

**“UNKNOWN, UNLOVED”
THE DEVELOPING IDEAS REGARDING LANGUAGE POLICY
IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES, 1890s—1928**

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CONTENTS

Introduction.....	3
Historical Background.....	3
Conceptual Framework.....	5
Literature Review.....	6
Research Questions.....	8
Research Method.....	8
Organization.....	10
Chapter 1:	
Thoughts from the Dutch Language and Literary Congress.....	11
1.1 The Ideas of an Orientalist.....	11
1.2 The Plea of a Javanese Linguist.....	16
1.3 The Unification Idea of an Ambonese Medical Student.....	19
1.4 Conclusion.....	21
Chapter 2:	
The Spread of Language through Education.....	22
2.1 Language at Schools.....	22
2.2 Discourses of Language in Educational Congress.....	26
2.3 The Ideas of a Colonial Educationist.....	31
2.4 Conclusion.....	35
Chapter 3:	
The Ideas regarding Language Policy within the Government Circle.....	36
3.1 In the 1900s.....	36
3.1.1 A Memorandum from the Ministry of Colonies.....	37
3.1.2 Advice from the Council of the Dutch East Indies.....	40
3.1.3 A Speech by the Director of Education.....	41
3.2 From the 1910s to the 1920s.....	43
3.2.1 A Speech by the Minister of Colonies.....	43
3.2.2 The Preparation for the Establishment of a Literary Faculty.....	44
3.3 Conclusion.....	46
Chapter 4:	
The Nationalistic Ideas regarding Language Policy in the Dutch East Indies.....	48
4.1 Ideas Presented in the First Indonesian Youth Congress.....	48
4.2 The Debate on the Indonesian language.....	53
4.3 The Ideas in the Second Indonesian Youth Congress.....	56
4.4 Conclusion.....	58
Conclusions.....	60
Bibliography.....	63

INTRODUCTION

Historical Background

The political struggle for the political future of the Dutch East Indies was fought during the course of the Ethical Policy. The 'ethical' Leiden was an advocate of a gradual expansion of the democratic governing bodies at the regional and central level and a future kingdom organization, consisting of four independent and equal parts.¹

The 'Leiden' mentioned above refers to *Universiteit Leiden* (Leiden University) as one of the influential parties that played a major role in advocating the idea of the Ethical Policy. During the first quarter of the twentieth century, Leiden University was a training center for officials of the civil service of the Dutch East Indies (hereafter 'the DEI'), who were called *Indologen*.² Willem Otterspeer, in his article "The Ethical Imperative", argues that the crucial role of Leiden professors, both as general scholars and trainers for the civil service, lay in the insemination of their ideas directly into the government and society of the DEI.³

The Leiden professors were known as dedicated Dutch nationalists who promoted the idea of 'a Greater Netherlands' or a Dutch commonwealth.⁴ An influential government adviser and Leiden professor Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje believed in "the emergence of a Dutch state, consisting of two parts, separated geographically but spiritually and intimately connected, one in North-West Europe and the other in South-East Asia."⁵ This idea was also known as the principle of association.

¹ Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek in Fragmenten: Vijf Studies over Koloniaal Denken en Doen van Nederlanders in de Indonesische Archipel 1877—1942* (Utrecht: Hes, 1981): 192. The original excerpt: "De politieke strijd om de staatkundige toekomst van Indië werd uitgevochten over de rug van de ethische politiek. Het 'ethische' Leiden was daarbij voorstander van een geleidelijke uitbouw van de democratische bestuursorganen op regional en centraal niveau en een toekomstige rijksorganisatie, bestaande uit vier zelfstandige en gelijkwaardige delen." In this context, 'kingdom organization' refers to the Kingdom of the Netherlands and 'four parts' are the Netherlands, the Dutch East Indies, Surinam, and the Netherlands Antilles.

² C. Fasseur, "Leiden and Empire: University and Colonial Office 1925—1925", in: *Leiden Oriental Connections 1850—1940*, ed. Willem Otterspeer (Leiden etc.: E.J. Brill, 1989): 187.

³ Willem Otterspeer, "The Ethical Imperative", in: *Leiden Oriental Connections 1850—1940*, ed. Willem Otterspeer (Leiden etc.: E.J. Brill, 1989): 209.

⁴ Otterspeer, "The Ethical": 213.

⁵ Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islâm: Vier Voordrachten, Gehouden in de Nederlandsch-Indische Bestuursacademie* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1911): 85. The original excerpt: "namelijk die der wording van

P.L. Geschiere, in his article “The Education Issue in the Dutch East Indies in the Twentieth Century”⁶, explains that the principle of association was defended with so much conviction during the course of the Ethical Policy in the DEI. For instance, some governmental advisors on indigenous affairs of the DEI such as Snouck Hurgronje and Godard Arend Johannes Hazeu, and the director of the Department of Education and Religion, Jacques Henri Abendanon were all great defenders of the principle of association.⁷

The *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* defines the principle of association as the efforts to bind the colony closely to the mother country, by making the benefits of the culture of the mother country (in a broad sense) available to the colonial population with complete respect for the Indigenous culture and tradition.⁸ Based on this definition it can be derived that the incorporation between the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the DEI on the basis of equality was one of the primary aims of the Ethical Policy. Snouck Hurgronje suggested that, in order to run the principle of association, the Netherlands should firstly introduce Western education and culture to the indigenous elites of the DEI. Subsequently, the educated elites would be able to propagate the Western education and culture to their own people.⁹

Language is a significant component of education and culture, and in this case it was a means of introducing Western education and culture to indigenous people of the DEI. This background supports this paper in its investigation of the development of ideas regarding language policy—the use of a particular language or set of languages—in the DEI, that were conveyed and discussed during the course of the Ethical Policy.

een Nederlandschen staat, bestaande uit twee geographisch ver uiteenliggende, maar geestelijk innig verbonden deelen, het eene in Noordwest-Europa het andere in Zuidoost-Azië.”

⁶ The full title of the article is “The Education Issue in the Dutch East Indies in the Twentieth Century; Opinions on the Question of ‘Western Education’ versus ‘National Education’”.

⁷ P.L. Geschiere, “The Education Issue in the Dutch East Indies in the Twentieth Century. Opinions on the Question of ‘Western Education’ versus ‘National Education’”, in: *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae: Studies on the History of the Netherlands*, VI, eds. B. H. Slicher van Bath et al. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973): 148.

⁸ See ‘Associatie’, in: *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, ‘s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1917): 67.

⁹ Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek*: 184.

Conceptual Framework

The Ethical Policy is a policy that aims to widen the Dutch real power over the entire territory of the Indonesian archipelago and to develop the country and the people of this region in the direction of self-government under the Dutch leadership and according to the Western model.¹⁰

The definition of the Ethical Policy generated by Locher-Scholten, cited above, demonstrates that there are three main points to the policy. Firstly, the point of ‘developing the country and the people of this region in the direction of self-government’ signifies that the expansion is not designed for the profit of the Netherlands but in the interest of the DEI. In other words, the Ethical Policy was a policy of ‘*Indië voor Indië*’ or ‘the DEI for the DEI’, which would theoretically benefit all segments of the DEI population. The policy was designed to generate either a multi-racial, autonomous DEI (the Europeans intention) or a sovereign Indonesia (the nationalists’ expectations). Secondly, ‘the Dutch leadership’ refers to the guardianship and the paternalism of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to its colonies as well as the measures to protect the Netherlands both internally and externally, in terms of maintaining law and order and the national defense. Thirdly, ‘the Western model’ refers to the application of Western capitalism in the DEI in order to improve welfare, promote Western democracy, and implement the idea of association between the East and the West based on culture and education.

By outlining these points, Locher-Scholten argues that aside from the welfare policy in general, as conveyed in Deputy Conrad Theodor Van Deventer’s article *Een Ereschuld or a Debt of Honor*¹¹, the main issue of the Ethical Policy arises when the ethical mentality is discussed.¹² This ethical mentality shows that although the Ethical Policy was designed, theoretically, to benefit the indigenous people of the DEI, it can be argued that it actually provided more positive outcomes for the Dutch government

¹⁰ Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek*: 201. The original excerpt: “Gezien het voorafgaande valt onder ethische politiek te verstaan: beleid gericht op het onder reëel Nederlands gezag brengen van de gehele Indonesische archipel en op de ontwikkeling van land en volk van dit gebied in de richting van zelfbestuur onder Nederlandse leiding en naar westers model.”

¹¹ This article was published in *De Gids* in August 1899. The article states that the Netherlands has a debt to be paid to indigenous people an amount of 187,000,000 guilders as a result from *cultuurstelsel* applied from the 1870s. Van Deventer suggests the Dutch government to redeem it through education alongside irrigation and transmigration.

¹² Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek*: 7.

as implied in the second and the third points of the definition: ‘the Dutch leadership’ and ‘the Western model’.¹³ Accordingly, this paper will discuss whether the ethical mentality as mentioned by Locher-Scholten was implied in the developing ideas regarding language policy during the Ethical Policy in the DEI.

Furthermore, Locher-Scholten divides the periodization of the Ethical Policy into three parts: (1) 1894—1905 as the initial period, characterized by Governor-General Carel Herman Aart van der Wijck’s policy, which concerned the interests of the DEI; (2) 1905—1920 as the progressive period, characterized by new policies in many aspects, which were more favorable to the DEI society; and (3) after 1920 up to 1942 as the conservative period when many of the ethical policies were reconsidered due to the economic crises.¹⁴ This paper employs this periodization as a means to determine the beginning of the temporal scope of this study. The end of the study is 1928 as it marked the recognition of *Bahasa Indonesia* (hereafter ‘Indonesian’) through a forum of Indonesian nationalists, the Second Indonesian Youth Congress. Since then Indonesian was known as a national language in the DEI and it was stipulated as the official language of the Republic of Indonesia in *Undang-undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945* (the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia).

Literature Review

The most relevant work to the study of this paper is Kees Groeneboer’s *Weg tot het Westen*¹⁵ or *Gateway to the West*¹⁶. This book is the most wide-ranging study on language policy in the DEI. The book discusses the chronological development of the Dutch language (hereafter ‘Dutch’) in the DEI that covers the periods of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in the 18th century, the 19th century, and the 20th century (1900—1950). The study examines the quality and the spread of Dutch in formal education and in daily life among the various population groups in the DEI. Groeneboer discovers that the measures taken by the DEI government to promote a general spread of Dutch

¹³ Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek*: 202.

¹⁴ Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek*: 203—206.

¹⁵ The full title of the book is *Weg tot het Westen: Het Nederlands voor Indië, 1600—1950: Een Taalpolitieke Geschiedenis*.

¹⁶ The full title of the book is *Gateway to the West: The Dutch Language in Colonial Indonesia 1600—1950: A History of Language Policy*.

among the indigenous population were insufficient.¹⁷ He argues that the practical, economical, and financial considerations had formed the base of the pragmatic language policy of the Dutch.¹⁸ For this reason, Dutch remained the language of the elites and was widely used in the higher administrative ranks of civil service in the DEI. This argument implies that the main obstacle of the spread of Dutch in the DEI originated from the DEI government itself. In addition to the discussion presented in Groeneboer's *Gateway to the West*, this paper aims to deepen investigation on the developing ideas in regards to the language policy in the DEI, instead of the policy making. Moreover, it seeks to widen the focus of the study by examining not only Dutch but also other languages, such as the vernaculars, in the DEI.

There are two articles which argue that education and language should have played important roles in a diverse society of the DEI. The first one is written by Rupert Emerson entitled "Education in the Netherlands East Indies". Emerson explains that although it became a part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1922, the DEI continued to be subordinated to the Dutch crown and the States-General.¹⁹ Emerson argues that the budget cut for education from over 9% in 1929 to 6% in 1938 indicated that the DEI government did not consider education as a vital component to generate a decolonized society of the DEI.²⁰

The second article is written by Paul W. van der Veur entitled "Cultural Aspects of the Eurasian Community in Indonesian Colonial Society". Van der Veur conveys that language became one of the main issues in the process of homogenization of the different population groups in the DEI society. This statement is based on an idea from V.W.Ch. Ploegman who was a strong proponent of 'Netherlands Indies language', a mix language between Dutch and the vernaculars.²¹ Van der Veur argues that the

¹⁷ Kees Groeneboer, *Gateway to the West: The Dutch Language in Colonial Indonesia 1600—1950: A History of Language Policy* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998): 300.

¹⁸ Groeneboer, *Gateway*: 300.

¹⁹ Rupert Emerson, "Education in the Netherlands East Indies", in: *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 15, No. 3, *The Problem of Education in Dependent Territories* (Summer, 1946): 497.

²⁰ Emerson, "Education": 504.

²¹ Paul W. van der Veur, "Cultural Aspects of the Eurasian Community in Indonesian Colonial Society", in: *Indonesia*, No. 6 (Oct., 1968): 46.

constant criticism against the ‘Netherlands Indies language’ as “bad Dutch” had prevented Dutch from becoming a prominent spoken language in the DEI.²²

Although the abovementioned articles illustrate how education and language were neglected by the DEI government as a means to implement the principle of association, the studies were specialized in regards to the important role of education and language in a diverse society of the DEI. This paper, however, discusses the aspect of language policy. In particular, the developing ideas regarding language policy in the DEI during the course of the Ethical Policy will be examined.

Research Questions

By considering the aforementioned background information, this paper intends to contribute to the study of language policy in the DEI by concentrating on the development of ideas during the course of the Ethical Policy. To achieve this intention, this paper addresses a main research question: “How did ideas regarding language policy in the DEI develop during the course of the Ethical Policy?” To support this investigation, two sub-questions are posed: “What were the main ideas regarding language policy in the DEI during the course of the Ethical Policy?” and “how was the ethical mentality, as mentioned by Locher-Scholten, implied in those main ideas?”

Research Method

In order to answer the research questions, this paper will examine ideas regarding language policy in the DEI, which were mainly conveyed throughout several congresses namely: (1) *het Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkundig Congres* or the Dutch Language and Literary Congress, (2) *het koloniaal onderwijscongres* or the Colonial Education Congress, and (3) *het Indonesisch jeugdcongres* or the Indonesian Youth Congress. The reason this paper uses these congresses is because they provide relevant congressional materials, primarily in the form of speeches. Each congress was designed to represent the main ideas conveyed by groups of scholars, educators, and Indonesian nationalists. This paper also makes use of relevant official documents to examine language policy in the DEI within the DEI government itself.

²² Veur, “Cultural”: 46.

The primary sources used in this paper consist of archives that have been preserved in source publications: (1) *Handelingen van Het Nederlandsch Taal- en Letterkundig Congres* (*The Proceedings of the Dutch Language and Literaty Congress*), (2) *Prae-adviezen van het Koloniaal Onderwijscongres* or (*The Pre-advices of the Colonial Education Congress*) alongside with *Het Koloniaal Onderwijscongres: Stenografisch Verslag* or (*The Colonial Education Congress: Stenographic Report*), (3) *Het Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië 1900—1940: Een Bronnenpublikatie* (*The Education Policy in the Dutch East Indies 1900—1940: A Publication of Sources*) edited by S.L. van der Wal, and (4) *Verslag van het Indonesisch Jeugdcongres* (the Report of the Indonesian Youth Congress).

The first-mentioned publication contains minutes of the Dutch Language and Literary Congress. It was published in tandem with each congress, which was usually held annually. Some of the congressional speeches provided in this publication are used in this paper in order to acquire ideas regarding language policy in the DEI from the perspective of scholars, especially linguists. The second-mentioned publication provides materials of pre-advice and minutes of the Colonial Education Congress. Any ideas regarding language policy taken from this publication are considered to represent the group of educators. The third-mentioned publication encloses official letters relating to education policy in the DEI from 1900 to 1940; for instance, it includes letters between the director of the Department of Education and Religion and the Governor-General. The use of government documents on education policy was encouraged by Groeneboer's argument in *Gateway to the West*, which emphasizes that language policy is associated with education policy.²³ The fourth-mentioned publication is a report of the First Indonesian Youth Congress that contains materials of all congressional speeches.

