still different).¹¹¹ Furthermore, according to the new polity the governor-general received new instructions from patria. It became the duty of the governor-general to impose:

[h]eavy measurements on the new policies and to visit all [...] what should be connected to the development of public education. The governor-general is furthermore able to impose any kind measurement that should improve public education for Europeans and natives and improve the arts in sciences among them. The governor-general shall make public education available for the native youth in each regency.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 250.

¹¹² Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 251.

„Art. 20: Tot de buitengewone maatregelen van gewigtigen aard, bedoeld bij art. 28 van het reglement op het beleid der regering van Ned. Indië, behooren: het bezoeken enz. alles, wat met [...] het openbaar onderwijs in verband staat. Art. 81. Behoudens de regels, door den koning omtrent het geven van onderwijs gesteld of nader te stellen, is de gouverneur-generaal bevoegd al zulke maatregelen te nemen, als strekken kunnen om het onderwijs onder de Europesche en de inlandsche bevolking te verbeteren en uit te breiden en onder haar kunsten en wetenschappen te bevorderen. De gouverneur-

The influence from Thorbecke can be noticed, as the instructions on education was not an empty letter anymore because the colonial government was required to report on the developments and therefore had to develop an education system.

The next step in development was the implementation of the established policy. This had already begun by 1852, as the *kweekschool* had been founded already three years before the governance polity was accepted as such in The Netherlands. However, it became a topic of continuous discussion from 1844 to 1867, when the department of education was founded. First, there was a letter in 1844 by the minister of colonies Baud concerning the earlier named subjects that were to be taught. He explained certain aspects of these choices more comprehensively. On moral instructions he noted that the textbooks should contain the duties of each member of a household.¹¹³ It can also be noted that it was brought forward that school times were a method to introduce regular labour hours, just as working on a plantation had done during the *cultuurstelsel*.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the title for the teacher was decided to become *mas goeroe*; *mas* is Javanese for 'mister' and '*goeroe*' teacher, however in a religious connotation.¹¹⁵ The title for the teacher would bring up much debate amongst the residents.

As a response to the minister's letter, the colonial government sent out a missive to the residents in 1846 concerning their ideas on a program for a public education system. The answers were published in a memorandum in 1847, consisting of point concerning: the necessity of creating civil servants, education programs and detailed measurements on public schools and the *kweekschool*, which was to produce the teachers for these schools.¹¹⁶ Firstly, the residents agreed that they would want to improve the standards of Javanese

generaal zorgt door de oprigting van scholen, zoo veel mogelijk, dat in elk regentschap gelegenheid zij tot onderwijs der inlandsche jeugd."

¹¹³ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 262.

¹¹⁴ Tweede Kamer 1852-1853 XVII-2 *Vaststelling van het Reglement op het beleid der regering van Nederlandsch Indie* 540.

¹¹⁵ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 262.

¹¹⁶ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 270.

civil servants, as their duties had increased during the *cultuurstelsel*. Secondly, they also reported that their secretaries have to teach Javanese civil servants elementary skills perforce.¹¹⁷ The idea that teachers should be of Javanese origin, just as that the language should be primarily Malay, was also carried unanimously.¹¹⁸ This differs from the proposal by the minister of colonies, as he envisioned the spoken language in class to be vernacular rather than the lingua franca. As discussed earlier: this is an important development, as Malay became increasingly settled as the language within the colonial government, which became continuously more extended to the Javanese peoples.

It was proposed by several residents that upcoming teachers should come from a lower class than the *priyayi* (Javanese ruling elites). In the lower classes there would be fewer 'prejudices and pretentiousness', as proposed by the resident of Surakarta in 1845. He further on stated that they: "would find less difficulty to get used to the military system of the *kweekschool* as they are already used to taking orders [...] and having a household with one wife and children, he shares his relations toward society."¹¹⁹ This instance uncovers how the Dutch regarded different members of Javanese society. It displays distrust toward the ruling elites as their high social position had spoiled them, which is also visible in their disapproval of polygamy. It furthermore states that labour should increase a sense of social involvement and that therefore the lower classes would be more suitable to fill the position of a teacher. However, the resident of Bagelen replied that pupils did not show due deference toward their teachers from lower classes. The headmaster of the *kweekschool*, Willem Palmer van den Broek (1832-1881) proposed that the social position of the

¹¹⁷ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 273.

¹¹⁸ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1864) 275.

¹¹⁹ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 7.

