

**Resinification in Education for Chinese in Netherlands-Indies
on Early 20th Century**

MA Thesis

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Do not go gentle into that good night,

Old age should burn and rave at close of day,

Rage, rage against the dying of the light.

(Dylan Thomas, 1914-1953)

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Chapter One

Introduction

Background

In building a nation, education should be considered as a vital point. Through education, the people living in the nation can be taught about history and the values of nationalism, thus creating the sense of belonging as well as the sense to protect the country. On the other hand, education is another way of emphasizing political agenda in a country. Through education, the young minds are educated according to the path on which the government wants to take, as well as one of the instrument of spreading the nations' ideology and political tendency. A fair education is an education with no boundaries, as in cultural or race boundaries. Every citizen has the right to study and to gain knowledge through education. However, in Netherlands Indies, education was bound to be the source of political agenda by the Dutch colonial government. The Chinese were one of the victims of politically-made education by the government.

Since the beginning of the arrival of the Chinese to the region what would be famously called as Netherlands Indies, the colonial government had always considered them as a special case. For example, the Chinese were strategically placed into the middle class of the Netherlands Indies' social pyramid, together with Japanese, Arabs, Persians, and other non-European nationalities. This was one of the politics of race practiced by the colonial government as a way to assign each race to a specific work which eventually brought profit to the colonial government. In this case, the Chinese was assigned the role as traders and middlemen, allowing them to gain the upper hand of most trading routes in the region. This practice soon became the cause of the three main behaviors toward the colonial government in the Chinese society.

As what had been explained before, the practice of putting roles on Chinese people in Netherlands Indies had caused a distinctive behavior toward the government, especially during the first part of the 20th century. In this era, the Chinese society in Netherlands Indies formed three major political tendencies: the extreme Dutch supporters, the in-betweeners (people who did not place any affiliation to the Netherlands or to China), and the people with extreme tendency towards Mainland China (Imperial China or Nationalist China), even though there were no official organizations for these tendencies yet. This practice led to another policy made by the Dutch colonial government aiming to the Chinese which was the forming an education system to lure the Chinese to the side of the colonial government.

However, it was not as easy for the Dutch to establish a secure education system because the Chinese had acknowledged education ever since before they started migrating. Their education culture had started since the imperial era. Education was considered important for them because it was considered as the only thing to raise their status in the society. Unfortunately, the idea of classic Confucian values cannot be brought overseas, thus the education values for Chinese tended to degrade outside Mainland China. However, the education for Chinese in Netherlands Indies became very important in the 20th century as the way for the Dutch to promote the integration to Dutch society. At the same time, literate Chinese people in the Netherlands Indies started to create Chinese schools to promote the spirit of resinification and Chinese Nationalism.

In my opinion, resinification was one of the most important parts in Chinese nationalism, especially for the overseas Chinese. It was the attempt by the Chinese to restore the Chinese consciousness among the ethnical group. This was very special in Netherlands Indies, because they had a very unique concept of Chinese people which was the separation of Chinese into two sub-culture groups: the *Totok* (pure Chinese) and *Peranakan* (Chinese mixed families). The agent of resinification was mostly *Totok* people. However, from the 20th

century, the resinification spirit seemed to attract *Peranakan* Chinese as they established Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan, the first Pan-Chinese organization in Indonesia to promote resinification through education.

The 20th century brought a different destiny for China. The Nationalist Party led by Sun Yat Sen became stronger, and one of the main agenda for revolutionizing China was to have the “Chinese-ness” feeling. Moreover, Nationalist activists such as Sun and Kang You Wei, the father of Confucianist Revival, depended on the economy of overseas Chinese because they were the more successful Chinese rather than the people on the mainland. This was the reason why resinification was important for overseas Chinese, especially for the Chinese who had been assimilated with the indigenous culture of the country where they were residing at that moment. Resinification was important as the basic mindset to remind the Chinese people that they still had the Chinese blood and Chinese history in them, in order to build the consciousness among the overseas Chinese that their fellow Chinamen in their home country were struggling towards a more modern and democratic country, and eventually in order to gather support, both financially and physically, to the revolution in Mainland China.

Research Questions and Research Importance

Who were the Chinese who came to Netherlands Indies? What were their motives to come to Netherlands Indies? How did the sub-culture of *Totok* and *Peranakan* Chinese begin to form?