The selection of primary sources used in this paper is based on the relevance of the research questions. In the first phase, all materials were collected according to the temporal scope of the study, from the 1890s (the initial period of the Ethical Policy according to Locher-Scholten) to 1928 (the Second Indonesian Youth Congress). In the second phase, the collected materials were categorized in the topic of discussion that

²³ Groeneboer, *Gateway*: 17.

conveys idea about language policy in the DEI. Lastly, the selected materials were analyzed based on the main research question.

The secondary literatures used by this paper generally discuss three themes: language, education, and nationalism. These sources are largely made up of books and articles from academic journals. They were studied in order to provide the background of the case. Some of the sources were originally written and published around the period of the topic discussed in this paper and also can be considered firsthand accounts such as G.J. Nieuwenhuis' *Opvoeding tot Autonomie*²⁴ (published in 1923) and *Het Nederlandsch in Indië*²⁵ (1930), G.H. Bousquest's *A French View of the Netherlands East Indies* (1940), and Mohammad Tabrani's *Anak Akal Banyak Akal* (1979). Any personal view that appeared in these accounts was valuable to sustain elaboration of this paper as it depicts direct experiences of the authors besides providing historical facts.

Organization

This paper is divided into four chapters. The first chapter examines congressional speeches about language policy in the DEI that were conveyed in the Dutch Language and Literary Congress in order to comprehend the main ideas of a group of scholars and linguists. The second chapter presents debates on the dissemination of language through education in the DEI in order to obtain the main ideas regarding language policy in the DEI from the standpoint of the educators. The responses of government officials towards the circulating ideas regarding language policy in the DEI are investigated in the third chapter. Prior to the conclusion, the emergence of *Bahasa Indonesia* is described in the fourth chapter to illustrate the views of language policy in the DEI from the point of view of Indonesian nationalists.

²⁴ The full title of the book is *Opvoeding tot Autonomie: Een Sociaal-Paedagogische Studie van het Philippijnsch Onderwijsstelsel, Vergeleken met het Nederlandsch-Indische*.

²⁵ The full title of the book is *Het Nederlandsch in Indië: Een Bronnenboek voor Het Onderwijs in de Nieuwe Richting*.

CHAPTER 1

THOUGHTS FROM THE DUTCH LANGUAGE AND LITERARY CONGRESS

This chapter discusses ideas regarding language policy in the Dutch East Indies as presented in some events of *het Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkundig Congres* or the Dutch Language and Literary Congress during the course of the Ethical Policy. From 1849 to 1912 the congress was held thirty-two times. It allowed many parties, either scholars or non-scholars, in the Kingdom of the Netherlands and Flemish Belgium to discuss Dutch linguistics and the possibility of creating a Dutch cultural unity through Dutch language. Although most of the speeches in the congress discussed the development of Dutch linguistics, such as the refinement of the Dutch dictionary, some colonial-themed issues were also discussed. During the course of the Ethical Policy there were only three scholars who delivered speeches regarding language policy in the DEI in this congress. They were a Dutch linguist and orientalist Prof. Dr. Johan Hendrik Caspar Kern (1833—1917), a Javanese linguist Radhen Mas Pandji Sosro Kartono (1877—1952), and an Ambonese medical student Johannes Everhardus Tehupeiori (1882—1908). The ideas of each speaker will be studied separately in later sections. The purpose of this chapter is to identify the main ideas regarding language policy in the DEI proposed by scholars.

1.1 The Ideas of an Orientalist

On 24 August 1897 Prof. Dr. Johan Hendrik Caspar Kern delivered his speech “*Het Gebruik Onzer Taal in Nederlandsch-Indië*” (“The Use of Our Language in the DEI”) in the 24th Dutch Language and Literary Congress which was held in Dordrecht, the Netherlands. In the beginning of the speech Prof. Kern raised the main question of whether the use of Malay language in the DEI had gone too far at the expense of both

Dutch and the vernacular. Before answering the question, Prof. Kern examined briefly some general principles of education for the indigenous population.²⁶

The first principle was to promote the use of the vernacular. For instance, the language taught to the Javanese children was the Javanese language. This principle was opposed by the proponents of the second principle, who believed that it was more beneficial for children to master one language in order to increase their knowledge, for example Dutch in the case of the DEI. To portray a pro-contra discourse between these two principles, Prof. Kern provided examples from a case of British India during the first half of the nineteenth century. In British India a British orientalist, Horace Hayman Wilson (1786—1860), promoted Sanskrit language for Hindus and Arabic language for the Muslims, while on the other hand, a British historian and politician, Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800—1859), opposed the use of the vernacular as an official language and a medium of instruction at schools. Macaulay promoted the use of English as both the official language and the medium of instruction. Besides Wilson and Macaulay, there was a British naturalist and ethnologist Brian Houghton Hodgson (1800—1894), who argued that the vernacular is an important means to accomplish European knowledge. However, Hodgson did not completely oppose the use of English; instead, he suggested that this language should be used at high level of education.

Referring to the experiences of British India, Prof. Kern tended to agree with the principle of Hodgson that the vernacular was important to be used in elementary education.²⁷ Malay could be selected as the medium of instruction only in regions where the population had no surviving written literature in the vernacular or where there were too many languages. Nevertheless, Prof. Kern also pointed out that the use of the vernacular or Malay alone was not sufficient for the indigenous population. He believed that knowledge of Dutch was an urgent necessity, especially for the upper classes such as indigenous civil servants and teachers, because at that time most

²⁶ H. Kern, “Het Gebruik Onzer Taal in Nederlandsch-Indië”, in: *Handelingen van het XXIV^e Nederlandsch Taal- en Letterkundig Congres, Gehouden te Dordrecht den 23, 24, 25 en 26 Augustus 1897* (Dordrecht: Blussé & Comp., 1898): 108.

²⁷ Kern, “Het Gebruik”: 110.

writings or works on progress and development in every field of study were written in Dutch or other European languages.

Furthermore, based on Prof. Kern's observations there was no indication that indigenous people faced difficulties in learning Dutch. On the contrary, some cases have provided strong evidences that many indigenous people could master Dutch well, as long as the opportunities to learn it were given by the DEI government. Conversely, Prof. Kern emphasized that a bad habit of some Dutchmen, especially the civil servants, was the primary obstacle to the spread of Dutch in the DEI. This bad habit was shown by the view in a certain circle of Dutch civil servants who perceived that their "prestige"—as they called it—would be harmed if they spoke Dutch with indigenous people of the DEI. This circle tried to maintain a social gap between the Dutch civil servants and the indigenous population. In other words, the Dutch civil servants included in this circle considered their social status to be higher than the indigenous population. Therefore, this circle preferred to communicate with the indigenous people in their limited Malay rather than in Dutch.

Prof. Kern advised that it was the duty of all Dutchmen, not only of the DEI government, to respect the vernaculars and cultures of indigenous population as they would their own interests.²⁸ Although Prof. Kern welcomed the idea of using the vernacular at schools, he also thought that learning Dutch for indigenous population was not without benefit. Many Javanese, for instance, had already realized that in accordance with their needs, talents, and traditions, Dutch could be a vehicle to further develop their knowledge. Therefore, Prof. Kern persuaded every Dutchmen to support the indigenous population in developing their Dutch without having any intention to eliminate their own identity such as language, talent, and past. In addition, he urged every Dutchmen in all parts of the world to uphold their identity, especially by way of using Dutch without being immodest and overconfident wherever it might be practiced. According to Prof. Kern, the real "prestige" was not feeling ashamed of their language and being proud of using it as a beneficial influence for the people of the colony.

²⁸ Kern, "Het Gebruik": 114.

Besides delivering his speech, Kern also introduced a proposal of the establishment of het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond/A.N.V. (the General Dutch League). The initial idea of establishing this league was suggested by H. Meert as a response to an article “*Heeft de Nederlandsche Taal een Toekomst?*” (“Does the Dutch Language Have a Future?”) by J. Hoddenbach, which was published on 3 February 1893.²⁹ The article questioned whether Dutch had a bright future like other European languages such as English and French. Eventually, Meert responded with an idea to create a league with general aims as follows: (1) to maintain and spread Dutch and (2) to promote the interests of the Dutchmen. Based on these aims, it can be perceived that this league did not only intend to spread Dutch but also to awaken the awareness of the Dutchmen who live far apart, extended from the Netherlands and Belgium to South Africa, Curacao, Suriname, the DEI, and the Dutch settlements in North America.³⁰

The proposal of the establishment of the A.N.V. was approved by the general assembly of the congress. As a follow up action, a committee of three members was appointed to execute the plan. The members of the committee were Prof. Kern, who was assigned to the North Holland region, Prof. Paul Fredericq to South Holland, and Dr. Frans Vredenrijk Engelenburg in Pretoria to South Africa. As noted in an official booklet of the A.N.V., this league was officially established on 1 May 1898 right after a meeting of the A.N.V. members on 3 April 1898 at the City Hall of Antwerpen, Belgium to assign members of board of directors and the statutes of the league.³¹ The elected members of the board were Prof. Dr. J.H.C. Kern (Leiden), Dr. Herman Jacob Kiewiet de Jonge (Dordrecht), Mr. W. de Ridder (Dordrecht), Prof. Dr. J. Obrie (Gent), Prof. Dr. P. Fredericq (Gent), Max Rooses (Antwerpen), and H. Meert (Gent).

As mentioned in the official booklet, the missions of the A.N.V. were not entirely related to language but also related to other respects such as: (1) to awaken the awareness of the unity of Dutchmen wherever located, (2) a nationalization of the Dutch colonies—any possessions and settlements of the Netherlands abroad, (3) to enhance the moral and physical strength of the Dutchmen, (4) to maintain and

²⁹ H. Kern, “Het Gebruik Onzer Taal in Nederlandsch-Indië” (Dordrecht: Morks & Geuze, 1910): 3.

³⁰ Groeneboer, *Gateway*: 157.

³¹ Den Administrateur van het A.N.V., *Doel*: 5.

disseminate the Dutch language, (5) to establish Dutch publishers, (6) to spread Dutch song, (7) to promote Dutch education, (8) to expand relations of the Dutch trade, (9) to develop Dutch industry, (10) to improve the Dutch consulate, and (11) to counteract allegations against the Dutch people and nation.³² In order to accelerate the expansion of the A.N.V. an overseas branch was established in the DEI in 1899. Nonetheless, the aims of this branch were somewhat different from what had been defined by the main organization.³³

Having studied Prof. Kern's speech in "The Use of Our Language in the DEI" and his involvement in the establishment of the A.N.V., it can be inferred that Prof. Kern, as a linguist, viewed Dutch as a powerful tool both for internal and external purposes. Internally, Dutch could preserve the identity of the Dutchmen as a nation and cultural unity. Externally, it could expand the influence of Dutch culture to the people of the Dutch colonies. By mastering Dutch, they would be able to know more about the Netherlands in particular and the Western knowledge in general. On the other hand, Prof. Kern regarded the importance of preserving the identity of the indigenous people as well. At this point, Prof. Kern's ideas are contradictory and tend to not suggest a cultural assimilation. This contradiction implies the background of Prof. Kern's idea to incorporate the Dutch colonies into the Netherlands through solidarity awareness. In this sense, the knowledge acquired by people of the colonies was viewed to have the potential to create a sense of close connection and solidarity to the Netherlands. Another idea about language policy in the DEI was conveyed by a Javanese linguist two years later through the same congress. His ideas are studied in the next section.

³² Den Administrateur van het A.N.V., *Doel*: 6—7.

³³ Different from its main organization, the branch more concerned about language rather than other aspects. The main agendas of the A.N.V. in the DEI were (1) to disseminate reading materials among Europeans in the DEI who are less educated and to indigenous people who speaks Dutch, (2) to allow children who are eligible and proficient in Dutch entering elementary schools freely, (3) to improve preschool classes for European—especially Indo-European—children, (4) to teach Dutch as a school-subject in elementary education and to let Chinese children entering such school, (5) to set up Dutch courses for indigenous and Chinese adults, (6) to establish schools with Dutch as the medium of instruction for Chinese children, (7) to abolish French language as a requirement for entering European secondary school in the DEI, (8) to simplify Dutch spelling, (9) to provide Dutch for priests, (10) to give appreciation or prize for students who were prominent in Dutch. See *Ons Volksbestaan 1905*: 5—7, as cited by Kees Groeneboer, *Weg tot het Westen: Het Nederlands voor Indië 1600—1950, Een Taalpolitieke Geschiedenis* (Leiden: KITLV, 1993): 243.

1.2 The Plea of a Javanese Linguist

You come here, driven by the love of your beautiful and powerful language, while I came here meeting you to advocate the benefit of knowing your language for us, Javanese. (Sosro Kartono, *Het Nederlandsch in Indië*, in the 25th Dutch language and Literary Congress)³⁴

A fragment of the speech as cited above was delivered by Sosro Kartono in his speech “*Het Nederlandsch in Indië*” (“Dutch in the DEI”) in the 25th Dutch language and Literary Congress that was held on 28—30 August 1899 in Gent, Belgium. A congressional report on the magazine of the A.N.V., *Neerlandia*, which was published in October 1899, stated that “a Javanese prince³⁵—a member of our league—with a very clear language gave some explanations about the condition of our language in Java. The speech was highly acclaimed!”³⁶ According to a Dutch historian, Harry A. Poeze, Kartono was the first person from Java and the DEI to present a general speech in front of a European audience.³⁷

Kartono initially studied in the *Technische Hogeschool Delft* (Delft College of Technology) in 1897, but two years later he left Delft to study at the *Faculteit der Letteren en Wijsbegeerte* (the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy) in Leiden University to study Oriental languages. This move had nothing to do with his academic ability, but it was more because of his desire to study the subject of arts and philosophy.³⁸ He was accepted by the faculty because he could pass the national examination that required proficiency in Greek and Latin. While he was still in Delft, he had done the preparation to master both classical languages. In Leiden University he was taught by many professors, including Prof. Kern. Kartono’s superior ability in the field of language³⁹

³⁴ Sosro Kartono, “*Het Nederlandsch in Indië*”, in: *Handelingen van het XXV^e Nederlandsch Taal- en Letterkundig Congres, Gehouden te Gent den 28ⁿ, 29ⁿ, en 30ⁿ Augustus 1899* (Gent: C. Annot-Braeckman, 1900): 310. The original excerpt: “*Zijt gij hier gekomen, gedreven door liefde voor uwe schoone en krachtige taal, ik ben tot u gekomen om het nut van de kennis uwer taal voor ons, Javanen, te bepleiten.*”

³⁵ Sosro Kartono was a son of the regent of Jepara, Radhen Mas Adipati Ario Sosroningrat.

³⁶ Harry A. Poeze, *Di Negeri Penjajah: Orang Indonesia di Negeri Belanda 1900—1950* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia dan KITLV-Jakarta, 2014): 33.

³⁷ Poeze, *Di Negeri*: 34.

³⁸ Solichin Salam, *R.M.P. Sosrokartono: Sebuah Biografi* (Jakarta: Yayasan Sosrokartono, 1987): 28.

³⁹ It is mentioned in several secondary literatures that Kartono mastered 17 European languages. See Salam, *R.M.P. Sosrokartono*: 67 and Ki Sumidi Adisasmita, *Djiwa Besar Kaliber Internasional Drs. Sosrokartono dengan Mono-perdjuangannya Lahir-bathin jang Murni 1877—1952* (Jogjakarta: Pagujuban Trilogi, 1971): 6.

had encouraged Kern to recommend him to be admitted as a member of the *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde/KITLV* (the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology).⁴⁰ Apparently, Kern took an interest in Kartono since then. At the initiative of Kern, Kartono was invited to deliver a speech in the 25th Dutch language and Literary Congress.⁴¹

Through a speech presented on 29 August 1899 Kartono elucidated the importance of Dutch for the future relationship between the Netherlands and the DEI. The importance of Dutch can be classified into two standpoints of interests. Firstly, he explained that the interests were actually for the Netherlands itself.⁴² “*Onbekend maakt onbemind*” (“unknown, unloved”), this Dutch proverb was employed by Kartono to describe how important Dutch was as a means to create a close relationship between the Netherlands and the DEI. The following fragment of his speech captured an analogy created by Kartono in depicting the relationship between the Dutchmen and the indigenous people of the DEI:

Compared to you, we are still children, ignorant. For two and a half centuries, we, as an underage child, have walked on the leash of the Netherlands. And still, what is the status of the mental development of the child? Materially and physically, it is developed; but his spirit is poor: he is just a big kid. Inevitably, the child has progressed in spiritual development, although it was only through contacts with his leader. And in the future the relationship between the guide and the child will completely depend on the earliest spiritual and moral education of the child, whether he or she regarded the guide as a father, as a brother or a sister, as a friend, or as a stranger or an enemy. But now the impression is not yet that far—so far it did not happen in the early centuries. It is important, while it is not too late, to cultivate a sense of sympathy and love between the guide and the child, which can only be provided by the times.⁴³

⁴⁰ KITLV is a royal institute of the Netherlands founded in 1851 that conducts collecting source materials, researches, and publication especially on anthropology, linguistics, social sciences, and history of the Dutch colonies.