"Ook in die klasse zal het gewis niet ontbreken aan intelligente kinderen. Het zal dezen levens minder moeilijk vallen zich aan de eenigzins militaire huishouding ter kweekschool te gewennen, naar mate zij niet reeds als kinderen gewend zijn te bevelen en gehoorzaamd te worden, en hun zedelijk bestaan minder van den indruk van slechte voorbeelden zal doordrongen zijn. De huishoudelijke band, waarin de kweekelingen tot hun zedelijk welzijn gehouden worden, hindert de jongelingen van hoogere afkomst, als daaraan van der jeugd af niet gewoon. Dit zal minder het geval zijn in de klasse van goede gezetene Javanen zonder hoogen titel, met ééne vrouw en kinderen huisselijk levende en de zonen in de werkzaamheden hunner maatschappelijke betrekking van jongs afdoende deelen, waardoor zij meer vrij van weelde en ontucht opgroeijen en meer degelijke onderwijzers beloven."

person should not change rather the social position of the office through taking measurements to elaborate the esteem of the teacher.¹²⁰

The headmaster added that:

When a people is ill-advised enough to only pay respect to people of considerable birth, it will be difficult to eradicate that incomprehension. Yet, it does not seem impossible to me: keep your teachers in high regard! This lesson is so simple that it requires no explanation. It cannot be repeated enough by the officials of the local administration.¹²¹

He furthermore claimed that the ruling elites would only become teachers in order to step up the career ladder within the colonial bureaucracy. He therefore pointed out once more that:

In whole Europe the teachers belong to the civilian class. They are not less esteemed because of that. Why should this not be the case on Java in times of progression, when the colonial government and enlightened regents would collaborate? A similar class of educators shall never be formed when the sons of regents will be appointed as teachers.¹²²

This passage refers to the creation of a new Javanese class that had to be invented by the colonial government. Western normative culture had to be inserted on Javanese terms, which again points to a synthesis. After consent on this advice given by most residents, the colonial government decided in 1856

¹²⁰ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 8.

¹²¹ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 8.

"Wanneer een volk onverstandig genoeg is om alleen achting aan menschen van aanzienlijke geboorte toe te dragen, zal het wel moeilijkheid opleveren om dat onverstand uit te roeijen, maar toch schijnt het mij niet onmogelijk. Hebt achting voor uwe leermeesters! Deze les is zoo eenvoudig, dat zij geene aanprijzing behoeft. Zij kan door de ambtenaren van het plaatselijke bestuur niet te dikwijls herhaald, niet te sterk aangedrongen worden."

¹²² Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 9.

"Dit is in geheel Europa het geval en vast alle onderwijzers aldaar behooren tot de burgerklasse. Zij zijn daarom niet minder ontzien en geacht. Waarom zoude dit in den tijd van vooruitgang op Java niet hetzelfde geval worden, wanneer daartoe door de hoofden van gewestelijke besturen en zoo vele verlichte-regenten wordt medegewerkt? Die zelfstandige klasse van onderwijzers zal nimmer gevormd worden, wanneer zonen van of andere aan regenten naauwverwante jongelieden tot onderwijzers worden benoemd."

that teachers had to be found within classes lower than the ruling elites.¹²³ This paved the way to invent this new teachers class within the Javanese society.

After this, the colonial government was concerned with applying the education system to the Javanese moral customs through creating new laws. The first laws would enhance the social position of teachers on Java. To start, they proposed a solid income that would increase throughout the years together with a pension fund. In 1857, the minister of colonies Pieter Meijer (1812-1881), gave his consent on a high monthly payment of Javanese teachers.¹²⁴ The idea that wages should be increased throughout the years was based on the concept of rewarding teachers whom worked with dedication the government wanted to see. That is, remaining within their position for several years and adopting with western norms such as time schedules and labour morals. The regulations concerning payments were published in 1858, around the same time the first students had graduated from the *kweekschool*.

Another regulation that was adopted was concerning the regalia, attire and the servants of the teacher. The headmaster of the *kweekschool*, Palmer van den Broek and the resident of Surakarta thought this were to be necessary in addition to the payment regulations. It was proposed that the teachers would be allowed to carry a *payung*, a traditional Javanese umbrella functioning as a crown. The *payung* could be plain for teachers from a low social position whereas *priyayi* would be allowed to add golden stars to their *payung*.¹²⁵ A few years later, in 1860, the pupils at the *kweekschool* requested the right to carry a *payung*, a *sirih* (betel) box and other regalia together with four servants who were to keep these objects around him.¹²⁶ The headmaster furthermore added to this request that: "[A] native official without a *payung* is something very strange. His esteem lowers in the eyes of his countrymen. He would therefore be of no interest in the position of a teacher that would not give him the according esteem. [...] How unfortunate would this be if that were the case?

¹²³ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 13.

¹²⁴ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 13.

¹²⁵ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 27.

¹²⁶ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 28.

What will become of the education that will be given by force? The request seems to me as something most fair."¹²⁷

After these requests, the colonial government sent out a circular concerning the right regalia and the right title for the teachers. According to this circular, the government decided that the rank of the teachers was to be higher than that of *mantri*: Javanese civil servants and the overseers of warehouses and other buildings belonging to the colonial government.¹²⁸ Yet they were regarded as lower as district-heads and judicial staff members. Their new rank became therefore '*mantri-goeroe*', indicating a special position amongst the *mantri* class as teacher.¹²⁹ In 1863 it was decided that next to this title the teachers were allowed to have a *payung* and other regalia carried by servants.

This picture from the early 20th century displays a Javanese teacher together with a pupil. Next to him there is a servant carrying a *sirih*-box indicating the status of the teacher as intended by the colonial government in 1863.



¹²⁷ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 29.