A very challenging question is to ask about how the Chinese children were educated before 1900. This is a very challenging question because prior to 1900, there were fewer documents about how the Chinese were educated. The second question on the third chapter is how was the education for Chinese after 1900? Who were the game changers for education of Chinese in Netherlands Indies? After this year, many schools designed for Chinese began to

surface, with Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan (abbreviated as THHK) as the most successful Chinese schools in Netherlands Indies. A few years after the establishment of THHK schools, another Chinese school began to appear under the name *Hollandsch Chineesche School* (HCS). These schools were made by the Dutch government. The answers to this question will lead to the final question which is the main research question of the thesis: What were the attempts of resinification for Chinese in Netherlands Indies done by THHK schools and HCS schools? How did THHK and HCS schools compared to each other?

To simplify, the thesis will explain and discuss about:

- The definition of resinification;
- The people responsible for the education for Chinese, both from THHK and HCS;
- The comparison between THHK and HCS schools; and
- The methods of resinification done by THHK and HCS schools on the early 20th century.

Methodology and Sources

The methodology being used in this thesis is literature review. For literatures, there are two kinds of literatures that I used: primary and secondary sources.

The primary sources being used in this thesis are the books by the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan. One of them is a book commemorating the 40th anniversary of Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan titled *Riwajat 40 Taon T.H.H.K. Batavia* by Nio Joe Lan. This book is divided into four parts; the first part talking about the first years of THHK (from 1900 to 1904), the second part discusses about THHK from 1905 to 1914, the third part talks about THHK development from 1915 to 1939, and the last part of the book is the appendix, which is filled by pictures, reports, and letters by THHK from the year 1900 to 1939. This book is very useful during the process of making the thesis because it gives the author the point of view about THHK

schools from the organization itself, hence can be used to analyze secondary opinions about THHK schools from other books.

The second book is another book by Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan; however, this book was launched to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the organization, titled *Hari-Ulang ke-50 Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan Djakarta*. This book is filled by several short essays from several prominent Chinese in Indonesia and was written in four languages: Dutch, English, Chinese, and Indonesian. This book is very interesting and is one of the primary sources for the thesis because it simplified most of THHK programs for the past 50 years (from 1900 to 1950), especially on the part of THHK education for the Chinese.

The secondary sources being used in this thesis are books and journals. There are many books being used as the writing sources, however the books mentioned in this part will be the most influential books during the thesis making process.

The first book is the book by Lea E. Williams titled “Overseas Chinese Nationalism: The Genesis of the Pan-Chinese Movement in Indonesia 1900-1916” (Glencoe: The Free Press). This book talks about the origins of the Chinese consciousness among the Chinese in Netherlands Indies which occurred on the early 20th century, as part to rebuild a new China under Nationalist Party in Mainland China by Kuomintang. This book plays a large part in this thesis because this book explains about the Chinese Nationalism among the overseas Chinese in Netherlands Indies in general, and the author of this book writes a chapter about THHK school and the concept of resinification under one chapter called ‘The Mobilization for Nationalism’.

The second most influential book for this thesis is a book titled “Dutch Colonial Education: The Chinese Experience in Indonesia, 1900-1942” by Ming Govaars. This book talks about the Chinese experience in Indonesia especially in the field of education. There are concise chapters about HCS schools, neo-Chinese Movement, and resinification by THHK

and HCS schools in this book, and the most important thing is that this book gives a clear explanation about the need to establish education for Chinese in Netherlands Indies from the perspective of the colonial government because this book is focused more to the education for Chinese made by the Dutch colonial government rather than schools made by Chinese in Netherlands Indies.

The last book that is worth mentioning is a book by Leo Suryadinata titled *Kebudayaan Minoritas Tionghoa di Indonesia*. This book is a compilation of six essays written by Leo Suryadinata about the Chinese culture in Indonesia. The first essay in this book is an essay about education for Chinese in Netherlands Indies before and after World War 2. This essay is important to the thesis reading list because Leo wrote something about the rivalry between *Totok* and *Peranakan* education in Netherlands Indies, showing the rivalry in providing education between the two Chinese sub-culture groups in Netherlands Indies. This essay is also important because it showed the dynamics of education for Chinese in Netherlands Indies until the end of the World War 2 (even until the 1950s) when the education for Chinese slowly decreased in numbers due to several discriminatory laws being taken to action towards the Chinese from the central government.

Contents

This thesis has four chapters, where the first chapter is the introduction chapter, the second and the third chapter being the explanation chapters, and the fourth chapter as the conclusion. In the introduction chapter, the short background about the thesis will be provided, as well as the research questions, research importance, methodology, and short content breakdown of the thesis.

The second chapter is a chapter that will focus on the situation of the Chinese in Netherlands Indies. In this chapter, we will discover about their immigration to Netherlands

Indies and to Netherlands Indies, as well as discovering their sub-cultural group that flourishes around the late 19th to early 20th century which is the *Totok* and *Peranakan* Chinese people.