⁴¹ Adisasmita, *Djiwa*: 12.

⁴² Kartono, “Het Nederlandsch”: 313—314.

⁴³ Kartono, “Het Nederlandsch”: 315. The original excerpt: “*Wij zijn nog kinderen, onwetend, vergeleken bij u. Twee en een halve eeuw hebben wij als onmondig kind aan den leiband van Nederland geloopen. En toch, hoe staat het met de geestelijke ontwikkeling van het kind? Materieel en fysiek is het vooruitgegaan; doch zijn geest is arm: het is nog slechts een groot kind. Onvermijdelijk gaat het kind in geestelijke ontwikkeling vooruit, al ware het alleen door den omgang met zijn leidsman. En in de groote komende toekomst zal het geheel afhangen van zijne vroegste geestelijke en moreele opvoeding, of het zijn levensgids als vader, als broeder, als vriend dan wel als vreemdeling of vijand zal behandelen. Doch zooveer is het nog niet—en zooveer komt het in de eerste eeuwen nog niet. Het is zaak, nu het nog niet te laat is, tusschen leidsman en kind een gevoel van sympathie en liefde aan te kweeken, dat door de tijden slechts verstrekt kan worden.*”

The above fragment also implies that by mastering Dutch, the indigenous people would understand the Netherlands better, so that they could compare between the situations under the Dutch government and the indigenous authority. The indigenous population would gradually greet the Netherlands as their benefactor. The emerging sense of gratitude among the indigenous people towards the Dutchmen would foster a sense of solidarity to the Netherlands. This solidarity would prevent the DEI from falling to the power of other foreign nations.

The second standpoint was from the interests of the indigenous people. Kartono explained that the indigenous people needed to expand their knowledge in order to eliminate various abuses. It is unclear what kind of abuses he referred to. However, based on the first standpoint, at some extent it can be understood that the abuses were related to suspicions and prejudice of the indigenous towards the Dutchmen, whether they regarded the Netherlands as their father, brother or sister, a friend, a stranger, or an enemy. Kartono believed that the indigenous people had the right to develop intellectually. By giving examples of how the Japanese and the Americans were advanced in terms of technological inventions, he also urged the indigenous people to realize that knowledge is important for the development of the DEI in the future. To facilitate the development of the indigenous people, he found that it was important for them to master Dutch as one of the languages used in the academic field.

For your interest, I had an audience with His Excellency the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies on the 14th of August, pleading the necessity, particularly among the sons of the indigenous chiefs, to disseminate Dutch knowledge, which will lead to the elimination of various abuses. His Excellency expressed his high approval of my words. On thus, thou sons of Java, and throw yourselves on the mountain of science, which is before you.⁴⁴

As stated above, on 14 August 1899 Kartono met directly with the Governor-General of the DEI, W. Rooseboom, in The Hague before the Governor-General left for the DEI. On

⁴⁴ Kartono, "Het Nederlandsch": 316. The original excerpt: "In uw belang heb ik op de audientie van Zijne Excellentie den Gouverneur-generaal van Nederlandsch-Indië, op den 14n Augustus, betoogd de noodzakelijkheid, dat vooral onder de zoons van inlandsche hoofden de kennis van het Nederlandsch wordt verbreed, hetgeen leiden zal tot opheffing van verschillende misstanden. Zijne Excellentie betuigde hare hooge instemming met mijne woorden. Op dus, gij zonen van Java, en werpt u op den berg der wetenschap, die voor u staat."

that occasion, a concrete step in promoting Dutch to be taught widely in the DEI was conducted by Kartono.⁴⁵

It is obvious in Kartono's speech that he would like to emphasize that Dutch is important. The same message was also delivered through a speech by his teacher, Prof. Kern, in the previous event of the same congress. In general, Prof. Kern and Kartono highly promoted Dutch as a language to be widely taught and used in the DEI. The elementary differences between both speeches lay in the standpoint and the scope of discussion-subject. Regarding the standpoint, Kartono was explicitly regarded himself as a Javanese, while Prof. Kern positioned himself more as a linguist rather than as a Dutchman. Therefore, Kartono spoke from the perspective of a Javanese and not from the indigenous population of the DEI in general although the general aim of his speech was for the indigenous people. Concerning the scope of the subject, Kartono did not address vernacular while Prof. Kern paid attention to this subject.

In studying the speeches of both Prof. Kern and Kartono, it is difficult to perceive how they imagined the DEI to be in the future. The ideas of both speakers were based on the context of possibilities regarding the future of the DEI, whether the DEI still would be a part of the Netherlands or sovereign. Nonetheless, it can be argued that both tended to hold an image of the DEI as a part of the Netherlands. This image was perfectly depicted in the closing sentence of Kartono's speech: "And I see the dawn of a future, wherein, the cool evenings in the moonlight, the Javanese, accompanied by the dulcet tones of the gamelan, hymns and songs, will send gratitude to heaven to honor his white brother."⁴⁶

1.3 The Unification Idea of an Ambonese Medical Student

An image of the DEI as a part of the Netherlands in the future was also voiced in the 30th Dutch language and Literary Congress that was held on 25—28 August 1908 in Leiden, the Netherlands by another person from the DEI, specifically an Ambonese, student, named Johannes Everhardus Tehupeiori (1882—1908). Tehupeiori studied

⁴⁵ Ki Sumidi Adisasmita, *Jasa-jasa Jiwa-besar Kartono-Kartini* (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Sosrokartono, 1971): 111.

⁴⁶ Kartono, "Het Nederlandsch": 318. The original excerpt: "En ik zie het ochtendgloren van eene toekomst, waarin, op de koele avonden in den maneschijn, de Javaan, begeleid door de liefelijke tonen van den gamelan, lofliederen en liederen van dank ten hemel zal zenden ter eere van zijn blanken broeder."

medicine in the *Universiteit van Amsterdam* (University of Amsterdam), the Netherlands. He presented his speech under title “*De Inlander Vóór en Na de Stichting van het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond*” (“The Indigenous Before and After the Foundation of the General Dutch League”) on 26 August 1908. Throughout the speech, he voiced his opinions about the support of the league or the A.N.V. for the indigenous population of the DEI based on his direct observations from the establishment of the branch in 1899 until he left for the Netherlands in 1907.

In the beginning of the speech, Tehupeiori expressed his gratitude for the spread of the Dutch language among the indigenous people since the establishment of the A.N.V. branch in the DEI. Similar to some of the ideas of Prof. Kern and Kartono, Tehupeiori promoted Dutch to be widely taught and used by the indigenous people. He believed that the development of Dutch in the DEI would facilitate what he called a “new life”. The idea of a “new life”, according to Tehupeiori, was a state where the use of Dutch was steadily developed. This state would facilitate the growth of a generation of indigenous people who spoke, wrote, and thought in Dutch.⁴⁷ To make it happen, he urged every Dutchmen to support programs facilitating the acceleration of the spread of the Dutch language in the DEI such as the ones run by the A.N.V.

It is undeniable, however, the fact that since the appearance of the A.N.V. a very different spirit is going to rule over the DEI, that the number of women and men, who feel honest and pure to disseminate Dutch among us, is becoming large. Hopefully, their number is increased, hopefully every Dutchman both here and in the DEI contributes to the creation of a building of pride, that once in the Far East will proclaim the glory and the greatness from the little Netherlands, so in this respect may be true what your tough compatriot, Jan Pieterszoon Coen, has said for three centuries: "There is something grand that can be carried out in the DEI!"⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Johannes Everhardus Tehupeiori, “*De Inlander Vóór en Na de Stichting van het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond*”, in: *Handelingen van het 30^{ste} Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkundig Congres, Gehouden te Leiden van den 25^{sten} tot den 28^{sten} Augustus 1908* (Leiden: S.C. van Doesburgh, 1909): 430.

⁴⁸ Tehupeiori, “*De Inlander*”: 431. The original excerpt: “*Onloochenbaar is evenwel het feit, dat sinds het optreden van het Verbond een gansch andere geest is gaan heerschen over Insulinde, dat het aantal vrouwen en mannen, die eerlijk en zuiver voor de verspreiding der Nederlandse taal onder ons voelen, groot begint te worden. moge hun aantal toenemen, moge ieder Nederlander zoowel hier als in Indie een steentje bijdragen tot de oprichting van het trotsche gebouw, dat eenmaal in het verre Oosten den roem en de grootheid verkondigen zal van het kleine Nederland, opdat ook in dit opzicht waar worde, hetgeen Uw stoere landgenoot, JAN PIETERSZOOM COEN voor drie eeuwen heeft gezegd: "Daer can in Indië wat groots verricht worden!"*”

Before closing his speech Tehupeiori reminded his audience that, the work of the A.N.V. was far from finished. Nonetheless, he praised the current methods and felt things were moving the right direction. His main expectation was, under the Dutch influence, people of the DEI living from the beaches of North Sumatra to the coral reefs of New Guinea would be closely connected with Dutch as their common language.⁴⁹

Compared to the ideas of Kern and Kartono, Tehupeiori's proposition was more definitive in terms of locating the position of the DEI towards the Netherlands. Tehupeiori regarded Dutch as a medium that could infuse the indigenous population of the Dutch colonies with "Dutch-ness". This process was eventually expected to accelerate the emergence of a sense of unity between the Netherlands and its colonies.

1.4 Conclusion

The ideas conveyed by the three speakers discussed in this chapter were basically in the same vein. Considering the perceived long-term benefits for both the Netherlands and the DEI, they proposed Dutch as a language to be taught and used in the DEI. Although image of the political future of the DEI that formed the basis of their ideas—whether the DEI would be a part of the Netherlands or sovereign—was partly still equivocal, it can be said that at some extent there was an attempt to use Dutch as a means to incorporate the DEI into the Netherlands. Since the three speakers did not propose measures to be taken in order to spread Dutch among indigenous population, the next chapter will discuss the ideas regarding language policy in the DEI that circulated among educational groups.

⁴⁹ Tehupeiori, "De Inlander": 431—432.

CHAPTER 2

THE SPREAD OF LANGUAGE THROUGH EDUCATION

This chapter discusses ideas regarding language policy in the Dutch East Indies generated by educational groups, such as educators and educational theorists or educationists, during the course of the Ethical Policy. The purpose of this chapter is to identify the main ideas regarding language policy proposed by educational groups. All relevant ideas presented in *het koloniaal onderwijscongres* or the Colonial Education Congress and the ideas conveyed by a Dutch colonial educationist, Gerrit Jacob Nieuwenhuis (1877—1931), are studied in two separate sections sequentially, while an overview of the use of language—either as the medium of instruction or a school-subject—at schools is studied beforehand.

2.1 Languages at Schools

Prior to the course of the Ethical Policy, one of the dominant characteristics of the Dutch colonial education system in the DEI was dualism, meaning that the partition of education was based on racial and social groups.⁵⁰ The dualism divided schools into three categories namely the West or European, foreign Eastern (such as Chinese and Arabic), and indigenous population.⁵¹ Each category had its own arrangement in terms of budgets, curricula, physical infrastructures, and evaluations. At schools, the classification of those three categories was basically characterized by the use of language as the medium of instruction. The indigenous schools were conducted in Malay language or the vernacular, while schools for the European and the foreign Eastern students were conducted in the Dutch language.

From 1892, primary schools for the indigenous population were divided into two types: *de eerste-klasseschool* (the first-class school) and *de tweede-klasseschool* (the second-class school). The first-class schools were intended for the indigenous

⁵⁰ Sorimuda Nasution, *The Development of a Public School System in Indonesia: 1892—1920* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin, 1967): 59.

⁵¹ Willemijn van der Toorn, *Beeldvorming van de Koloniale Samenleving in Schoolboeken voor Geschiedenis- en Taalonderwijs in Nederlands-Indië 1920—1942* (Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht, 2003): 6.

elites, while the second-class schools for the commoners. The major difference between the first and the second-class school was the length of study. The first-class schooling lasted for five years, while the second-class only lasted for three years. Main subjects (such as reading, writing, and arithmetic) taught in both types of school were similar, but the level of mastery required by both types was different. The first-class schools were designed to facilitate the graduates to continue their study in secondary education, while the second-class schools were only intended to provide basic education for the entire population. Although the first and the second-class schools were different in terms of type, both were conducted in Malay or the vernacular.

Education with Dutch as a school-subject for indigenous population of the DEI was enhanced around the turn of the twentieth century because of the moral principle of the Ethical Policy. Dutch as a “gateway to the West” was regarded as a ‘debt of honor’ to be redeemed to the colony.⁵² In the midst of the DEI society there was a great desire among the indigenous people to have Dutch education because they believed that the mastery of Dutch could support them to have respectable employment. Some measures were taken by the DEI government in order to fulfill the desire of the indigenous people. In 1907, Dutch was introduced to the first-class schools and the length of study was extended to six years.⁵³ Eventually, in 1914, a type of primary school called *de Hollands-Inlandse School/H.I.S.* (the Dutch Indigenous School) was introduced by the DEI government.⁵⁴ The curriculum of the H.I.S. was based on the European model; therefore, Dutch language was taught from the first grade on. In general, there were three language-subjects taught in this school namely Dutch, Malay, and the vernacular. Nevertheless, in special cases it could be that only two languages were taught: Dutch and Malay. These cases were mostly experienced by schools that suffered from a shortage of teachers and textbooks in the vernacular, therefore Malay replaced the vernacular.⁵⁵

⁵² Kees Groeneboer, “Language-issues in Indonesian Colonial Education”, in: *IIAS Yearbook 1994*, ed. Paul van der Velde (Leiden: International Institute for Asian Studies, 1995): 51.

⁵³ *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1907, No. 112, as cited by Nasution, *The Development*: 112.

⁵⁴ From 1911 some of the first-class schools experienced curriculum changes, such as extension of the study period up to seven years and use of Dutch from the first grade. These upgraded first-class schools were also called as the H.I.S. afterwards. See Willy Rothrock, *The Development of Dutch-Indonesian Primary Schooling: A Study in Colonial Education* (Alberta: The University of Alberta, 1975): 65.

⁵⁵ See Nasution, *The Development*: 329—330.

On the other hand, there was a type of school such as *de Europese Lagere School/E.L.S.* (the European Primary School) which was established in the nineteenth century and intended for the European population in the DEI. The E.L.S. has never experienced any changes in terms of the use of language either as a medium of instruction or as school-subject like encountered by the first and the second-class school because the E.L.S. was run in accordance with the principle of concordance. Based on this principle, the E.L.S. had the same curriculum that was applied in the Kingdom of the Netherlands with an aim to allow all the graduates to continue directly their studies in the Netherlands in case they eventually moved from the DEI to the Netherlands. The principle also affected the language-subjects taught in the E.L.S. Other European languages such as French, English, and German were taught in the E.L.S. On the contrary, the widely spoken languages used among the indigenous population, such as Malay and the vernacular, were never included in the curriculum of the E.L.S.