"Een inlandsch ambtenaar zonder pajong is in 't oog van den inlander iets geheel vreemds. Hij daalt door dat waardigheidsteeken verstoken te zijn in de achting zijner landgenooten. Hij zelf, deelende in de vooroordeelen zijner landgenooten, zal ook wel geene waarde hechten aan eene betrekking, waarvoor de menigte geene achting koestert. Hij zal zijn best doen om op eene andere wijze geplaast te worden; en zoo hem daartoe de gelegenheid benomen wordt, zal hij ontevreden zijn en zonder opgewektheid of eenige inspanning zijn dienst verrigten. En hoe nadelig moet dat niet zijn in dit bijzondere geval? Hoe zal een onderwijzer, die de achting van zijne medeburgers, van ouders en kinderen mist, nuttig kunnen zijn? En wat wordt er van het onderwijs, dat gedwongen, zon der lust of opgewektheid gegeven wordt, anders dan ellendig sleurwerk? Het verzoek van requestanten om een pajong te mogen erlangen komt mij dus hoogst bil lijk voor. Zij stellen er zeer veel prijs op en moeten, naar het mij voorkomt, zelve de onkosten van die staatsie dragen."

¹²⁸ In Javanese society, the term *mantri* refers to the highest servants of the rulers. This term became intertwined with a Dutch understanding of civil servants creating terms such as *mantri-politie* (police officer), *mantri-tjatjar* (vaccinator). The term originates from old-Malay and Sanskrit *mantrin*: advisor.

¹²⁹ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 32.

There was also a discussion concerning tuition fees. According to the earlier enquiry from 1830, these were not part of the Javanese 'morals and customs' as stated by various residents. In 1857, an advisor stated that a tuition fee could be placed within a Javanese tradition. He pointed out that: "the pupils serve their master like Samuel served Heli. Could this not be classified as a payment?"¹³⁰ Of course, the director-general is framing Javanese culture to the norms of western concepts on education. The director-general names the purpose for this more explicitly:

[The Javanese] don't pay tuition fees, but the pupils serve their schoolmaster according to the scripture of Samuel serving Heli. To remain in accordance with the morals of the people and to assure a situation wherein the schools are accepted, [the tuition fees] must be merged [with Javanese culture] in order to show that this is not a whim from the dominator.¹³¹

Apparently, the director-general shows considerable empathy toward the Javanese peoples, through considering what Javanese morals and customs should mean for Dutch domination. It was therefore agreed that tuition fees had to be set low and that the colonial government were to pay for the appliances and buildings. The reason to do so was the same as given by the director-general.¹³²

The tuition fees would eventually be applied for the pupils. However, the amount each person had to pay was depended on class. As had become usual with these topics, the government sent out a circular asking on advice from the residents concerning tuition fees. The residents proposed that there were to be seven classes ultimately based on income. However, the regents

¹³⁰ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 23. de leerlingen dienen hunnen meester, zooals Samuel volgens de heilige schrift Heli diende". Maar is die dienst dan geene betaling?

¹³¹ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 20.

"Daarenboven ligt het betalen van schoolgelden niet in de zeden der inlandsche bevolking. Zij betaalt die in den regel niet. Maar de leerlingen dienen hunnen schoolmeester, zooals Samuel volgens de heilige schrift Heli diende. Om met de zeden van die bevolking in overeenstemming te blijven en de scholen bij haar welgevallig te doen zijn, om die met haar volksbestaan te doen insmelten en niet voort durend te doen beschouwen als eene gril van den overheerscher."

¹³² Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 25.

were ordered to take notice of the social status of the applicant in order to decide the class they would belong to. Therefore, there is again a synthesis between western normative culture of income based payments and Javanese concepts of status. The highest class (Javanese nobility) had to pay the highest tuition fee, three guilders for the first child whereas the seventh class was free of payment. This regulation was put in practice in 1864.¹³³

Another debate was concerned with architecture and furniture of the schools. In 1854, the government sent out another circular enquiring whether the Javanese would be most comfortable in a classroom built based on a European classroom or Javanese styled *langgar*. The problematizing of this arose from a commentary by the regent of Serang, who stated that it would be ill advised to allow children to sit on chairs. Firstly, the regents warned that the children would equal to those in a higher social position than them. Secondly, the children would lose their moralistic submission to the ruling class.¹³⁴ Indeed, most regents confessed that European styled schools were against *adat* (traditional laws). The resident of Yogyakarta wrote that:

The insignificant *langgars* are in complete accordance to the insignificant and narrow-minded education of thoughtless parroting of prayers. It should be expected that an institute that would bring the opposite would look the opposite of that as well.¹³⁵

He furthermore stated that he was also against the use of chairs, as this was against *adat*. The resident of the Preanger regencies, however, argued that sitting on the floor for many hours would be bad for the pupil's health.¹³⁶ Most regents whom informed the residents admitted their favour for a European

¹³³ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 42.

¹³⁴ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 73.

¹³⁵ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 74.