Chapter three discusses about the education of Chinese in Netherlands Indies. There will be three parts to discuss in this chapter; the first one is about the education for the Chinese before 1900. In this sub-chapter, we will take a look at the education for the Chinese in Java before 1900 and to see their method of education before the establishment of proper schools. The second sub-chapter is about the types of education for Chinese in Java that flourished from 1900, whether it was Dutch-made education or Chinese-made education. The two main schools that will be discussed here are the Chinese-made schools by THHK (Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan) and *Hollandsch-Chineesche School* (HCS) which was established by the Dutch government as the attempt to rival THHK with their schools. The last sub-chapter in this chapter will be talking about the resinification attempt done by THHK schools and HCS schools in Netherlands Indies.

Finally, in chapter four, we will examine the conclusion of the thesis. This chapter discusses the compact version of the study result in previous chapters, as well as the conclusion for the research question.

Chapter Two

The Chinese in Netherlands Indies

The Chinese in Netherlands Indies are one out of many ethnicities outside from indigenous Indonesians who resided in Netherlands Indies. How did the Chinese begin to arrive to Netherlands Indies? Were there any political tendencies during the course of Chinese-Indonesian history? This sub-chapter will discuss about the Chinese history in Netherlands Indies and about *Totok* and *Peranakan* Chinese, which were two of the sub-culture groups of Chinese in Netherlands Indies.

3.1. The Arrival and the Life of Chinese in Netherlands Indies

The contact between Chinese and the archipelago had started long before the Dutch arrival. Until now, no one knows the exact first Chinaman to ever set foot in the archipelago. These early relationships had been proven by several letters and inscriptions about several Chinese expeditions to several towns in the archipelago, with the oldest record about the acknowledgement of archipelago by Fa Hian, a Chinese Buddhist monk on 400 AD¹². Moreover, large kingdoms in the archipelago such as Srivijaya and Majapahit had tributary relationships with the kingdom of China and China had appointed several naval expeditions to the archipelago. One of the most famous Chinese naval expeditions to the archipelago was the Zheng He expedition which was sponsored by the Ming dynasty in Imperial China which happened on the 15th century.

The Chinese ethnic groups who came to Netherlands Indies could not be generalized from one region. Most Chinese immigrants to Southeast Asia (to

¹ Poerwanto, Hari. *Cina Khek di Singkawang*. Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2014, pp. 47.

² Fa Hian stayed in Java en route from India to China, and in his report he stated that there were no Chinese in Java around his period of staying.

Netherlands Indies in particular) came from the southeast provinces of Mainland China such as Guangdong, Fujian, and Hainan Island. The people from these regions were famous for their outward-looking attitude due to the locations of these locations which were located on the coast of the country.

Since the Chinese immigrants to Netherlands Indies came from various regions in Southeast China, they comprised of people from different dialects and ethnic groups. There were four main groups of Chinese ethnicity who came and settled in Netherlands Indies: Hokkien, Teochiu, Hakka, and Cantonese. The Hokkien people from Xiamen mostly sailed to Java, and the Teochiu immigrants from North Guangdong (Swatow area) went to Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. Hakkas mostly resided in West Borneo and worked there as coolies, and Cantonese people could be found in several towns in Netherlands Indies.

The position of the Chinese in Netherlands Indies was always in the middle. Most of them wanted to work as merchants; some of them arrived to Netherlands Indies through coolie trade³ and therefore worked as coolies. They had great working ethics for they were very patient and they were very hard working. Hence, it took no time for the Chinese to be positioned as middlemen in trade by VOC as well as being given the opportunity to perform hinterland trade in Netherlands Indies. For example, in late 18th century the Chinese had gained trade dominance in several areas in the archipelago such as Ambon, Makassar, Batavia, and Bangka. They even had taken over the authority in rice-bowl regions such as Central and East Java⁴. In South Sulawesi, the Chinese were the main traders in several important commodities such as

³ Govaars, Ming. *Dutch Colonial Education: The Chinese Experience in Indonesia, 1900-1942*. Singapore: Chinese Heritage Centre, 2005, pp. 17.

⁴ Kwee Hui Kian. "The Expansion of Chinese Inter-Insular and Hinterland Trade in Southeast Asia". *Environment, Trade and Society in Southeast Asia: A Longue Duree Perspective*. Ed. David Henley and Henk Schulte Nordholt. Leiden: Brill, 2015, pp. 151-155. Print.

tobacco, opium, textile, ceramics, and fisheries⁵. In politics, the Dutch created several positions were made for the Chinese, such as *Mayor*, *Kapitein* and *Liutenant der Chinezen*. These positions were made in order for the Dutch to be able to indirectly governed the Chinese community⁶.