Another type of school based on racial differences was represented through the existence of *de Hollands-Chinese School/H.C.S.* (the Dutch Chinese School), which was established in 1908. As reported by the government adviser for Chinese affairs W.J. Oudendijk, one of the main objectives behind the establishment of the H.C.S. was to propagate loyalty to the DEI among the Chinese population of the DEI since the curriculum implemented in the existing private Chinese schools was more directed towards Chinese nationalism.⁵⁶ The curriculum of the H.C.S. was the same as the one applied in the E.L.S., hence the language of instruction used in this school was Dutch. Chinese language and Malay were not taught in the H.C.S. since the principle of concordance was also applied to this school. English was widely taught in the H.C.S. because this language was considered important by most Chinese population for commercial purposes.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ No. 52. *Geheim. Afschrift. Vb. 12 sept. 1914 no. 31 [Regeringsadviseur in Chinese aangelegenheden (W.J. Oudendijk) aan gouverneur-generaal (Idenburg), 2 okt. 1913]*, reproduced in S.L. van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië 1900—1940: Een Bronnenpublikatie* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1963): 259. The related citation: “Genoeg is het wanneer hij een loyal onderdaan van Nederlandsch-Indië is. En die loyale onderdanen van Nederlandsch-Indië worden op de Chineesche scholen niet gekweekt; daar wordt het er op toegelegd burgers der Chineesche Republiek te vormen, ook van de Peranakans.”

⁵⁷ Nasution, *The Development*: 298.

Furthermore, it is also important to know how languages taught at schools were practiced among the population of the DEI. From April to September 1938, Georges-Henri Bousquet, a professor at the University of Algiers, visited the DEI to conduct a field research for his book *A French View of the Netherlands Indies*^{58,59}. The book provides valuable information regarding the Dutch colonial policy based on Bousquet's direct observations.

I had hardly landed in Batavia before I discovered that in that city which has been in Dutch hands for more than three centuries, nearly the entire native population is ignorant of even the first word of Dutch. I was astounded by this state of affairs so different from what I had observed in British India and even in the French settlements in India, to say nothing of Algeria.⁶⁰

The statement above implies how dissimilar was the colonial situation in Batavia compared to the settlements in British and French India in terms of language policy. In the DEI, according to Bousquet, language of the colonizer was not widely spoken by the population. A survey conducted in 1900 of 1,476 Dutch children who were born in the DEI and classified as European showed that only 433 children or 29.3 percent understood little Dutch, while 621 or 41.5 percent did not understand Dutch at all.⁶¹ These numbers are likely able to explain the astonishment sensed by Bousquet concerning language used by the indigenous population while he was visiting Batavia. Moreover, Bousquet also described that Dutch proficiency among students of Chinese schools was even worse. As he visited two Anglo-Chinese schools in Semarang, only one of these schools offered Dutch as the medium of instruction. None of the two principals of both schools had mastered Dutch. Interestingly, it seemed that English

⁵⁸ It is the English edition of *La Politique Musulmane et Coloniale des Pays-Bas* which was published in 1939.

⁵⁹ Bousquet's research plan was initially to study Muslim questions. The plan evolved afterwards as he realized that an examination of Dutch colonial policy would occupy an important position on his research. As a result, the book also contains other aspects beyond Muslim policy in the DEI, such as politic, social, and culture. Through the introductory part to the French edition, Bousquet admitted that the aim of his research has been to set down the findings plainly and precisely as he saw them. See Georges-Henri Bousquet, *A French View of the Netherlands Indies* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1940): viii.

⁶⁰ Bousquet, *A French*: 84.

⁶¹ Based on *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië No. 186*, since 1898 a child can be categorized as Dutch as long as one of his/her parents is a Dutchman. See I.J. Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Groningen, Batavia: J.B. Wolters, 1938): 295.

was considered more necessary to be learned by observing that these schools hung many signs encouraging students to speak English.⁶²

Considering the study above, it can be inferred that language was used politically by the DEI government as an instrument to classify the population of the DEI into social groups. This classification restricted indigenous population from learning Dutch, which also indirectly limited their access to the “gateway to the West” or Western knowledge. The course of the Ethical Policy seemed to open this “gate” gradually. Nonetheless, in the 1930s Dutch was still not mastered by much population of the DEI although the H.I.S. had been established since 1914. On the other hand, Malay was the most studied language while English could be regarded as another European language besides Dutch that had enthusiasts.

Having studied the use of language at schools in the DEI during the course of the Ethical Policy, this chapter investigates whether the diversity of the use of language at schools could be juxtaposed with the circulating ideas regarding language policy generated by educational groups such as educators and educationists. To support this investigation, discourses in an educational forum and the ideas of a prominent educationist about language policy in the DEI will be studied in the next two separate sections.

2.2 Discourses of Language in Educational Congress

This section studies the ideas related to language policy in the DEI conveyed by educators during the holdings of Colonial Education Congress. The congress was held for the first time from 28 to 30 August 1916, and then it was followed by two subsequent congresses in 1919⁶³ and 1924⁶⁴. All of the congresses took place in ‘s-Gravenhage⁶⁵. The organizers of the congresses were mostly figures, who served as government official in the field of education, either already retired or still active.⁶⁶ The

⁶² Bousquet, *A French*: 86.

⁶³ The 2nd Colonial Education Congress was held on 22—24 October 1919.

⁶⁴ The 3rd Colonial Education Congress was held on 23—24 April 1924.

⁶⁵ The name of ‘s-Gravenhage in the present time is Den Haag (in Dutch) or The Hague (in English).

⁶⁶ For instance, some of the organizers of the congresses were Mr. J.H. Abendanon (at that time he was a former director of the Department of Education and Religion of the DEI) and Mr. K.F. Creutzberg (a secretary of the Department of Education and Religion of the DEI).

initial idea to convene such a congress came from a proposal led by an educator in the DEI, Alb. H. Croes, who proposes a meeting in which educators and other parties associated with education would participate in order to discuss educational issues in Dutch colonies.

This section only focuses on the First Colonial Education Congress because the other two subsequent congresses did not provide discourses about language policy in the DEI adequately. The first congress was divided into seven major sessions and each session addressed one main question. In this section, the study only focuses on a session that raises an issue of the position of languages such as the vernacular, Chinese, Arabic, and Dutch within the education system in the DEI. The session was held on 28 August 1916, with speeches by three specialists, namely A.G. Boes (a former inspector of indigenous education), Henri Jean François Borel (a former adviser for Chinese Affairs in the DEI), and Raden Mas Suardhy Surya Ningrat⁶⁷ (a Javanese educator).

In his speech, Boes presented his ideas—which were also written in *prae-adviezen* or pre-advice⁶⁸ of the congress—in five points.⁶⁹ Firstly, only the vernacular was suitable for elementary education. He believed that a good education can only be taught in the language of the children and the teachers. Secondly, any readings and textbooks of primary education should be written in the vernacular. It was important to provide teaching materials written in a language that could be fully understood by the children in order to avoid any misunderstanding. The contents and context of the materials should also be connected with the surroundings, for instance the use of names and examples of flora and fauna in textbooks should be close to the neighborhood of the students. Thirdly, Malay might be taught in places, where they lacked teaching infrastructures in relevant vernaculars. Schools in the Outer Islands or regions outside of Java and Madura were examples of this case. Fourthly, Malay was

⁶⁷ He was also known as Ki Hadjar Dewantara.

⁶⁸ There is no explanation about the definition of ‘pre-advice’ in the publication of the congress. Considering the date of publication and the content, it is a written material of speech that contains opinion of candidate for speaker in the congress which submitted to the congressional committee before the holding of the congress.

⁶⁹ A.G. Boes, “Welke plaats behooren bij het onderwijs in te nemen eensdeels de inheemsche talen, ook het Chineesch en Arabisch, anderdeels het Nederlandsch?”, in: *Prae-adviezen van het Eerste Koloniaal Onderwijscongres, ‘s-Gravenhage 28, 29 en 30 augustus 1916* (‘s-Gravenhage: Korthuis, 1916): 30.

designated as the language of instruction for education in the Outer Islands. It was identified that some of the vernaculars in the Outer Islands were grammatically less developed compared to the languages in the area of Java and Madura. Fifthly, Dutch could be regarded as the most privileged foreign language that allowed students to continue their study in secondary education or further once they were comfortable with their own vernaculars.

Besides focusing his thoughts on “language in the classroom”, Boes was also concerned about the concept of ‘unification’ in the DEI as depicted in the pre-advice as follows:

There are people, who think, that the use of vernaculars as the medium of instruction is in conflict with an endeavor of the unification in the DEI, also in the field of education, because, according to them, there should be in the future a school that is suitable for children of all races, but I wonder, whether someone in earnestness would be able to expect, that unification will be reached by way of Dutch as the medium of instruction. It seems to me the unity is a very good idea yet unattainable, however the closest approach would be the use of vernaculars for elementary and as the medium in gradual transition until some of the most widespread and most appropriate vernaculars for the secondary education are discovered.⁷⁰

There is no supplementary explanation of the ‘unification’ throughout the pre-advice. Only through *stenografisch verslag* or the stenographic report version, can the meaning of the concept referred by Boes be traced. In a small part of his speech Boes explained that the ‘unification’ he referred to is related to what had been discussed earlier in the congress, as the chairman of the congress, Abendanon, delivered a speech for the opening ceremony of the congress:

In the entire world there is no subject that is better suited to chain of races and nations than exactly that, what we are going to discuss in these days: education and promotion of the development of mind and soul. We hope, therefore, that discussions and exchanges of ideas, that will take place, may guide to the development of a close bond among all races of the DEI, which will not only

⁷⁰ A.G. Boes, “Welke plaats”: 28—29. The original excerpt: “*Er zijn menschen, die meenen, dat het gebruik der Inlandsche talen als voertaal in strijd is met het streven in Indie naar unificatie, ook op het gebied van het onderwijs, omdat het, naar zij meenen, in de toekomst zal moeten komen tot een school, geschikt voor de kinderen van alle rassen, maar ik vraag mij af, of wel iemand in ernst zal kunnen verwachten, dat die unificatie zal zijn te bereiken langs den weg van het Nederlansch als voertaal. Mij komt die eenheid als een heel mooi maar onbereikbaar ideal voor, dat echter nog het dichtst zal zijn te naderen door het gebruik van de landstalen voor het lager met zoo noodig geleidelijke overgang tot enkele der meest verbreide en meest geschikte Inlandsche talen voor het voortgezet onderwijs.*”

bring honor to the motherland, but even more to honor and progress of the DEI itself.⁷¹

Through his speech, Abendanon identified two relationships in the discourse of the ‘unification’. The first one was the relationship among the population of the DEI, while the second one was the relationship between the colonized (the DEI) and the colonizer (the Netherlands)—called ‘the motherland’ in Abendanon’s speech. The ‘unification’ discussed in the congress was initially imagined as a harmonious internal unity of the population in the DEI. Subsequently, this unity was connected to the Netherlands as the motherland. At this point, the congress to a certain extent could be seen as playing a role in promoting a common consensus of the ‘unification’ among participants of the congress by stating that a close tie between the DEI and the Netherlands might develop through education.

Boes found that there would be a consequential issue if Dutch was used as one of the instruments to realize the ‘unification’ as long as the colonial education system, which was based on racial differences, remained unchanged. He believed that the spread of Dutch in such system would be able to create a group of indigenous people which was equivalent to, even beyond, European civilization.⁷² However, he was worried that this highly developed indigenous group would separate themselves from the indigenous population in general. A wide and deep gap between this group and the other indigenous population would exist, which is the same kind of gap that had separated the European society from the general indigenous population in the DEI. Based on this consideration, Boes argued that the ‘unification’ could be achieved through the use of the vernacular in the primary education.

The second speaker of the session was supposed to be H.J.F. Borel. However, due to Borel’s absence in the congress, A. van Witzenburg delivered the content of

⁷¹ Mr. J.H. Abendanon as *de voorzitter* (the chairman) of the 1st Colonial Education Congress, in: *Eerste Koloniaal Onderwijscongres: Stenografisch Verslag, ‘s-Gravenhage 28, 29 en 30 augustus 1916* (‘s-Gravenhage: Korthuis, 1916): 14—15. The original excerpt: “*Op de gansche wereld is er geen onderwerp dat zich beter leent tot aaneenschakeling van rassen en volkeren dan juist dat, wat wij in deze dagen gaan bespreken: het onderwijs en de bevordering der ontwikkeling van geest en gemoed. Hopen wij dan ook, dat de besprekingen en de gedachtenwisselingen, die zullen plaats hebben, ertoe mogen leiden dat tusschen alle rassen van Indie een hechte band zal ontstaan, die niet alleen zal strekken tot eer van het moederland, maar meer nog tot eer en vooruitgang van Indie zelf.*”

⁷² A.G. Boes, in: *Eerste Koloniaal Onderwijscongres: Stenografisch Verslag, ‘s-Gravenhage 28, 29 en 30 augustus 1916* (‘s-Gravenhage: Korthuis, 1916): 59.

Borel's speech with some additional information.⁷³ Through a short pre-advice, Borel tried to warn the DEI government regarding the potential danger from neglecting the basic needs of non-European educations in the DEI, such as the vernacular and morality-related subjects. He gave an example of a well-known private school *Tiong Hwa Hwee Koan/T.H.H.K.* which attracted a large population of Chinese students. The *T.H.H.K.* schools provided not only Western education (which also often provided English lessons), but also lessons on Mandarin and Confucius. The Chinese population in the DEI acquired a Western education without disregarding the needs for maintaining their identity as Chinese.

Borel clearly argued that education provided by the DEI government for non-European population in the DEI such as Javanese or Chinese was not sufficient because it was only based on the intellectual realm.⁷⁴ Moreover, he did not believe that an amalgamation of education—either assimilation (by erasing racial differences) or association (by granting autonomy)—as considered by the DEI government would fulfill the educational needs of the indigenous population. According to him, it was a delusion to attempt to make non-European population in the DEI “Dutch”, both in feeling and thinking through a uniform education. He believed that by alienating the non-European population of the DEI from their own language and nature with Dutch education, the DEI government would not reap any positive results. Even worse, it could even be harmful politically.

The third speaker was R.M.S. Surya Ningrat. In the session, he was the only speaker who originated from the DEI. Through a lengthy pre-advice, Surya Ningrat promoted an alternative idea about language policy.⁷⁵ According to him, education in the DEI should be generally adapted to the needs of the population of the DEI. Given the heterogeneous population of the DEI, a sense of unity was required. Therefore,

⁷³ See A. van Witzenburg, in: *Eerste Koloniaal Onderwijscongres: Stenografisch Verslag, 's-Gravenhage 28, 29 en 30 augustus 1916* ('s-Gravenhage: Korthuis, 1916): 61—62.

⁷⁴ H.J.F. Borel, “Welke plaats behooren bij het onderwijs in te nemen eensdeels de inheemsche talen, ook het Chineesch en Arabisch, anderdeels het Nederlandsch?”, in: *Prae-adviezen van het Eerste Koloniaal Onderwijscongres, 's-Gravenhage 28, 29 en 30 augustus 1916* ('s-Gravenhage: Korthuis, 1916): 31—32.

⁷⁵ R.M. Suardhy Surya Ningrat, “Welke plaats behooren bij het onderwijs in te nemen eensdeels de inheemsche talen, ook het Chineesch en Arabisch, anderdeels het Nederlandsch?”, in: *Prae-adviezen van het Eerste Koloniaal Onderwijscongres, 's-Gravenhage 28, 29 en 30 augustus 1916* ('s-Gravenhage: Korthuis, 1916): 33—72.

Surya Ningrat proposed that one of the existing vernaculars should be used as, what he meant as, *omgangstaal* or a colloquial language among the different population of the DEI. Malay came out as the best option, in Surya Ningrat's opinion. Firstly, he regarded Malay as a language that was easily learned. Secondly, he considered that, for a long time this language had been used by the population of the DEI as a *lingua franca*. If Malay would later be approved as the colloquial language, he added that it was advisable for the DEI government to teach Malay as a subject in any school throughout the DEI.

Surya Ningrat explained that the other vernaculars were less strong candidates because of several reasons namely (1) they were difficult to learn and had particular characters such as Javanese or (2) they were spoken only on a smaller scale within a single group such as Chinese and Arabic. Moreover, Surya Ningrat also realized that knowledge of Dutch was indispensable because there was no single vernacular prepared to replace Dutch immediately on the one hand and the unavailability of textbooks printed in the vernacular on the other hand. At the early stage, Dutch might displace the vernacular in education for the indigenous people in order to form a circle of intellectuals who later would have to use their mother tongue to spread their knowledge among the society.

It can be summed from the above study that the three speakers of the session had different views on language policy in the DEI. There was no dominant support for a certain language to be determined as the main language of the DEI. The vernacular was more preferable compared to Dutch and Malay. Nevertheless, Malay and Dutch tended to appear as the main options for a unifying language. To gain another idea about language policy from the field of education, the next section will study the thoughts of a prominent colonial educationist.