"De zoo onaanzienlijke in rigting der langgars geheel in overeenstemming is met de zoo bekronipene, volstrekt onbeduidende opleiding aan de Javaansche jeugd daarin gegeven, welke zich immers bijna alleen bepaalt tot het gedachteloos doen naprevelen van eenige lessen en gebeden uit de Koran en kitabs, zoo mag dan ook alleen reeds in tegenstelling daarvan worden verwacht, dat eene inrigting, gewijd aan het geven van een grondig onderwijs en aan de opkweeking van den Javaan later tot nuttige leden der maatschappij, van die meer verhevene bestemming ook uitwendig de blijken drage."

¹³⁶ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 77.

school, as they generally noted these buildings to be more practical. The director of public works gave three reasons based on hygiene, educational and even political matters. He noted that European buildings would be more practical to keep clean and deemed to be more spacious. Furthermore, he noted that the government had the duty to make education available to all Javanese children, making a spacious building necessary to host big classes.¹³⁷ Finally, it was decided that the government would favour European style furniture and architecture. However, the minister of colonies reported that each regency should decide and pay for themselves.¹³⁸

To increase the amount of teachers, a second *kweekschool* had to be founded in Bandung, capital of the Sunda residency, west-Java. This was decided as the peoples from west-Java identified themselves as completely different from the peoples of east- and central-Java. Moreover, their language was different and not being taught at the existing *kweekschool* in Surakarta. The main difference between both schools became language, as Javanese was a subject of importance at the school in Surakarta, so became Sundanese at the school in Bandung. Concerning language, Van der Chijs added that the *Raad van Indië* noted on the importance of Arabic script. The council had warned on educating Javanese teachers strictly based on western norms. This would exclude Javanese education never to: "identify with the native character (*landaard*) and thus never nationalise."¹³⁹ Neglecting of Arabic script would cause the teacher to be looked down on by other Javanese. It can be identified that the colonial government was therefore trying to create an education system similar to the Dutch national education system but on Javanese terms, therefore creating a Javanese national education system. The circulars that had been sent out ultimately aimed at finding similarities and generalities can support this view.

Therefore, the creation of an education system was also a search for a national element on Java based on western norms using Javanese terms. Each

¹³⁷ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 79.

¹³⁸ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 71.

¹³⁹ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 46.

aspect of implementing such a system was treated based on this idea. An important starting point the colonial government took in account was the warning on conducting any implementation with cautiousness. The government approached the implementation through creating an 'invented tradition' of Javanese secular education. This involved the creation of a class system, which was loosely based on existing social hierarchies and was used to define tuition fees. Within the school program there was a call for the subject of Arabic, which was usually taught at the *pesantren*. Furthermore, a teachers class was invented based on Javanese cultural idiosyncrasies. Most of the debates that had followed the governance polity between the residents were concerned with these cultural idiosyncrasies compared to other residencies. These practices seem very much similar to the initial ideas of Van der Capellen. What the colonial government tried to discover were the similarities between Javanese normative cultures and how to fit these cultures to a secular education system with western elements such as time scheduled classes and exams or concepts concerning nationalism and society.

Enlightenment idealisms had caused the institutionalizing of the western world and now became extended to its colonial spaces that were institutionalized by new forms of government and education systems. For education, one overarching institution was yet to be established: the Departement van Onderwijs, Eredienst en Nijverheid (Department of Education, Religious Affairs and Industry).

In the second half of the 1860s, colonial education policy became influenced by a more idealistic approach based on the idea that western morals and Christianity should become available to all Javanese peoples. These ideas reached the liberal Isaïc Fransen van de Putte (1822-1902), who became minister of colonies in 1863. Together with governor-general Ludolph Sloet van de Beele (1806-1890), Van de Putte worked out a more comprehensive implementation plan for education that would shift the earlier named focus of educating civil servants to a more broadly aimed education system. Van de Putte posed that the governance polity was to be taken as literally as possible and concluded that the governor-general should therefore make schools

available to all youth of the Indian Archipelago. Their views were further strengthened through a rescript signed by king William III from April 18, 1863. It stated that the government had obligated itself to make education available to all colonial subjects.¹⁴⁰ Van de Putte therefore introduced a new liberal era of education policy. It is not surprising that one of his friends characterized him as someone who had: "trust in the character of the native peoples and faith in the Javanese."¹⁴¹

To further implement education, Sloet van de Beele decided that a superintendent should be put in place, as the head committee was not able to anticipate and respond in a short amount of time. The superintendent was placed in position by 1864. The superintendent's first duty was to anticipate on policy that was made by the colonial government and discuss this with those who became involved with this policy. Second, the superintendent was assigned to draw annual reports on education affairs, which had the task of the governor-general earlier.¹⁴² Meanwhile, the governor-general differed from Van der Putte in stating that the superintendent wouldn't need staff or an office building. The first superintendent became J. A. Van der Chijs (1831-1905), who also publicised all documentation available on education affairs.

However, this created a difficult and chaotic situation where the committee and the superintendent had to work together on one subject, while the committee was just an advisory council working pro bono. The committee furthermore complained that their activities became similar to that of an executive institution since the governance polity was put in effect in the 1850s.¹⁴³ Van de Putte furthermore envisioned a steady amplification of the education system. He already opened the doors to higher functions within the colonial administration for those who could not be examined at the Academy in Delft, as was obligated until 1864. For example, already from 1863, the residents gave examinations for land surveyors.¹⁴⁴ From 1864 onward, two kinds

¹⁴⁰ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 73.