Since the early beginning of their migration, most of the Chinese had no intention of settling for good. This was caused by the nature of the Chinese migrants to Netherlands Indies. They could not bring their families and their wives because women were banned to travel outside China, therefore they tried to gain as many profits as possible before going back to their home country. At first, their contact to Netherlands Indies were only for trading purposes. However, most of them decided to stay in the region, married the locals, and creating new sub-culture in Chinese people: the *Peranakan* Chinese.

3.2. Totok and Peranakan Chinese

The new sub-culture groups of Chinese in Netherlands Indies were something inevitable. In my opinion, after a few years of interaction, the Chinese would eventually form a new sub-culture. A few scholars such as Ming Govaars argued that the Chinese population in Netherlands Indies could be divided into migrants, settlers, and those who live in between. The migrants came to Netherlands Indies only to gain fortune. Once they have felt sufficient, they would go back to China. The middle group stayed in Netherlands Indies, but they would send monthly allowance to their families in China. The third group was the settlers who decided to move for good to Netherlands Indies, married local women, and established new families⁷. These

⁵ Wirawan, Yerry. *Sejarah Masyarakat Tionghoa Makassar*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2013, pp. 38-40.

⁶ Poerwanto, Hari. *Cina Khek di Singkawang*. Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2014, pp. 55.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 16.

families formed a new cultural sub-group of the Chinese in Netherlands Indies called the *peranakan* people.

There are several definitions about *peranakan* people; however, G. William Skinner coined a definition of *peranakan* people that is widely used until now. Skinner defined *peranakans* as “local-born Chinese who no longer speak their ancestors’ Chinese dialect and who consider Java their permanent domicile⁸”. It was easy at first to distinguish between *totok* and *peranakan* because these groups were made based on birth place difference. However, Skinner’s definition about *peranakan* people in Netherlands Indies soon grew to be outnumbered by other definitions about these two cultural groups, because Skinner’s theory and definition only mentioned the difference of *totok* and *peranakan* based on the origin factor. The line between *totok* and *peranakan* soon to become vague because there were many *totok* people of Netherlands Indies who married themselves and had offspring who were supposed to be *peranakan*, but they were taught in *totok* way, receiving Chinese-based education, and trained to speak Chinese at home. Due to the vague line between *peranakan* and *totok*, some scholars in Chinese overseas theme use *peranakan* to define local-born Chinese regardless of their culture; others refer the term “mixed-blood Chinese”. Eventually, the term *totok* and *peranakan* were used as a political term from the early 20th century.

Even though the term *peranakan* and *totok* Chinese were eventually used as a term to distinguish the political views⁹, there are some differences between both cultural groups. *Peranakan* people’s distinctive characteristic lied in the language they used to communicate with each other. They used a creole language which was

⁸ Suryadinata, Leo. *Understanding the Ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2007, pp. 131.

⁹ On the early 20th century, the Chinese in Netherlands Indies were separated into three kinds of political tendency: THHK (Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan; pro-Mainland China), CHH (Chung Hua Hui; pro-Dutch government), and PTI (Partai Tionghoa Indonesia, pro-Indonesian independence).

famously called as *Melayu pasar*¹⁰. *Melayu pasar* was a form of local language created from the mixture of Malay language and local languages in Mainland China, such as Kejia dialect (the language of people from Hakka ethnic group) and South Fujian dialect¹¹. Another characteristic of a *peranakan* is they still preserve their Chinese daily clothing attire such as the men still wore *tengsha-kopiah batok* (a round China hat) and the women wore *baju kurung* (long tunic) or *kebaya* (a blouse pinned at the front). In family upbringing, they still used their Chinese names and ate pork, something that was foreign to the locals¹². Even though they still wear Chinese clothes and some of them still practiced Chinese culture, they had lost their ability to read and write Chinese words and local dialects. There were *Peranakan* families who were already assimilated with the indigenous religion such as the *Peranakan* families in Makassar who decided to convert to Islam and created a new culture in the city¹³. Moreover, another difference between *totok* and *Peranakan* is that the *Peranakan* Chinese had left the patrilineal culture, showing no treatment difference between female and male children in their families¹⁴.

On the other hand, *totok* Chinese is another sub-culture of Chinese in Netherlands Indies that preserved the Chineseness. This group was mostly comprised of new Chinese migrants who came to Netherlands Indies during the late 19th to early 20th century. They were well-known to preserve their Chinese identity, for example speaking Chinese in daily life and practicing Chinese customs in several occasions.