2.3 The Ideas of a Colonial Educationist

In the course of the Ethical Policy, not many colonial educationists conveyed ideas regarding language policy in the DEI. Most of their works were mainly focused on

learning method instead of language policy.⁷⁶ Among them, G.J. Nieuwenhuis was well-known as an influential figure in the colonial education system of the DEI. A Dutch educationist and pedagogue, Philip Kohnstamm, regarded Nieuwenhuis as the founder of colonial education.⁷⁷ Kohnstamm based his statement on a fact that Nieuwenhuis had contributed a significant idea about colonial education system of the DEI, which combined scientific principles and educational theories with actual and practical matters in the DEI. Nieuwenhuis' ideas emphasized a cultural synthesis between the East and the West in order to fulfill the needs of a changing colonial society. With the same reasons, J. Lelyveld also regarded Nieuwenhuis as “a Dutchman with ideas and views on educational matters, which were quite progressive for his time and social context.”⁷⁸ Lelyveld discovered that Nieuwenhuis seemed convinced, that what he thought and did were the best for the DEI.⁷⁹ In order to extend an understanding over Nieuwenhuis' ideas regarding language policy in the DEI, some of his relevant works are studied in this section.

Firstly, in December 1920 Nieuwenhuis published an article “The Root of Education”⁸⁰ that discusses the development of education in the East.⁸¹ Throughout this article, Nieuwenhuis portrayed how education in the East was highly influenced by the Western education system, especially for colonized regions. One of the discussion points in the article was an education policy from the Philippines. On the one hand, Nieuwenhuis admitted that from a general pedagogical standpoint, the education system in the Philippines is excelled at preserving the vernacular because in primary education English had been chosen as the medium of instruction in the higher grades and as a subject in the lower grades. The vernacular was used as the medium of instruction in the lower grades, but not as a subject. On the other hand, he argued that

⁷⁶ For instance, J.W. Croes who promoted a Dutch learning method throughout *Mijn Hollandsch Boek* (nine volumes, 1903—1904) and J.F.H.A. de la Court who published *Een Nieuwe Wereld* (four volumes, 1938—1939)

⁷⁷ J. Lelyveld, *G.J. Nieuwenhuis (1877—1931): Colonial Educationalist and Education in the Dutch East Indies*, a paper of Fifth Dutch-Indonesian Historical Congress (S.I.: s.n., 1986): 1.

⁷⁸ Lelyveld, *G.J. Nieuwenhuis*: 34.

⁷⁹ Lelyveld, *G.J. Nieuwenhuis*: 35.

⁸⁰ The full title of the article is “The Root of Education (A Comparative Study of Systems in the Far East)”.

⁸¹ G.J. Nieuwenhuis, “The Root of Education (A Comparative Study of Systems in the Far East)”, in: *Sluyters' Monthly*, Volume 1, No. 7, December (1920): 516—521.

such system was psychologically incorrect since it would make the Philippines children forget their vernaculars and force them to express their ideas in a foreign language. They would become Malayo-Polynesians (indigenous people) who were not able to speak their own languages, which is contrary to his idea of a cultural synthesis between the East and the West. This concern then became the main theme of one of his books *Opvoeding tot Autonomie* (Education for Autonomy) that was published in 1923.⁸²

Secondly, in *Opvoeding tot Autonomie* Nieuwenhuis deliberated the case in the Philippines to promote a language policy in the DEI. He argued that, at the first stage the mastery of the vernacular was more necessary than the existence of a unifying language because he believed that a unifying language was absolutely unnecessary for political unity.⁸³ It would be a long time before one would know which language in the DEI would appear as the most dominant. When the population has mastered their own vernacular, Dutch could then be introduced as a medium to access Western knowledge. The mastery of Dutch among the DEI population had to reach all social layers.⁸⁴ The intermediate level to the low level—such as teachers, technicians, and clerks—had to master Dutch passively or be able to read and understand Dutch, while the intermediate to the top level had to master Dutch both actively and passively or be able to understand and express themselves in Dutch.

Thirdly, in 1925 Nieuwenhuis introduced a new method of language teaching through his book *Bronnenboek voor het Nieuwe Taalonderwijs in Indië* (*Book of Sources for New Language Teaching in the Dutch East Indies*). This book was then revised thoroughly and the revised edition was published in 1930 under the title *Het Nederlandsch in Indië*⁸⁵ (*Dutch in the Dutch East Indies*). Although it is a book on the method of Dutch teaching, its lengthy introductory part contains (1) a study of the

⁸² The full title of the book is *Opvoeding tot Autonomie: Een Sociaal-Paedagogische Studie van het Philippijnsch Onderwijsstelsel, Vergeleken met het Nederlandsch-Indische* (in English: *Education for Autonomy: A Socio-Pedagogical Study of the Philippines Educational System, Compared to the DEI*).

⁸³ G.J. Nieuwenhuis, *Opvoeding tot Autonomie: Een Sociaal-Paedagogische Studie van het Philippijnsch Onderwijsstelsel, Vergeleken met het Nederlandsch-Indische* (Groningen, Den Haag, Weltevreden: J.B. Wolters, 1923): 198—199.

⁸⁴ Nieuwenhuis, *Opvoeding*: 314.

⁸⁵ The full title of the book is *Het Nederlandsch in Indië: Een Bronnenboek voor het Onderwijs in de Nieuwe Richting* (in English: *Dutch in the DEI: A Source Book for Teaching in the New Direction*).

history and the meaning of Dutch in the DEI and (2) education in Dutch. In the introduction, Nieuwenhuis argued that Dutch was important for both sides: the DEI and the Netherlands. For the DEI population it helped to create a future, while on the other hand it preserves a past for the Dutchmen.⁸⁶ In relation to the future of the DEI, the multilingual population of the DEI could use Dutch as a means to communicate with a diverse population meanwhile a unifying language was being sought. By mastering Dutch the population would be able to translate many Western literatures, from which the Western knowledge could be acquired. In relation to preserve the past, the use of Dutch in the DEI might facilitate the perpetuation of Dutch culture and interests throughout the region of the DEI as described by Nieuwenhuis as in the following:

If a million of people in the Dutch East Indies (only two percent of the population), is able to speak or understand our language, therefore Dutch books, workers, and thoughts maintain influences and Dutch commodities find a market in the long-term, from the Dutch East Indies as colony to independent state.⁸⁷

From three publications as studied in this section, Nieuwenhuis consistently emphasized a cultural synthesis aspect. He believed that there had come a period when the West was not taught by the East, as in antiquity, or vice versa, as in colonization period. The two worlds were now fertilizing each other to create a synthesis culture.⁸⁸ This motive might explain why to some extent Nieuwenhuis' ideas seemed contradictory. On the one hand, he promoted the creation of synthesis culture between the DEI and the Netherlands, yet on the other hand he suggested that Dutch remained important in the DEI. The contradiction implies a view of Dutch dominance. This view certainly influences his opinion about Malay in the DEI. He underlined that any attempts to make Malay as a unifying language was a disadvantage for the DEI and

⁸⁶ G.J. Nieuwenhuis, *Het Nederlandsch in Indië: Een Bronnenboek voor het Onderwijs in de Nieuwe Richting* (Groningen, Batavia: J.B. Wolters, 1930): 9.

⁸⁷ The original excerpt: "Als op den duur één million ontwikkelde Indiërs onze taal spreekt of verstaat (nog maar 2% der bevolking), blijven Hollandsche boeken, Hollandschewerkers, Hollandschegedachten hun invloed behouden en Hollandsche waren aftrek vinden gedurende de lange periode door die van kolonie naar zelfstandige staat voert." This fragment is cited from Nieuwenhuis, *Het Nederlandsch*: 14.

⁸⁸ Nieuwenhuis, *Het Nederlandsch*: 9.

the Netherlands as well.⁸⁹ It can be perceived that Malay to some extent has been anticipated as a strong candidate as a unifying language besides Dutch. Apparently, Nieuwenhuis envisaged that Dutch would have little chance to exist in the DEI if Malay became a unifying language.

2.4 Conclusion

There were two parallels of main ideas regarding language policy within education in the DEI, which were conveyed during the course of the Ethical Policy. The first parallel considered educational function as the medium of instruction and school-subject, while the second parallel considered unifying function. Under the consideration of educational function, language was viewed as a means to educate the population of the DEI, especially to facilitate the population accessing the Western knowledge. In this respect, most parties of educational group suggested that the vernacular should be mastered at the first stage before learning Dutch. Linguistically, learning the vernacular is important in order to prevent the languages of the indigenous in colonized regions from becoming extinct, while pedagogically it would help students in the elementary school to understand the lessons thoroughly. On the other hand, under the unifying function, language was used politically as an instrument to unify the population through education. In this respect, Dutch and Malay emerged as the two major options.

Having discussed several main ideas regarding language policy in the DEI from two different groups namely scholars and educators in the first and the second chapters of this paper, it is also important to discuss ideas from the standpoint of the DEI government officials in order to obtain the position of the DEI government towards those ideas. To achieve this objective, the next chapter will discuss the ideas regarding language policy in the DEI that circulated within the DEI government circle.

⁸⁹ Nieuwenhuis, *Het Nederlandsch*: 49.

CHAPTER 3

THE IDEAS REGARDING LANGUAGE POLICY WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT CIRCLE

The two previous chapters of this paper discussed the main ideas regarding language policy in the Dutch East Indies from groups of scholars and educators. Each group displayed an assortment of ideas representing the characteristics of each standpoint. To obtain the position of the DEI government towards those ideas, this chapter discusses ideas regarding language policy in the DEI conveyed by the government officials, both of the DEI and the Dutch government. The discussion will identify the main ideas proposed by the government officials and investigate whether the DEI or the Dutch government responded to the existing ideas generated by groups of scholars and educators.

The primary sources studied in this chapter consist of proceedings of the congress and preserved official documents in *Het Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië 1900—1940: Een Bronnenpublikatie (The Education Policy in the Dutch East Indies 1900—1940: A Publication of Sources)*, edited by S.L. van der Wal. This source contains official documents related to education policy in the DEI. Although they discuss education and have no direct relation to language issues, these documents are highly relevant to language policy as argued by Kees Groeneboer in *Gateway to the West* that language policy in the DEI was associated with education policy.⁹⁰ The sources are studied in chronological order to examine the continuity aspect of the developing ideas within the government circle. The organization of the sections is divided into two periods: (1) the 1900s and (2) from the 1910s to the 1920s.

3.1 In the 1900s

From the official documents preserved in *The Education Policy in the Dutch East Indies 1900—1940: A Publication of Sources* that were created in the 1900s, there are only two documents discussing language policy in the DEI namely (1) *nota van de Afdeling A van het ministerie van koloniën, 16 dec. 1901* (memorandum from the Division

⁹⁰ Kees Groeneboer, *Gateway*: 17.

A⁹¹ in the Ministry of Colonies of the Kingdom of the Netherlands) dated 16 December 1901 and (2) *advies van de raad van Nederlands-Indië van 28 april 1905, no. XX* (advice of the Council of the DEI dated 28 April 1905, no. XX). In addition, a speech⁹² by the director of education of the DEI, J.H. Abendanon, in the 29th Dutch Language and Literary Congress⁹³ is also examined in this section because it discussed language policy in the DEI and was presented by an official in the 1900s.

3.1.1 A Memorandum from the Ministry of Colonies

On 16 December 1901, the Division A—a bureau of the ministry responsible for any issues of the Department of Justice and the Department of Education, Religion, and Industry of the DEI—in the Ministry of Colonies of the Kingdom of the Netherlands released a memorandum to the Minister of Colonies regarding the spread of the Dutch language among the indigenous population of the DEI. The background of the memorandum was that for a long time, the middle class of the indigenous population had a desire to develop their knowledge through the mastery of Dutch. It was believed by the indigenous people that Dutch might be able to overcome the limitations of the vernacular in an attempt to access more knowledge and science.⁹⁴ Moreover, it was mentioned explicitly in the memorandum that the spread of Dutch could also be intended as a political objective, which means that Dutch was expected to be able to strengthen the bond between the motherland and the colonies.⁹⁵

⁹¹ The Division A of the Ministry of Colonies was a bureau of the ministry responsible for any issues of the Department of Justice and the Department of Education, Religion and Industry of the DEI.

⁹² The full title of the speech is “*Het is wenschelijk krachtige maatregelen te nemen tot verspreiding van de kennis der Nederlandsche taal onder de hoogere standen der inheemsche bevolking van Nederlandsch Indië*” or “It is desirable to take strong measures in disseminating the knowledge of the Dutch language among the upper classes of indigenous population of the DEI”.

⁹³ The 29th Dutch Language and Literary Congress was held from 26 to 30 August 1906 in Brussels, Belgium.

⁹⁴ *Nota van de Afdeling A van het ministerie van koloniën, 16 dec. 1901*, reproduced in S.L. van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië 1900—1940: Een Bronnenpublikatie* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1963): 14.

⁹⁵ *Nota van de Afdeling A van het ministerie van koloniën, 16 dec. 1901*, reproduced in Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*: 15. The original excerpt: “*De verbreiding van het Nederlandsch wordt behalve om den Inlander te ontwikkelen ook aanbevolen uit een politiek oogmerk. Men wil den band tusschen moederland en koloniën zodoende nauwer aanhalen.*”

There was a similar view between the idea of the ‘unification’⁹⁶ conveyed by the inspector of indigenous education A.G. Boes and the political objective as mentioned in the memorandum of the Division A. Both ideas stated that Dutch could be employed as a vehicle to make the relationships between the Netherlands as the motherland and the DEI as a colony closer in the future. Nonetheless, the idea conveyed in the memorandum had emerged fifteen years earlier prior to Boes’ speech about the idea of the ‘unification’ in the First Colonial Education Congress. Based on these facts, it can be said that the idea to strengthen the bond between the motherland and the colonies was already existed within the government circle from the turn of the twentieth century.

In the memorandum, the Division A identified that in practice the challenge to spread Dutch widely among the indigenous people, instead, came from the circle of Dutch officials in the DEI. The challenge came mainly from officials who had no willingness to use Dutch when they communicated with the indigenous officials in particular and the indigenous people in general. In order to tackle this reluctance, from 1890 to 1913 the government had issued at least five government circulars instructing the Dutch officials to increase the intensity of communication in Dutch.⁹⁷

Other main issues regarding the spread of Dutch in the DEI were classified into two ways in the memorandum namely (1) the provision of *kweekschool*/K.S. (teacher training school) in the DEI and (2) the process of the propagation of Dutch among the indigenous people in order to form a closer tie between the Netherlands and the DEI. In the first way, the Division A regarded that an indigenous teacher would be able to be a suitable teacher without necessarily mastering Dutch.⁹⁸ Although the Division A delivered such statement, the government, in fact, still considered and improved the quality of the K.S. The training program of the K.S. was reformed in 1907 with an extension of the duration from four to six years. Nevertheless, the reform was

⁹⁶ This idea has been discussed in the second chapter of this paper.

⁹⁷ The related government circulars namely the circular of 10 September 1890 number 2198, the circular of 5 February 1900 no. 344, the circular of 3 April 1906 no. 974, the circular of 20 April 1909 no. 1016, and the circular of 22 August 1913 no. 2014.

⁹⁸ *Nota van de Afdeling A van het ministerie van koloniën*, 16 dec. 1901, reproduced in Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*: 22.

considered insufficient to provide qualified indigenous teachers. Consequently, the government continued to rely on European teachers.⁹⁹

In the second way, the main views of the propagation of Dutch among the indigenous people were divided into two parties: (1) those who believed that there was no necessity to teach Dutch in the elementary education and (2) those who demanded that Dutch to be taught only by Dutch teachers, instead of indigenous teachers. The Division A regarded that the elementary education of the indigenous population should remain based on indigenous culture since the indigenous people needed to have basic knowledge in order to fulfill their own needs within their society. The Division A added that, there would be many aspects that need to be taken into account once Dutch was largely mastered by the indigenous people. In particular, there was a concern from a political point of view that the indigenous people would become nearly Europeans, that were characterized by having multiple needs, complaints, dissatisfaction, etc.¹⁰⁰ This concern became a reason for the Division A to not regard Dutch learning in the elementary education of indigenous population as a necessity.