¹⁴¹ Hermanus Idema, "Fransen van de Putte op Java 1849-1859" *De Gids* 98:1 (1934) 299.

¹⁴² *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 109 (1864).

¹⁴³ Brugman, *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 156.

¹⁴⁴ *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 20 (1863).

of examinations were offered for aspiring civil servants outside of the Academy in Delft. However, these examinations were in Dutch and European schools were consequently opened for the Javanese as well.¹⁴⁵

Together with these developments, the colonial government further institutionalized its administrations by opening four executive departments in 1867, from which the Department of Education, Religious Affairs and Industry was one. The opening of this department meant that the implementation of colonial education came under the direction of a trained staff. The diversity of the whole education system, both European and Javanese, could be regulated in an organized fashion. This was the beginning of the so-called liberal period in Dutch colonial politics.

However, as we had witnessed before, terms such as liberalism in the colony may be misleading. While many voices from the Netherlands were filled with idealisms about how the Javanese should be treated, the colonial government only executed plans that were practicable. Universality, for one, was interpreted differently in the colony. The Javanese were allowed their universal possibility to attend school while at the same time being treated differently from the Europeans.

Chapter Conclusion

The period to 1830 was an important period for the later developments on education policy. It was Daendels who first included that education for the Javanese should be a concern of the colonial government. However, it were Van der Capellen's initiatives that had a lasting impact on education policy as a synthesis. His enquiry of 1820 indicates that he envisioned a system of traditional Javanese practices, but included a secular education system that was based on western normative concepts. This idea was elaborated in each time frame.

Between 1830-1852, education was proposed to be a solution to repair the damaged bond between the Dutch and the Javanese after periods of turmoil.

¹⁴⁵ *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 194 (1864).

This development caused the changing position the Javanese had toward the colonial government. Therefore, the Dutch government warned the colonial government to implement colonial education with cautiousness. There was a fear that education might turn against the government's expectation on creating new civil servants but also, rather idealistic, to civilize and educate the Javanese and perhaps even to make them Christians. Such were the debates that were held in The Hague. In the Netherlands-Indies, had a more practical character, as the topic of Christianity was never touched. Rather, the civil servants emphasised the secular nature of the schools. To them, the schools had a practical *raison d'être*: to create new civil servants. However, they understood the implications the new school system could have. A synthesis in this period becomes clear during the discussions of the reporting committee, who argued that education should be implemented according to the customs of the land (*landaard*). Furthermore, when understanding the governance polity, arguing that education should be based on the Javanese "own needs", it becomes clear that the Dutch government intentionally left much space open for the colonial civil servants to complement on this.

The period of 1852-1867 can therefore be characterized as a period where colonial civil servants were indeed trying to shape education policy toward Javanese traditions. They considered the social position of the teachers through their title, the regalia they were allowed to carry and the servants they were appointed to employ. They considered the language in which the classes to be given as Malay but made the subjects of Javanese and Sundanese depend on the regency the school was placed in. They considered the social and economical classes of the pupils to determine tuition fees. They considered architecture and furniture in which the Javanese would feel most comfortable. Finally, they posed that the subject of Arabic, typically taught at the *pesantren*, should not be ignored at the *Inlandsche school*. Thus a synthesis was given a concrete shape through inventing tradition through incorporating Javanese normative culture within the colonial education system. Fransen van de Putten, lastly, formalized the institutionalization by founding the Department of Education, Religious Affairs and Industry. He further approached the *Inlandsche school* not

as a mere institution to create new civil servants. Rather, he adopted a more universalistic viewpoint through which he promoted the *Inlandsche school* to provide a general education for all Javanese youth.

CHAPTER III: British-India and colonial education policy in The Netherlands Indies

Chapter introduction

This last chapter will place the debates and understandings of Dutch civil servants on colonial education policy within a wider context. Not only did the British occupy the Netherlands-Indies between 1811-1816, they also developed a comprehensive education policy for Indians by 1835. In this chapter, developments on creating education policies will be contrasted in three different time frames: before 1835, between 1835-1854 and between 1854-1867. From the British debates that were held concerning their own education policy, the Dutch civil servants used their arguments. Questions that will be approached in this chapter are: what were the general debates in British-India concerning education policy? How were these debates involved in the debates that followed in the Netherlands and the Netherlands-Indies? Did British colonial education policy influence the Dutch policymakers?