The last point of discussion raised in the memorandum was about the measures that needed to be taken by the government to manage indigenous teachers, particularly whether they needed to learn Dutch. The then director of the Department of Education, Religion, and Industry of the DEI, J.H. Abendanon, promoted the mastery of Dutch among the indigenous teachers through the K.S. He argued that it would be beneficial to widen the spectrum of general education of the DEI in the future on the one hand and to develop the knowledge of the indigenous teachers on the other hand. Through the memorandum, the Division A reminded that there would be at least two main issues which might be encountered by the government if the measure as expressed by Abendanon was executed. The two issues were (1) the training program of Dutch for the indigenous teachers would run slowly due to the lack of infrastructures and (2) it would cost the government much more. Moreover, as a more

⁹⁹ Agus Suwignyo, "The Breach in the Dike: Regime Change and the Standardization of Public Primary-School Teacher Training in Indonesia, 1893-1969." Dissertation. Leiden University, Leiden, 2012: 6.

¹⁰⁰ *Nota van de Afdeling A van het ministerie van koloniën, 16 dec. 1901*, reproduced in Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*: 23.

practical issue, the indigenous teachers, who taught in the village, would find it difficult to maintain and improve their Dutch in daily practice. These issues caused the Division A to express explicitly in the memorandum their hesitation about the effectiveness of such measures.¹⁰¹

3.1.2 Advice from the Council of the Dutch East Indies

In a document of advice to the government of the DEI dated 28 April 1905 no. XX, the Council of the DEI discussed the development of English in Chinese education. Throughout, the text discussed how the government realized that in the DEI, Dutch was gradually becoming threatened by English considering the facts of several reports mentioning particularly the extensive use of English among the Chinese in Batavia. In a secret missive dated 19 December 1904, Letter E, no. 421, a resident of Batavia recommended the government to promote a considerable amount of support for a Chinese association of *Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan* (the T.H.H.K.) by appointing Dutch teachers to teach at schools founded by the association.¹⁰² The primary aim of this recommendation was to maintain the position of Dutch as one of the mediums of instructions along with Malay, Chinese, and English in those schools. It was also mentioned in the advice that another recommendation related to Chinese education in Batavia was expressed by Abendanon¹⁰³ through a secret report dated 13 January no. 7.¹⁰⁴ Abendanon noticed that Chinese children in Batavia were more fluent in speaking English rather than Dutch. Therefore, he suggested that the government should provide more financial support to develop education in Dutch.

Considering the information concerning the development of English among Chinese society in the DEI, the council found that the younger generation tended to be Anglicized. The extensive use of English among the Chinese population would make Chinese society in the DEI increasingly estranged from the Dutch language and the government. Some backgrounds of this development were the facts that English was

¹⁰¹ *Nota van de Afdeling A van het ministerie van koloniën, 16 dec. 1901*, reproduced in Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*: 24.

¹⁰² *Advies van de raad van Nederlands-Indië van 28 april 1905 no. XX*, reproduced in Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*: 41.

¹⁰³ At that time, Abendanon recently retired as director of education.

¹⁰⁴ *Advies van de raad van Nederlands-Indië van 28 april 1905 no. XX*, reproduced in Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*: 41.

used widely as a common language in the Chinese trade, for instance English was used to communicate with other Chinese traders from East Asian countries, and that English was considered much easier to learn than Dutch.

Once the Chinese in this land aim to learn and employ English, in the meaning of "the language is the whole people" or the language holds together a nation and not based on the origin, the energetic element among our citizens increasingly turns away from us and, if circumstances were leading, it then might become hostile.¹⁰⁵

Regarding the above citation, it can be sensed that the council was quite concerned with English. As an advice, the council suggested the government support *het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond/A.N.V.* (the General Dutch League)¹⁰⁶ because the league was regarded as an effective agent that could support the propagation of Dutch. Besides supporting the A.N.V., the council expected the government to give more financial support to Chinese schools in improving education in Dutch.¹⁰⁷

3.1.3 A Speech by the Director of Education

In 1906, one year after he retired as the director of education, J.H. Abendanon presented a speech in the 29th Dutch Language and Literary Congress. Abendanon was one of the government officials who strongly advocated the spread of Dutch among the indigenous population of the DEI. In his speech, Abendanon asserted that it was desirable to take strong measures in disseminating the knowledge of the Dutch language among the upper classes of the indigenous population of the DEI. He pointed to the case that in the DEI only a few indigenous officials had mastered Dutch. Most of them were speaking in Malay, Javanese, or Madurese.

In general, the vernacular was mainly used by the indigenous officials for communicating with indigenous official fellows, while Dutch was only used

¹⁰⁵ *Advies van de raad van Nederlands-Indië van 28 april 1905 no. XX*, reproduced in Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*: 42. The original excerpt: "En is eenmaal het streven van de Chineezzen hier te lande er op gericht om het Engelsch aan te leeren en te bezigen, dan zal, waar "de taal gansch het volk is" en niet de afstamming maar de taal een volk bijeenhoudt, dat energieke element onder onze onderdanen zich meer en meer van ons afwenden en mogelijk zelfs, als de omstandigheden er toe mochten leiden, ons vijandig worden."

¹⁰⁶ A brief study on the A.N.V. has been presented in the first chapter of this paper.

¹⁰⁷ *Advies van de raad van Nederlands-Indië van 28 april 1905 no. XX*, reproduced in Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*: 42—43.

occasionally when they communicated with Dutch official fellows. Their inadequacy of Dutch remained because the chances to either practice or improve their Dutch were very limited. Consequently, it prevented them from expressing their thoughts or exchange views within the government circle. The content of their communication in Dutch was only confined to mundane subjects. This inadequacy was partially because of several main factors namely (1) most of the readings in the office were in Dutch without any translation to the vernacular, which could be useful for the indigenous officials to learn Dutch, (2) the lack of language skills of the indigenous officials, and (3) the closed nature of the Dutch officials.¹⁰⁸ Abendanon supposed that the situation would be better if the indigenous officials had mastered Dutch since childhood. If so, they would be able to understand comprehensively communication beyond mundane subjects and appreciate Dutch as a language that supported them intellectually.¹⁰⁹

The government circulars, that instructed the Dutch officials to use Dutch in communication with their indigenous official fellows, were not the concern of most of the Dutch officials. Accordingly, there was no improvement in the mastery of Dutch among the indigenous officials. Abendanon explained that in practice many Dutch officials in Java and Madura were reluctant to speak in Dutch with indigenous officials who had positions below that of regent. Some of the Dutch officials did not even communicate in Dutch with regents. According to Abendanon, this attitude could deter the regents to use Dutch although actually they had quite mastered Dutch.¹¹⁰ On the top of that, the prevailing educational system did not encourage indigenous students in general to learn Dutch because the knowledge of Dutch was only required for students who wished to be admitted in the *Opleiding voor Inlandse Ambtenaar/OSVIA* (the training school for indigenous officials) and the *School tot Opleiding van Inlandse Artsen/STOVIA* (the school of indigenous doctors). All of these factors illustrate the aspects that did not support the spread of Dutch among the indigenous population of the DEI at that time.

¹⁰⁸ J.H. Abendanon, “*Het is wenschelijk krachtige maatregelen te nemen tot verspreiding van de kennis der Nederlandsche taal onder de hoogere standen der inheemsche bevolking van Nederlandsch Indië*”, in: *Oproeping tot Deelneming aan het XXIXe Nederlandsch Taal- en Letterkundig Congres, te Brussel op 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 Augustus 1906* (Brussel: N. De Bremaeker-Wauts, 1906): 190.

¹⁰⁹ Abendanon, “Het is wenschelijk”, in *Oproeping*: 191.

¹¹⁰ Abendanon, “Het is wenschelijk”, in *Oproeping*: 191.

At the end of the his speech, Abendanon recommended that schools for the indigenous population, especially the first-class school that were mainly for children of the indigenous elites, should develop as much as possible. All indigenous teachers were encouraged to read books that were written in Dutch since the improvement of their Dutch afterwards was not only for their own benefit but also for the benefit of their students. In his closing speech, Abendanon concluded that the uninhibited spread of Dutch in the DEI would make the relationship between the Netherlands and the DEI closer.¹¹¹

3.2 From the 1910s to the 1920s

This second section studies (1) a speech by the minister of colonies Dirk Fock (1858—1941) in the 32nd Dutch language and Literary Congress¹¹² entitled “*De Stambelangen in de Koloniën*” (“The Dutch Interests in the Colonies”) and (2) the preparation for the establishment of a Literary Faculty in the DEI. The source of the first study is based on the proceedings of the congress and the second study is based on government documents. Ideas regarding language policy studied in this section were presented by government official or apparatus in the 1910s and 1920s.

3.2.1 A Speech by the Minister of Colonies

Dirk Fock (1858—1941) noticed that topics on language policy in the DEI particularly and in the Dutch colonies generally were quite rarely discussed.¹¹³ This inspired Fock to deliver a speech entitled “The Dutch Interests in the Colonies” in the 32nd Dutch language and Literary Congress that was presented on 28 August 1912. At that time, Fock was a former minister of colonies and a former governor of Suriname. Throughout his speech, Fock often referred to his experiences while on duty abroad (in the DEI and Suriname) as a consideration of his thoughts.

¹¹¹ Abendanon, “Het is wenschelijk”, in *Oproeping*: 192. The original excerpt: “Ten slotte moge er op worden gewezen, dat de onbevangen verspreiding van het Nederlandsch in Nederlandsch Indië uit den aard der zaak den band tusschen Moederland en koloniën nauwer toehaalt.”

¹¹² The 32nd Dutch Language and Literary Congress was held from 25 to 29 August 1912 in Antwerp, Belgium.

¹¹³ Dirk Fock, “De Stambelangen in de Koloniën”, in: *Handelingen van het XXXIle Nederlandsch Taal- en Letterkundig Congres, te Antwerpen 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 Oogst 1912* (Antwerpen: V. Resselers, 1912): 145.

“It is my privilege to discuss over our Dutch interests in the greater Netherlands yonder in the Dutch East and West Indies.”¹¹⁴ He stated this at the beginning of his speech. Fock was the only figure who mentioned explicitly the idea of ‘*het grooter Nederland*’ (‘the greater Netherlands’). Although mentioned explicitly, he did not explain more about this idea. Referring to the quotation, it can be interpreted that what he meant regarding ‘the greater Netherlands’ was a unity between the motherland (the Netherlands) and the Dutch colonies (the Dutch East and West Indies).

Throughout the speech, Fock was not concerned with other existing languages in the DEI. He suggested Dutch as the only language to be taught and used for the future of the DEI. It seemed clear why he only regarded Dutch as a proposed language since his stance to advocate the realization of ‘the greater Netherlands’ was definitive. According to Fock, the entire indigenous population in Java and the other Dutch colonies should speak Dutch. As a result, Dutch would be adopted entirely as their language. Fock believed that since then the indigenous people would gradually regard themselves as Dutch citizens.¹¹⁵

3.2.2 The Preparation for the Establishment of a Literary Faculty

In the decades of the 1910s and the 1920s, the intensity of discussions over language policy in the DEI was decreasing. Nevertheless, there was still an opportunity to study ideas regarding language policy in the DEI from the standpoint of the government through a plan for the establishment of a university in the DEI initially and a Literary Faculty within the university subsequently. The origin of the idea to establish a university and the faculty was conveyed in the Second and Third Colonial Education Congress in 1919 and 1924, which both took place in The Hague. In the second congress the discussion was still limited to the discussions of the establishment of the university,¹¹⁶ while the Literary Faculty was initially discussed in the third congress.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Fock, “De Stambelangen”, in *Handelingen*: 145. The original excerpt: “*Het is mij een voorrecht over onze stambelangen in het grooter Nederland daar ginds in het Oosten en over die belangen in het West-Indisch Nederland te spreken.*”

¹¹⁵ Fock, “De Stambelangen”, in *Handelingen*: 150.

¹¹⁶ In the second day of the 2nd Colonial Education Congress that was held on 23 October 1919, there was a section that discussed about “Higher education in the DEI and the preparation for it”. The

In 1927 the then director of education J. Hardeman wrote a letter to the Governor-General, Jhr. Mr. A.C.D. de Graeff, which referred to the content of both congresses.¹¹⁸ The letter showed Hardeman's considerable support for the establishment of a Literary Faculty in the DEI. He believed that the existence of the faculty would be able to fulfill the demands of the population of the DEI, not only intellectually but also socially and culturally. In addition, he reminded the congress that the beneficial influence of the Western scientific method employed in the faculty should not be underestimated.¹¹⁹ Throughout the letter there was no related elaboration regarding what beneficial influences he referred to. Nevertheless, what was implied from his statement becomes clearer once the contents of a letter from De Graeff to the minister of colonies Dr. J.C. Koningsberger dated 13 August 1928 are taken into account.¹²⁰

In the letter to the minister of colonies, De Graeff expressed his support for Hardeman's view concerning the beneficial influences of the scientific literary

section was led by Dr. C.J. Vinkesteyn and it provided four pre-advice namely (1) "*Het hooger onderwijs in Ned-Indië en de voorbereiding daartoe*" or "The higher education in the DEI and the preparation for it" that was delivered by Dr. E. Bonebakker; (2) "*Een Nederlandsch-Indische Universiteit*" or "A Dutch-Indies University" by Dr. Ph. Kohnstamm; (3) "*Rechtsgeleerd hooger onderwijs in Nederl.-Indië*" or "Higher education of law in the DEI" by Mr. I.A. Nederburgh; (4) "*Hooger onderwijs in Ned.-Indië, in het bijzonder voor geneeskunde*" or "Higher education in the DEI, especially in medicine" by W.K. Tehupeiory; and (5) "*De letterkundige vakken aan de Indische Universiteit*" or "The literary courses at the DEI University" by Dr. N.J. Krom. See *Prae-adviezen van het Tweede Koloniaal Onderwijscongres, 's-Gravenhage 22, 23 en 24 oktober 1919* ('s-Gravenhage: Korthuis, 1919): 50—89.

¹¹⁷ The discussions in the 3rd Colonial Education Congress were entirely about higher education in the DEI. The discussions were divided into four points namely (1) "*Het Indische Hooger Onderwijs in het algemeen*" or "The DEI Higher Education in general", (2) "*Organisatie van het Rechtskundig Hooger Onderwijs, te verbinden met de opleiding van ambtenaren voor den bestuursdienst en den administratieve dienst in Indië*" or "Organization of the Higher Education of Law, in connection with the training of officials for the civil service and the administrative service in the DEI", (3) "*Organisatie van het Medisch Hooger Onderwijs*" or "Organization of the Higher Education of Medical", and "*Het uitgroeien van de bij het Rechtskundig Hooger Onderwijs reeds dadelijk noodzakelijk te doceeren litteraire vakken tot een zelfstandige letterkundige faculteit*" or "The development of the Higher Education of Law is regarded to require the teaching of literary subjects as an independent literary faculty". See *Prae-adviezen van het Derde Koloniaal Onderwijscongres, 's-Gravenhage 23 en 24 april 1924* (Groningen, Den Haag, Weltevreden: J.B. Wolters, 1924): 15.

¹¹⁸ No. A x 2/1/11. Geheim. Afschrift. Vb. 30 jan. 1929 no. 24 [Directeur van onderwijs en eredienst (J. Hardeman) aan gouverneur-generaal (De Graeff), 28 okt. 1927], reproduced in Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*: 421.

¹¹⁹ No. A x 2/1/11. Geheim. Afschrift. Vb. 30 jan. 1929 no. 24 [Directeur van onderwijs en eredienst (J. Hardeman) aan gouverneur-generaal (De Graeff), 28 okt. 1927], reproduced in Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*: 422—423.