Before 1835

The relationship between the Dutch and the British toward colonial affairs is ambiguous. From the revolution of the eighteenth-century and the consequent Batavian Republic, Great Britain was understood to be a conservative threat. This was not only the case in Europe, it was equally so in the colonies. The Enlightenment, to begin with, had started in the colonies with the ideas by Dirk van Hogendorp, as discussed earlier. A distrust of British conservatism in colonial affairs can be identified through the opening passage of his main work, *Bericht van den tegenwoordigen toestand der Bataafsche bezittingen in Oost-Indien en den handel op dezelve*. It is a quote from a British work titled *Historical views of plans for the government of British India and regulation of trade to the East Indies from 1793*. It reads that: "It will be more wise to continue the present system of domestic Indian government, founded upon the basis of

old established practices, than adopt any plausible theory rather for the fame of a new splendid experiment."¹⁴⁶

To present this quotation at the beginning of a publication that introduced new visions on colonial governance must be interpreted as a mocking of British conservative power. Together with that, it could also be understood as an attack on the conservative powers that existed within the colony during the late VOC-era. The arrival of Daendels before the British occupation confirms the distrust of the British, as he was sent to defend the colony against an invasive force from British-India. Placing a value on the British occupation period is a debate that has been often touched upon without consensus. Sir Stamford Raffles placed a lot of effort in researching Javanese ancient monuments and reviving the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences. However, he also stopped subsidizing the few schools operated by Dutch missionaries, resulting in a complete standstill of colonial education.¹⁴⁷

However, colonial education policy in British-India was much more comprehensive in the first part of the nineteenth-century than the events that have been discussed for the Netherlands Indies. In 1813, the East India Company had set aside 100,000 rupees with the purpose of creating a colonial education system. That system became strongly intertwined with missionary activities, as from that time missionary schools were tolerated by the colonial government. A decade later, a General Committee of Public Instructions was established to oversee education affairs.¹⁴⁸ These events of tolerating missionary activities were in contrast to the Netherlands Indies, as there were missionary schools first whereas secular schools were established later by the 1860s.

1835-1854

¹⁴⁶ Pieter den Hengst, *Onderzoek der gronden van het stelsel van den Heer Dirk van Hogendorp, omtrent vrije vaart en handel op de Nederlandsche bezittingen in Oost-Indië, en de verandering in 't bestuur over dezelve* (1802) 2.

¹⁴⁷ Brugman, *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 67.

¹⁴⁸ Clive Whitehead, "The Historiography of British Imperial Education Policy, Part I: India" *History of Education* 34:3 (2005) 318.

The period between 1835-1854 can be characterized as a period of significant change for education policy. However this change caused the main difference between colonial polity in The Netherlands Indies and British-India. In British-India, there was a discussion on pursuing a synthesis between autochthonous concepts and western concepts of education and knowledge. There were two contrasting views on this between the Orientalists, favouring an education system based on western norms and the Utilitarians or Benthamites, favouring a western normative system.

A synthesis did not grow from this discussion, rather a particular view from the Utilitarians expressed by a member of the supreme council, Thomas Macaulay (1800-1859), in his memorandum of 1835. This memorandum became decisive for the course of British education policy. Macaulay opposed the view that education should be given in any other language than English. He argued that: "[a] single shelf of a good European library is worth the whole literature of India and Arabia."¹⁴⁹ He understood that western education systems were superior to others and therefore no synthesis could have been drawn, as would be the case in the Netherlands-Indies on the contrary. The governor-general Lord Bentinck endorsed this memorandum in the English Education Act of 1835. The English Education Act sought to create cultural go-betweens for the British colonial administrators, similar to Dutch intention much later. However, the main difference between this was language, whereas the Dutch resorted on using Malay as a lingua franca, the British relied on using English rather than vernacular.

It should be noted that the English Education Act was given effect twenty years before the governance polity of 1855 in the Netherlands Indies. Dutch colonial governance placed more weight on the colony as a *wingewest* rather than anything else. That polity in The Netherlands-Indies was strengthened through the Java War (1825-1830). Furthermore, it has been discussed that governor-general Van der Capellen was aiming at a synthesis between western and other normative education systems, contrasting

¹⁴⁹ Whitehead, "The Historiography of British Imperial Education Policy", 319.

Macaulay. The idea that the Javanese peoples were not to be provoked became persistent. Recurring were the warnings from patria on taking cautiousness when implementing anything concerned with education policy.

Another difference lay exactly with the colonial subjects of British-India. Where the Dutch were to take caution, a small but influential number of Hindus from the Brahmin caste understood that western normative education could bring social and economic advantages to their societies.¹⁵⁰ Where the Javanese treated western education with suspicion, it was embraced by a small number of Hindus in India. The promotion of western education in India through the Education Act must have catalysed this.

Around this time in the Netherlands-Indies, there was a British citizen who helped on developing the proposal on education policy by Gericke in 1848. This was Walter Henry Medhurst (1796-1857), whom became active for the Missionary Society when researching the use of Malay language throughout the Indian Archipelago.¹⁵¹ Yet, there is no information whether his opinion on British education policy mattered in drafting the proposal.

1854-1867

Similar to the Netherlands-Indies, British governance polity was renewed in the 1850s. By 1854, the Education Act was implemented in the Charter of the East India Company as comprehensive policy in a chapter titled Education Despatch. However, only three years later in 1857, the Sepoy Mutiny broke out, causing the end of the East India Company. The British government assumed direct control over India and its education affairs. The Mutiny brought not only the end of the East India Company, it also brought a moral change concerning education affairs.

The Utilitarians became heavily beleaguered for provoking the Mutiny. The Despatch of 1859 reflected the idea that education policy was seen as a cause for the uprising. There was a turn to establishing an education system

¹⁵⁰ Whitehead, "The Historiography of British Imperial Education Policy", 319.