¹²⁰ No. 14/1. Geheim. Vb. 30 jan. 1929 no. 24 [Gouverneur-generaal (De Graeff) aan minister van koloniën (Koningsberger), 13 aug. 1928], reproduced in Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*: 428—436.

education that would be acquired by the indigenous people of the DEI and leaders of nationalist movements. De Graeff argued that a solid literary-historical study that employed the Western method would require the indigenous students to delve into the history of civilization of other nations, especially those of the West.¹²¹ Thorough knowledge could lead the indigenous students to appreciate the Western leadership better and save them from the attitude of overestimating the values of their heritage cultures. In line with this argument De Graeff also considered that Dutch should be retained as the language learned by the indigenous people in order to obstruct any attempts from Indonesian nationalists to elevate the Malay language to become *Bahasa Indonesia*, which was known as a universal medium of academic communication among the nationalists.¹²²

3.3 Conclusion

The conclusion of this chapter is twofold. Firstly, some ideas regarding language policy in the DEI from the standpoint of the government have shown that at a certain extent the government responded the ideas conveyed by outside groups. This response can be seen through the discussion over the Literary Faculty. Secondly, the Dutch language was proposed by various layers of officials. The objective behind the proposals was political. Nevertheless, there were at least two different approaches to the objective, and those were (1) constructive and (2) preventive. Under the constructive approach, Dutch was used as a means to construct a close bond between the Netherlands and the DEI. In this respect, the role of the Dutch officials in particular and financial support of the government in general was considered to be the important factors for the acceleration of the spread of Dutch in the DEI. Under the preventive approach, Dutch functioned as an antidote against nationalistic movements. This approach began to be noticeable in the 1920s.

¹²¹ No. 14/1. Geheim. Vb. 30 jan. 1929 no. 24 [Gouverneur-generaal (De Graeff) aan minister van koloniën (Koningsberger), 13 aug. 1928], reproduced in Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*: 434.

¹²² No. 14/1. Geheim. Vb. 30 jan. 1929 no. 24 [Gouverneur-generaal (De Graeff) aan minister van koloniën (Koningsberger), 13 aug. 1928], reproduced in Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid*: 434.

In order to recognize the ideas regarding language policy in the DEI promoted by the nationalistic movements, ideas conveyed by Indonesian nationalists will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4
THE NATIONALISTIC IDEAS REGARDING LANGUAGE POLICY
IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

After identifying the main ideas regarding language policy in the Dutch East Indies from the perspective of scholars, educators, and the government in the previous chapters, this last chapter identifies the main ideas of the Indonesian nationalists by discussing the recognition of Indonesian national language called *Bahasa Indonesia* or the Indonesian language ('Indonesian')¹²³ in *het tweede Indonesisch jeugdcongres* (the Second Indonesian Youth Congress) that was held in 1928 in Batavia. The congress is relevant because it was attended by several representatives of many indigenous youth associations in the DEI to discuss the idea of an Indonesian nation. The holding of this congress cannot be separated from the previous youth congress or the First Indonesian Youth Congress that was held in 1926 in Batavia because of the close relation between both congresses in terms of discussion on nationalism. In this chapter, ideas regarding language policy in the DEI conveyed in both congresses are studied in two separate sections. In addition, a debate over the proposal of the Indonesian language is studied in a separate section and on the basis of chronological organization it is placed between the two sections that study the First and the Second Indonesian Youth Congress (hereafter the First Indonesian Youth Congress called as 'the first congress' and the Second Indonesian Youth Congress as 'the second congress').

4.1 Ideas Presented in the First Indonesian Youth Congress

From 30 April to 2 May 1926 the first congress was held in Weltevreden, Batavia under the chairmanship of Mohammad Tabrani.¹²⁴ At that time Tabrani was a journalist

¹²³ *Bahasa Indonesia* or Indonesian is the official and the national language of Indonesia since sovereign.

¹²⁴ It was stated in the Statutes of the 1st congress that the congressional committee consists of M. Tabrani (Jong Java) as chairman, Bahder Djohan (Jong Sumatranen Bond) as vice-chairman, Soemarto (Jong Java) as secretary, Jan Toule Soulehuwif (Jong Ambon) as treasurer, and members namely Achmad Hamami (Sekar Roekoen), Djamaloedin (Jong Sumatranen Bond), Sanoesi Pane (Jong

and member of Jong Java or the Javanese youth association (from 1918). He graduated from *Opleiding voor Inlandse Ambtenaar/OSVIA* (training school for indigenous officials) in Bandung in July 1925. Instead of becoming a government official, he opted for a career in journalism after graduating from the OSVIA. As a journalist he worked at the Malay daily newspaper *Hindia Baroe*. His early works were mostly characterized by a nationalism theme. His roles both as a journalist and member of Jong Java had allowed him to communicate with other members of many youth associations in the DEI, which eventually resulted in the holding of the first congress.

It was stated explicitly in the statutes of the congress that the aim was to propagate the idea of Indonesian unity.¹²⁵ The congress was attended by representatives of indigenous youth associations¹²⁶, indigenous social organizations (such as Boedi Oetomo and Muhammadiyah), and the government of the DEI, such as Politieke Inlichtingen Dienst/PID (political intelligence) and *adviseur voor Inlandsche zaken* (advisor for indigenous affairs).

In his autobiography, Tabrani mentioned that all speeches of the congress were written and conducted in Dutch language to ease the permit of holding the congress. Tabrani as the head of the committee promised the government that the holding of the congress would be reported by the committee to the government in a written form. Before presenting their speeches, all speakers of the congress were required to submit the text of their speech to be examined by a committee of congressional texts,

Bataks Bond), Soewarso (Jong Java), Paul Pinontoan (Jong Celebes), and Chatib Sarbaini (Jong Sumatranen Bond). See *Laporan Kongres Pemuda Indonesia Pertama di Jakarta 1926. Diterjemahkan oleh Muh. Nur* (Jakarta: Takari, 1981): 122. However, it was explained by the chairman Tabrani in his autobiography that the actual composition of the committee was changed before the congress began due to conflicting schedule of Djohan's study. The list of names of the committee in the statutes of the congress was not changed deliberately to prevent misinterpretation among participants of the congress, for instance a split in the committee. According to Tabrani, the duty of Djohan as vice-chairman was continued by Soemarto, Soemarto was continued by Djamaloedin as secretary, Soulehuwif was continued by Soewarso as treasurer, and Djohan remained as member among the rest. See M. Tabrani, *Anak Akal Banyak Akal* (Jakarta: Aqua Press, 1979): 62—64 and also Momon Abdul Rahman et al., *Sumpah Pemuda: Latar Sejarah dan Pengaruhnya bagi Pergerakan Nasional. Edisi Revisi* (Jakarta: Museum Sumpah Pemuda, 2005): 35—36.

¹²⁵ *Laporan Kongres Pemuda Indonesia Pertama di Jakarta 1926. Diterjemahkan oleh Muh. Nur*: 120. The original excerpt: “Het stelt zich ten doel de Indonesisch Eenheidsgedachte te propageeren en de verwezenlijking van een waardig en gelukkig Volksbestaan voor Groot-Indonesia voor the bereiden.”

¹²⁶ Mostly the principles of these associations were regional or ethnic such as Jong Ambon, Jong Bataks Bond, Jong Celebes, Jong Java, and Jong Sumatranen Bond.

which consisted of Tabrani, Mohammad Yamin¹²⁷, Djamaloedin¹²⁸, and Sanoesi Pane¹²⁹. The reason behind this requirement was to ensure that the content of the texts did not mention or discuss the independence of the DEI. Therefore, the congressional committee expected that the congress would run smoothly without encountering any possible reprimand from the government.

Tabrani assured that the committee accepted the content of all submitted texts without any changes.¹³⁰ A compilation of all the speeches was then produced by the committee in a publication entitled *Verslag van het Eerste Indonesisch Jeugdcongres*¹³¹ (*the Report of the First Indonesian Youth Congress*), which functioned both as a report to the government and a publication for public.¹³² Three topics of discussions were formulated by the congressional committee. They are (1) Indonesian national unity, (2) the position and role of women in Indonesian society, and (3) the role of religion in the Indonesian national unity movement. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss every speech in the congress. This section mainly focuses on the first topic of discussion that relates to the subject of language. In this respect, a speech entitled “*De toekomst-mogelijkheden van de Indonesische talen en letterkunde*” (“The prospect of the Indonesian languages and literature”) delivered by Mohammad Yamin was relevant to be studied because it discussed the potential of some major languages in the DEI to be the national language of the DEI in the future.

Yamin’s speech was delivered in the last day of the congress or on 2 May 1926. At the beginning of his speech, Yamin explained that it was a heavy duty for any party

¹²⁷ At that time Mohammad Yamin was a writer and poet. His early works were mostly written in Malay language, instead of Dutch, and published in the journal of Jong Sumatra, the literary publication of Jong Sumatranen Bond.

¹²⁸ At that time Djamaloedin was a member of Jong Sumatranen Bond.

¹²⁹ At that time Sanoesi Pane was a writer and poet. Similar to Yamin, his early works were mostly written in Malay language, instead of Dutch, and published in the journal of Jong Sumatra, the literary publication of Jong Sumatranen Bond.

¹³⁰ Tabrani, *Anak*: 65.

¹³¹ The full title of the report is *Verslag van het Eerste Indonesisch Jeugdcongres, gehouden te Weltevreden van 30 april tot 2 mei 1926*.

¹³² The publications of the report were seized by the government not long after they had been published because the content of the report was considered contradictable to the interests of the government, basically because it discussed the sovereignty of Indonesia. Nonetheless, some of the publications were saved from the seizure since previously the congressional committee had sent some publications to daily newspapers, magazines, and the central public library—the present name is *perpustakaan nasional* or the national library. See *Laporan Kongres Pemuda Indonesia Pertama di Jakarta 1926*. Diterjemahkan oleh Muh. Nur: 9—15.

to determine a language for the future of the DEI since it concerned the interests of both the East and the West.¹³³ The issue did not only relate to the difference of opinion about which language was the most feasible, but also connected with the notions of national awakening among the indigenous population. In order to tackle this issue, he offered two analytical approaches: a social approach and an ideal approach.¹³⁴ The first approach emphasizes the factor of social life in the DEI to provide a clear overview about the state of the society in the past and the present, while the relationship between in the present and in the future was highlighted in the second approach.

In the first approach, Yamin explained that there were two main considerations in discourses of language policy in the DEI, namely (1) the competition between Dutch and the vernacular and (2) the need to promote a unifying language besides Dutch and the vernacular. Each discourse attempts to determine a language which would be considered as the most appropriate language for the entire population of the DEI. Nevertheless, Yamin regarded that before determining a certain language it was necessary to observe the development of some major languages in the DEI, without intending to override the role of other languages. Based on the extent of use of each language for communicating among ethnics in the DEI, he believed that major languages in the DEI were Javanese and Malay. Linguistically both languages originated from the same language family named Malayo-Polynesian. Nonetheless, he mentioned that each language has both advantages and disadvantages.

Javanese was regarded as one of the most developed and important languages in the DEI because it contains the sublime of ancient culture, particularly when associated with the translation of Hindu art and literature. This sublimity made Javanese of high value, not only socially but also culturally. However, Yamin mentioned that Javanese was difficult to learn for non-Javanese people since this language had many levels of decency in use. Regarding this consideration, Yamin referred to a speech of Suardhy Surya Ningrat in the First Colonial Education Congress

¹³³ M. Yamin, “Kemungkinan Perkembangan Bahasa-bahasa dan Kesusastraan Indonesia di Masa Mendatang”, in: *Laporan Kongres Pemuda Indonesia Pertama, diadakan di Weltevreden dari 30 April sampai dengan 2 Mei 1926. Penerjemah: Ottoman Mochtar et al.* (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional RI, 1993): 49.

¹³⁴ Yamin, “Kemungkinan”: 50.

(The Hague, 1916) that had explained the same difficulty¹³⁵.¹³⁶ According to Yamin, this factor meant that Javanese had only a very small chance of becoming the unifying language of the DEI. He viewed and predicted that Javanese would continue to develop and would remain important, yet the role of the unifying language of the DEI would be taken over by another language.¹³⁷

Besides Javanese, Malay was also regarded as an important language in the DEI, primarily because of its extensive use. For centuries Malay functioned as a lingua franca or connecting language among islands around the DEI, not only among people of the DEI and its surroundings, but also between people from the East and the West in general. Historically this language was spread through many activities such as maritime activities (sailors), trading (traders), religious study (theologians), and politics (royal relations). One of the main factors that facilitated Malay in becoming a lingua franca was its nature.¹³⁸ Firstly, Malay was easy to be learned since its grammar was simpler compared to Javanese. Secondly, it did not recognize levels of decency in use as found in Javanese. Thirdly, Malay was adaptive to various fields of communication; therefore, its vocabularies would be able to adapt easily to new ideas and circumstances. Consequently, the proficiency of Malay would provide extensive opportunities to interact with any outsiders because this language was easy to learn, egalitarian, and flexible. Based on the elaboration throughout the first approach (analyzing socially), Yamin was fully convinced that in the future Malay would gradually become a unifying language of the DEI.¹³⁹

In the second approach, Yamin started the elaboration by arguing that only Javanese, Malay, and Dutch could be able to solve the problem of language diversity in the DEI. The least recommended by Yamin among these three proposed languages was Dutch since promoting this language would tend to divert people of the DEI into a Western way of thinking, which might distance them from the reality of their own

¹³⁵ The speech of Surya Ningrat was discussed in the second chapter of this paper.

¹³⁶ Yamin, "Kemungkinan": 57.

¹³⁷ Yamin, "Kemungkinan": 57.

¹³⁸ Yamin, "Kemungkinan": 58.

¹³⁹ Yamin, "Kemungkinan": 63. See also in Tabrani, *Anak*: 78. In Tabrani's autobiography cited the original excerpt: "Ik voor mij heb daarnaast de volle overtuiging, dat Maleisch langzamerhand de aangewezen conversatie of eenheidstaal zal zijn voor de Indonesiers en dat de toekomstige Indonesische cultuur zijn uitdrukking in die taal vinden zal."

surroundings. This distance would cause the indigenous people to become estranged from their own native language and their national pride. Nevertheless, Dutch was indispensable in maintaining equality between the indigenous population of the DEI and the Dutch colonizers. Yamin reminded the congress that identity was important for a nation-building in a region with people from multiple backgrounds. He suggested: “our languages should never be ignored, but should be upheld, because in your languages the soul of your nation is situated.”¹⁴⁰

Although until the end of his speech Yamin did not define what language he thought was the most appropriate for the future of the DEI, it can be argued that he suggested the vernacular over Dutch in general and Malay over Javanese in particular. Yamin’s involvement in the congress was not only limited to the role of a speaker but also as one of the drafters of a congressional resolution proposal that will be discussed in the next section under a study of the origin of Indonesian.

4.2 The Debate on the Indonesian Language

It is always a mistake to treat languages in the way that certain nationalist ideologues treat them—as *emblems* of nation-ness, like flags, costumes, folk-dances, and the rest. Much the most important thing about language is its capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect *particular solidarities*.¹⁴¹

As cited above, Benedict Anderson, in his work *Imagined Communities*, explained that there are two roles of language in nationalism discourse. On the one hand, it relates to ideologies of the nationalists. In this respect, language is treated as a national emblem. On the other hand, Anderson argued that language itself, most importantly, has capacity for generating imagined communities—imagined political community.¹⁴² By considering Anderson’s idea, this section studies the proposal of Indonesian as the Indonesian national language which can be traced back to the first congress. This section examines whether during the congress the proposal was discussed only under the ideologies of the nationalists, as a national emblem, or also

¹⁴⁰ Yamin, “Kemungkinan”: 68.

¹⁴¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Revised Edition* (London, New York: Verso, 2006): 133.

¹⁴² Anderson, *Imagined Communities*: 6.

under discourse of the capacity of language in generating an imagined community of Indonesia.

Prior to the conclusion of the first congress on 2 May 1926, the Indonesian language was discussed by a subcommittee of the drafting of a congressional resolution proposal that consisted of Mohammad Tabrani, Djamaloedin, Sanoesi Pane, and Mohammad Yamin. Among the members of the subcommittee, Yamin was the only non-member of the congressional committee. He was asked by the committee to be a member of the subcommittee because he was regarded as knowledgeable about language. It was believed by the subcommittee that language was one of the key elements that might unite the indigenous people of the DEI. Therefore, the subcommittee desired to make language one of the unifying elements in the proposal that later was expected to become a pledge.

Yamin formulated a draft of the pledge that he called “Ikhar Pemuda” or “the Youth Pledge” and then proposed it to the subcommittee.¹⁴³ The draft contains three claims as the following:¹⁴⁴

We the youths of Indonesia claim one homeland, the land of Indonesia.