¹⁵¹ Van der Chijs, *Bijdragen* (1866) 224.

that would include vernacular. The state would subsidize local initiatives on establishing schools, but there was no further commitment on establishing a national education system, as had been the vision on Java. The Indian sub-continent was thought to be too diverse in cultures to create a uniform policy in the 1860s.¹⁵²

However, before the uprising the well-established British education policy became a topic of debate in the Netherlands Indies. There was no division between Orientalists or Utilitarians, but there was a division between those in favour of a comprehensive education system and those in favour of a limited system. The discussion was centred on two contrasting publications concerning education in British-India. First, there was a Utilitarian publication by John William Kaye from 1853 titled: *The Administration of the East India Company: A History of Indian Progress*. This work had a positive judgement on Indian education policy from 1835 onward. Second, there was a negative approach by Henry Thoby Prinsep, also from 1853 titled: *The India Question*. Both views from these publications were discussed at length both in the Dutch parliament and amongst the colonial administrators in the Netherlands Indies. Those who favoured Kaye thought that a broad and comprehensive education system should be established, whereas those who favoured Prinsep pointed at the dangers that could arise from being too ambitious. They generally favoured a slow process of implementation rather than taking one turn in governance polity.

Prinsep, to start with, was first mentioned in the *Memorie van Toelichting* (Explanatory Memorandum) on the governance polity of 1854. Prinsep stated that teaching western concepts would ultimately provoke uprisings, especially concerning subjects as: "the defending of the murder of Caesar by Brutus and Cassius and the uprising in the Americans against the British crown, being favourite topics of declamation in the schools of Calcutta. Ideas on the right of each people to have its own independent state is

¹⁵² Whitehead, "The Historiography of British Imperial Education Policy", 320.

increasingly distributed through the schooling system."¹⁵³ Charles Ferdinand Pahud (1803-1873), who was minister of colonies, had adopted this view in his commentary on the proposal for a governance polity that had been drafted by the colonial government. Consequently, he stated that there were not enough guarantees that would prevent such ideas on self-government in the Netherlands-Indies. The general warning on cautiousness became persistent throughout drafting and implementing education policy.

Based on this commentary, members of the committee who were to revise the earlier draft adopted Kaye's view to support their ideas on implementing a comprehensive education system. Kaye differed from Prinsep by stating that the goal of colonial education is the 'enlightenment' of the colonial subjects. It should be this enlightenment that would bring together the dominator and the dominated on a reciprocal level of mutual understanding. It would be that understanding that, according to Kaye, might lead to self-government of the colonial subjects. The minister of colonies asked whether the committee members would agree with such a possible outcome in any case. However, he also stated that it is his belief that The Netherlands could still follow this road, if cautiousness were to be taken.¹⁵⁴ The committee responded in another report on the accusation by the minister. They expressed that Prinsep's view remains silent on the benefits, as Kaye mentions them for the British colonial government and the missionary schools. They furthermore argued that any possible outcome as mentioned in Kaye's work, would depend on the direction education was given to.¹⁵⁵

During the debate on colonial education policy, it was P. J. Elout van Soeterwoude who had a final word on the discussion in support of a comprehensive education policy by asking whether: "the Netherlands will measure the importance of justice through the disparate opinions of a certain Kaye or a certain Prinsep? Or shall this be measured through our [religious and

¹⁵³ Tweede Kamer 1853-1854 XXXVIII-3 *Vaststelling van het Reglement op het beleid der regering van Nederlandsch Indie*, 402.

¹⁵⁴ Tweede Kamer 1853-1854 XXXVIII-11 *Vaststelling van het Reglement op het beleid der regering van Nederlandsch Indie*, 758.

¹⁵⁵ Tweede Kamer 1853-1854 XXXVIII-10 *Vaststelling van het Reglement op het beleid der regering van Nederlandsch Indie*, 679.

moral] prosperity?¹⁵⁶ After this remark, the discussion on Kaye and Prinsep waned and with that, the colonial government did not research other examples from British-India to create education policy. It was their belief that the case of Java differed too much from that of British-India to fruitfully learn from British experiences. Furthermore, the debate on colonial education in the Netherlands-Indies was different from the debate in British-India. In the Netherlands-Indies, there were no Utilitarians, rather, the question was concerning the size of the education system.

Chapter Conclusion

Dutch colonial education was much different from British colonial education. If not in quantity, the discussions that were held also bore differences. While the British were generally divided between Utilitarians and Orientalists, the Dutch did not have such a distinction. In the Netherlands, everyone was an Orientalist. The Dutch discussion was concerned the measurement of implication rather than in how far western normative culture had to be taught to the pupils. This had been the case as the Dutch civil servants aimed at a specific goal: to educate enough Javanese to become civil servants. Their expectations therefore were very specific, too: the Javanese had to become used to regular labour hours, speak and write in Malay or a Javanese language and should be able to conduct other tasks that were expected to administrate the colony.