We the youths of Indonesia claim one nation, Indonesian nation.

We the youths of Indonesia uphold the unifying language, Malay language.

In discussing the draft, ‘Indonesia’ as a homeland and a nation, as stated in the first and the second claim, were fully approved by the subcommittee. Nonetheless, the third claim evoked a fundamental debate among the members of the subcommittee. Tabrani and Pane questioned the selection of Malay as the unifying language. They perceived that the third claim was out of place considering the two previous claims have acknowledged the existence of ‘Indonesia’, both as a homeland and a nation.

Tabrani questioned why the unifying language was not Indonesian. In response to the question, Yamin argued that on the one hand at that time Indonesian did not exist and on the other hand historically the name of the lingua franca used by people

¹⁴³ Tabrani, *Anak: 79* and *Laporan Kongres Pemuda Indonesia Pertama di Jakarta 1926*. Diterjemahkan oleh Muh. Nur: 14.

¹⁴⁴ The original excerpt: “Kami poetera dan poeteri Indonesia mengakoe bertoempah-darah jang satoe, tanah Indonesia. Kami poetera dan poeteri Indonesia mengakoe berbangsa jang satoe, bangsa Indonesia. Kami poetera dan poeteri Indonesia mendjoendjoeng bahasa persatoean, bahasa Indonesia.” See B. Sularto, *Dari Kongres Pemuda Indonesia Pertama ke Sumpah Pemuda* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1986): 27.

of the DEI was Malay. Between these two arguments, Djamaloedin tended to support Yamin's stance. However, Tabrani and Pane proposed Indonesian to be brought into existence through the first congress. The disagreement remained unresolved. In his autobiography Tabrani stated that because of this disagreement, the draft of the pledge composed by Yamin was not discussed at the closing forum of the congress as initially planned.¹⁴⁵ Eventually it was agreed by all members of the subcommittee that the final decision on the pledge would be discussed in the second congress.¹⁴⁶

It can be classified that there were two main ideas about national language during the first congress. Yamin conveyed the first idea through his speech, which discussed Dutch, Javanese, and Malay as the main candidates for the national language. The second idea was to give birth to Indonesian—a Malay language that was widely used among the nationalists and expected to evolve as a national language—as proposed by Tabrani and Pane. Yamin and Djamaloedin proposed Malay, while on the other hand Tabrani and Pane proposed Indonesian. It can be seen in this case that both Malay and Indonesian were proposed by each of its proponents based on ideologies of the nationalists—generating a national emblem—and not based on the function of language as the transmitter of ideas—generating an imagined community.

It can be argued that at that time Dutch was used by the nationalists as a means to transmit nationalistic ideas. As one of the supportive instances, the whole congress itself was conducted in Dutch instead of Malay or other vernaculars. Considering Anderson's argument, it can be understood that during the congress, Malay and Indonesian had indicated their capacities to generate an imagined community of Indonesia because at that time Indonesia as a nation did not exist. To observe further about the approval status of language as the third claim in “the Youth Pledge”, the next section will study discourses of language policy in the second congress.

¹⁴⁵ Rahman et al., *Sumpah*: 41.

¹⁴⁶ R.Z. Leirissa et al., *Sejarah Pemikiran tentang Sumpah Pemuda* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1989): 38 and *Laporan Kongres Pemuda Indonesia Pertama di Jakarta 1926*. Diterjemahkan oleh Muh. Nur: 13.

4.3 The Ideas in the Second Indonesian Youth Congress

The first congress was concluded on 2 May 1926 by a speech from the chairman Mohammad Tabrani. The speech implied a hope that the idea of Indonesian unity could be maintained and implemented by, in particular, all youth associations that attended the congress. A year after the congress was conducted an indigenous student association Perhimpunan Peladjar-peladjar Indonesia/P.P.P.I.¹⁴⁷ (Indonesian Students Association) had an initiative to hold the second congress in 1928. The purpose of the congress was to follow up the conclusion of the first congress. In June 1928 a committee of the second congress was formed. The committee was consisted of representatives of various indigenous youth associations and it was chaired by the then chairman of the P.P.P.I., Soegondo Djojopoespito, who was at that time a student of *Rechtshoogeschool* (the college of law) in Batavia.¹⁴⁸

Only limited information about Soegondo Djojopoespito can be obtained from the secondary literatures. Unlike Tabrani, Djojopoespito did not write an autobiography. However, it is mentioned by Djojopoespito's son Sunaryo Joyopuspito in *Soegondo Djojopoespito: Tokoh Pemoeda 1928*, that Soegondo Djojopoespito learned about nationalism while he was staying in the residences of Raden Hadji Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto, one of the prominent figures of a political party in the DEI named Sarekat Islam, in Surabaya from 1918 to 1921. Soegondo Djojopoespito learned about national education when he was living in Suardhy Surya Ningrat's house, a prominent

¹⁴⁷ The P.P.P.I. was established in September 1926 to accommodate exchange of discourses among Indonesian students of higher education in the DEI. It was stated in the resolution of the 1st congress of the P.P.P.I. that "Achieving the independence of Indonesia becomes a noble obligation for Indonesian youths." The original excerpt: "*Mentjapai Indonesia Merdeka mendjadi kewadajiban jang semoelia-moelianja bagi anak Indonesia.*" See Perhimpunan Peladjar-peladjar Indonesia, *Buku Peringatan P.P.P.I. 1926—1931* (Djakarta: Perhimpunan Peladjar-peladjar Indonesia, 1932): 24.

¹⁴⁸ The other members of the committee were, R.M. Djoko Marsaid a.k.a. Tirtodiningrat (Jong Java) as vice-chairman, Mohammad Yamin (Jong Sumatranen Bond) as secretary, Amir Sjarifuddin (Jong Bataks Bond) as treasurer, Djohan Mohammad Tjai (Jong Islamieten Bond) as first assistant, R. Katjasoengkana (Pemoeda Indonesia) as second assistant, R.C.L. Senduk (Jong Celebes) as third assistant, Johannes Leimena (Jong Ambon) as fourth assistant, and Mohamad Rochjani Soe'loed (Pemoeda Kaum Betawi) as fifth assistant. This information was composed based on several sources namely Museum Sumpah Pemuda, *45 Tahun Sumpah Pemuda* (Jakarta: Museum Sumpah Pemuda, 2006): 61; Parakitri T. Simbolon, *Menjadi Indonesia* (Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas, 2006): 695; Rachman et al., *Sumpah*: 54; and Sularto, *Dari*: 39.

Javanese educator who delivered a speech in the 1st Colonial Education Congress (The Hague, 1916), in Yogyakarta from 1921 to 1924.¹⁴⁹

In the early of October 1928 the committee announced that the second congress would be held in Weltevreden, Batavia from 27 to 28 October 1928. The second congress was attended by about 750 people consisting of representatives of various circles, such as indigenous youth associations (Jong Ambon, Jong Bataks Bond, and Jong Celebes, Jong Java, and Jong Sumatranen Bond), indigenous social organization (Persaudaraan Antar Pandu Indonesia/PAPI [the Brotherhood of Indonesian Scouts]), indigenous political organizations (such as Partai Nasional Indonesia/PNI [the Indonesian National Party]), *Volksraad* (the People's Council for the DEI), and the government of the DEI. In contrast to the implementation of the first congress, the second congress was conducted in Malay while the first congress in Dutch. Moreover, as mentioned by the chairman of the second congress Sugondo Djojopoespito at the opening ceremony of the second congress, the aim of the second congress was to strengthen the sense of unity and nationalism among Indonesian youths that had arisen since the first congress.

Among the subcommittee of the first congress, only Yamin was incorporated as a member of the congressional committee of the second congress since some members of the first congress, like Mohammad Tabrani and Djamaloedin, had left the DEI in the end of 1926 to study journalism in Germany. On 27 October 1928, Yamin presented a speech about the unity and nationalism of Indonesia. Through the speech he explained that the unity was not only based on economic factors but also other factors such as willingness of the people, history, language, common law, and education. He argued that through these factors the foundation of an Indonesian nation would be forged.¹⁵⁰

Regarding language, Yamin mentioned that Malay has been transformed into Indonesian in the second congress. He believed that the Indonesian language affects the unity of Indonesia, which consisted of many diverse ethnic groups and numerous vernaculars. He argued that the unity of the Indonesian nation required a unifying

¹⁴⁹ Sunaryo Joyopuspito, *Soegondo Djojopoespito: Tokoh Pemoeda 1928* (Jakarta: Museum Sumpah Pemuda, 2011): 2—3.

¹⁵⁰ See Sularto, *Dari: 48* and Museum Sumpah Pemuda, *45 Tahun: 64—66*.

language. Indonesian was appropriate to be the unifying language of the DEI since this language had been used as a means of communication among different ethnic groups in the DEI. Accordingly, he proposed that the Indonesian language should be recognized by the second congress.¹⁵¹

The second congress was concluded on 28 October 1928 with the presentation of a congressional resolution by the chairman Sugondo Djojopoespito. The entire content of the resolution was approved by all members of the congress. In the resolution, “the Youth Pledge” formulated by Yamin during the first congress—that contained the three claims of Indonesian youths—was used with a change to the third claim that regarded language, changing ‘Malay’ to ‘Indonesian’: “We the youths of Indonesia uphold the unifying language, Indonesian.”¹⁵²

It can be argued that the recognition of Indonesian as the national language of the DEI in the second congress did not represent the main idea of indigenous population of the DEI in general. During the holding of the first and the second congress, the Indonesian nation was imagined by a number of scholars and representatives of indigenous youth organizations, who were involved in both congresses. The imagination of Indonesia, particularly Indonesian as the national language, was proposed by a group of Indonesian nationalists and approved by the forum of youth associations in the DEI. Accordingly, it can be said that the promotion of the Indonesian language was the main goal for the nationalists at the congress. The shift from Malay to Indonesian demonstrates how the nationalists forged the Indonesian nation.

4.4 Conclusion

Largely, the main ideas regarding language policy in the DEI among the nationalists were identical. The same case occurred in the study of ideas within the government circle that principally proposed Dutch. Regardless of the nomenclature,

¹⁵¹ Museum Sumpah Pemuda, *45 Tahun*: 65.

¹⁵² The original sentence: “*Kami poeta dan poetri Indonesia mendjoendjoeng bahasa persatoean, bahasa Indonesia.*” This citation is based on several secondary literatures namely Museum Sumpah Pemuda: *45 Tahun*: 69; Simbolon, *Menjadi*: 700; Sularto, *Dari*: 61; and Keith Foulcher, “Sumpah Pemuda: The Making and Meaning of a Symbol of Indonesian Nationhood”, in: *Asian Studies Review*, 24: 3 (2000): 378 & 380.

the proposed language by the nationalists was Malay. The motive behind the proposal was ideological because it was based on ideas and beliefs of a group of Indonesian nationalists to build an Indonesian nation. Accordingly, it would be problematic to claim that the idea of adopting Indonesian as the official language was generated and proposed by the indigenous people of the DEI in general.

CONCLUSIONS

By discussing the main ideas regarding language policy in the Dutch East Indies generated by groups of scholars, educators, government officials, and Indonesian nationalists throughout chapters, this paper analyzed the development of ideas regarding language policy in the DEI during the course of the Ethical Policy. This paper found that there was a continuity of the developing ideas regarding language policy in the DEI during the Ethical Policy that can be related to the periodization of the Ethical Policy generated by Elsbeth Locher-Scholten. The continuity can be observed through three sustainable phases: (1) the initial period of the Ethical Policy, characterized by policy that concerned to the interests of the DEI in the 1890s; (2) the progressive period, characterized by new policies in many aspects that were more favorable to the DEI society in the early of the twentieth century; and (3) the conservative period, characterized by the reconsideration of ethical programs due to economic crises after 1920.

As seen in the first chapter, in the 1890s the main ideas of language policy did not imply a definite projection of the DEI in the future, whether it would be a part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands or sovereign. The Dutch language was considered by a group of scholars as an important language to be learned by indigenous population of the DEI for the development of knowledge. At a certain extent, there was an attempt to use Dutch as a means to incorporate the DEI into the Netherlands, but this idea was only delivered by a scholar, Johannes Everhardus Tehupeiori. Accordingly, the ethical mentality presented in the main ideas regarding language policy in the DEI during the initial period of the Ethical Policy was moderately based on the benefit of the Netherlands since the expected long-term results were the incorporation of the DEI into the Netherlands.

The obscurity in describing the political status of the DEI in the future began to be considered thoroughly in the early of the twentieth century. As discussed in the second and the third chapter, the two main options of languages to be used in the DEI proposed by a group of educators and government officials were Dutch and Malay.

The proponents of Dutch, such as Gerrit Jacob Nieuwenhuis and Dirk Fock, believed that the use of Dutch among the population of the DEI would become a unifying factor between the Netherlands and the DEI. As a matter of fact, Fock proposed Dutch as a means to realize “the greater Netherlands”, a unity between the motherland or the Netherlands and the Dutch colonies or the Dutch East and West Indies. On the other hand, the proponents of Malay, such as Raden Mas Suardhy Surya Ningrat, believed that the use of Malay would facilitate the unity among the population of the DEI who had diverse vernaculars. Although there was an attempt to propose Malay as a unifying language in the DEI, the benefit would remain for the Netherlands since Dutch was still introduced as a medium to access Western knowledge, which eventually could strengthen the bond between the DEI and the Netherlands. Therefore, the ethical mentality during the progressive period of the Ethical Policy was, to a great extent, favorable to the Netherlands.

The ideas to propose Malay as the national language of the DEI started to gain popularity at the end of the 1920s, as discussed in the third and the fourth chapter. In August 1928 the then Governor-General of the DEI, Jhr. Mr. A.C.D. de Graeff, sent a letter to the minister of colonies arguing that Dutch should be retained as the main language in the DEI to prevent nationalistic movements that were trying to promote Malay to be *Bahasa Indonesia* or the Indonesian language. Based on de Graeff’s argument, it can be understood that the DEI government fully considered the incorporation of the DEI into the Netherlands by preventing Indonesian from emerging as a new language that would represent a new nation. On the other hand, in October 1928 a group of Indonesian nationalists indicated a distinct stance towards the DEI government through language. The nationalists determined that Indonesian would become the language of the DEI in the future. Considering these facts, it can be argued that the ethical mentality regarding language policy in the DEI during the conservative period of the Ethical Policy was greatly dichotomized. In other words, there was a clear demarcation between the main ideas regarding language policy in the DEI that would be beneficial to the Netherlands on the one hand and to the establishment of a new sovereign country called Indonesia on the other hand.

This paper argues that the continuity of the developing ideas regarding language policy in the DEI during the course of the Ethical Policy demonstrates no fundamental change in the ethical mentality, which to a great degree would ultimately benefit the Netherlands. This ethical mentality was arguably not the rationale behind the promotion of Indonesian as the national language of Indonesia by the nationalists. The nationalists' motives were more on creating an Indonesian national identity rather than reacting to the promotion of Dutch based on the benefit of the Netherlands. This argument is supported by the fact that the nationalists deliberately conducted the First Indonesian Youth Congress in Dutch instead of Malay, which was used in the Second Indonesian Youth Congress. Moreover, based on the findings of this paper, there was no influential anti-Dutch idea or movement among the indigenous people of the DEI that emerged during the course of the Ethical Policy.

Accordingly, the emergence of an idea to create the Indonesian identity can be viewed as the failure of the Dutch government to implement the principle of association during the course of the Ethical Policy in the DEI, which was proposed by the influential ethicist Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje who intends to connect the DEI and the Netherlands both spiritually and intimately. It is beyond the scope of this study to investigate whether the emergence of the Indonesian identity is certainly the failure of the implementation of the principle of association. Nevertheless, this investigation is significant enough to be conducted in a future research related to the study of the relationships between the DEI and the Netherlands, particularly, during the course of the Ethical Policy.

Given the scarcity of the study of language policy in the DEI, this paper is expected to contribute in the writing of the history of the Indonesian language. The significance of this paper to the historiography of the study on language policy in the DEI is, importantly, to show that Dutch was not the primary motive that encouraged the nationalists to promote the Indonesian identity.

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