The debate between Prinsep and Kaye was therefore one between those who wanted to take cautiousness and develop a limited education system and those who were in favour of a more comprehensive approach. The Dutch understood the case of British-India as different from the Netherlands-Indies. Any influence from the British debates therefore became very limited. The Dutch government, however, did press a warning to the colonial government after the

¹⁵⁶ Tweede Kamer 1853-1854 (July 17, 1854) 1104-4

"Zal Nederland den maatstaf van belang en regtvaardigheid zoeken in de uiteenlopende meeningen van een Kaye of een Prinseps [*sic*]? In de schriften zelfs van de uitnemendste mannen? Of zullen beide Nederlands belang en Nederlands regtvaardigheid getoetst worden en zich verenigd vinden in gehoorzaamheid aan de *schrift*, onafscheidelijk verbonden aan den zegen? Leert dit onafscheidelijk verband niet elke geschiedenis, ook bepaaldelijk die van de welvaart, den achteruitgang, het verlies onzer bezittingen?"

governance polity of 1855 had been drafted, to watch for any adverse consequences.

CONCLUSION

The Dutch sought to create a colonial school system that could provide the following requirements: 1) the Dutch wanted to incorporate the Javanese within the colonial space through changing the bond they had toward the colonial government, and 2) to create Javanese civil servants that could help administrating the colony. The *cultuurstelsel*, the increasing bureaucratization and the dualistic government, which required more cooperation from the Javanese in administrative tasks, caused this.

Colonial education in the Netherlands-Indies was a synthetic practice. A synthesis between western and Javanese education systems can be witnessed from the rule of governor-general Godert van der Capellen onward, who sought to establish schools based on both Javanese and European education systems. This synthesis was not based on the equal understanding of concepts from the west and from Java. Rather, it was a practical solution to incorporate the Javanese within the Dutch colonial spaces.

However, the work done by Van der Capellen remained unfinished. A comprehensive education policy that included a synthesis was only drafted after two decades of discussion. This discussion had a large diversity of participants: civil servants, parliamentary committee-members, missionaries and also the Javanese ruling elite. The discussion can be characterised as one where most participants shared the idea on using Javanese normative culture within a colonial education system. However, the participants differed in the extent this should be applied to and to what extent a school system should be implemented. This discussion was further broadened through the example of British-India, which by some was set as an example of the benefits that were brought by a comprehensive education system, while others, including the Dutch government, pointed at the dangers it could have. Together with the initial aim to only educate Javanese to become civil servants, the quantity of schools that were founded was not impressive.

As for the Javanese, the ruling elites were in a position to advise the colonial government on regulations that they would favour. Usually this advice came to the colonial government through the residents. It stands testimony as a cross-cultural dialogue between Dutch civil servants, who aimed at understanding Javanese traditions and the Javanese who aimed at influencing the colonial school system. Their influence can be seen in the reports given to Van der Capellen in 1818, but also through their advice on social status of the teachers, the architecture and furniture and the subjects of Javanese and Sundanese.

The schools that were founded were thus based both on western and Javanese education traditions. The purpose to include western normative culture was to create Javanese civil servants, which can be witnessed through the subjects that were chosen. Furthermore, the use of Malay (which was used as a lingua franca in colonial administration and trade) as the spoken language in class, the wish to accustom the pupils to regular working hours and discipline further indicate this. The reasoning behind the search for a synthesis was two-fold: 1) the Javanese had to be willing to go to the schools, and 2) the Dutch did not want to provoke the Javanese by introducing anything discordant to their own customs and norms. The synthesis was implemented as an invented tradition of Javanese culture within a new colonial education system. Therefore, the Dutch considered the social position of the teachers through their title, the regalia they were allowed to carry and the servants they were appointed to employ. They considered the language in which the classes to be given in as Malay but made the subjects of Javanese and Sundanese depend on the regency the school was placed in. They considered the social and economic classes of the pupils to determine tuition fees. They considered architecture and furniture in which the Javanese would feel most comfortable. Finally, they posed that the subject of Arabic, typically taught at the *pesantren*, should not be ignored at the *Inlandsche school*.

There were different tensions between the Netherlands and the Netherlands-Indies, liberal and conservative, Javanese traditions and western normative culture. These were continuously expressed within the discussions

amongst civil servants. These tensions were to be overcome through something which became characteristic in colonial domination: the appearance of strong statesmen such as governor-general Daendels, Van der Capellen or minister of colonies Fransen van de Putte.

Any development on education policy, whether it was initiating, drafting or implementing, was depended on the decision of these men. This was referred to as the paradox of bringing The Enlightenment to the colony. Western concepts on society and civilization were based on freedom, universality and democracy whereas in the colony the opposite becomes clear. Another characteristic is the dualistic nature through which the colony was governed. The colonial school system sets a good example to the implications of dualistic government as it incorporated the Javanese within the colonial spaces while they were kept at distance at the same time. Therefore, there was a synthesis within a segregated system.

Historians who research education in the Netherlands-Indies have continuously undervalued this period. It has often been considered as a preparative period, undeserving any attention as quantitatively very little developed. This research displays that the decisions that were made, the ideals that were held and the connected historical events were decisive for later developments of colonial education systems and explain about the practice of colonial domination in general.

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