¹⁰ Skinner, William G. "Creolized Chinese Societies in Southeast Asia." *Sojourners and Settlers: Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese*. Ed. Anthony Reid. Sydney: Asian Studies Association of Australia, 1996. 52. Print.

¹¹ Kong Yuanzhi. *Silang Budaya Tiongkok Indonesia*. Jakarta: PT. Bhuana Ilmu Populer, 1999, pp. 183.

¹² Suryadinata, Leo. *Understanding the Ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2007, pp. 126.

¹³ Moslem Peranakans in Makassar were highly influenced by the Malay people. They used Malay terms to address themselves such as 'Intje'.

¹⁴ Poerwanto, Hari. *Cina Khek di Singkawang*. Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2014, pp. 120.

Totok Chinese people were known for their family fortune¹⁵ and their strong political tendency to Mainland China¹⁶, something that became the political trend in Netherlands Indies on the early 20th century. They still treasured the importance of male descendants in the family. Apart from their strong political culture, their other characteristic was that they did not want to be affiliated to the *Peranakan* Chinese. Moreover, they tend to stick to their own region and dialects, therefore they created their own organizations who created their own schools in the 20th century such as organizations for Hakka, Hokkian and Kongfu people who established *totok* schools in Jakarta¹⁷.

The 20th century brought a great change to every Chinese overseas, included *totok* and *Peranakan* Chinese groups. The Imperial Chinese was falling apart as Nationalists started to occupy Mainland China. Questions about the loyalty among the Chinese overseas began to arise, as well as the efforts to rebuild Chinese nationalism among the Chinese overseas and their communities. In order to rebuild Chinese nationalism, a resinification effort should be done as the first step. In Netherlands Indies, it was education who became the main agents of resinification.

¹⁵ This was caused by the former riches acquired by China-born men who sojourned to Netherlands Indies, gained fortune, and came back to their home country. This fortune was then passed to their descendants, which were handed down to their Totok heirs. Taken from Skinner, William G. "Creolized Chinese Societies in Southeast Asia." *Sojourners and Settlers: Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese*. Ed. Anthony Reid. Sydney: Asian Studies Association of Australia, 1996. 87. Print.

¹⁶ Poerwanto, Hari. *Cina Khek di Singkawang*. Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2014, pp. 121.

¹⁷ Leo Suryadinata. *Kebudayaan Minoritas Tionghoa di Indonesia*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia, 1988, pp. 17.

Chapter Three

Education for Chinese in Netherlands Indies and Resinification Effort Through Education

3.1. The Education for the Chinese in Netherlands Indies before 1900

To understand the education of Chinese in Netherlands Indies, we need to understand the education system in Mainland China, since they were connected to some point.

The education for Chinese in Mainland China was based on the teachings of Confucius (551-479 BC). Confucius' teachings became the primary doctrine of China and manage to seep through every aspect in Chinese lives. It even became the main subject of the state examination for commoners who wished to work as civil servants. In Netherlands Indies, since there were no civil servants system, Confucianism switched meaning to be a strong literary tradition among the Chinese.

During the colonial times before 1900, education was considered as luxurious thing for the Chinese in Netherlands Indies. That happened because the colonial government did not put Chinese as their main objective for education. As a result, Chinese had to rely on themselves on the matters of education. Thus, they modeled their schools in Netherlands Indies based on Confucian schools like what they had back home. Rich Chinese families tend to hire teachers from Mainland China to come to Netherlands Indies and teach their children along with children from other family members or acquaintances at their homes. The teaching materials were always about Chinese classics and Confucius teachings. There were also several cases of teachers who started their own schools, such as an instructor named Ong Tae-Hae (Wang Dahai) from Fujian who went to Java in 1783 and taught in Batavia, Semarang, and

Pekalongan¹⁸. There were also stories about a Chinese teacher named Cheng Sunwo who succeeded on setting up an education for Chinese during the years 1729-1736¹⁹. Another way of the Chinese to receive education at this time was to attend Dutch missionary schools which began to appear in Java on the second half of 19th century²⁰.

There were many opinions around the success of education for Chinese in Java before 1900, although there were less sources about the said topic. For example, a traveling surgeon named Wouter Schouten (1638-1704) stated in his book that the Chinese children received a very good education and were taught several subjects. According to Schouten's journal, the boys were taught arithmetic, reading, bookkeeping, and trading, all in Chinese characters. For the girls, they were given lessons in fine needlework and business²¹. However, just as what I said earlier, this situation did not apply for every education for Chinese services in Netherlands Indies. In 1900, an effort to make a Chinese school was made by a resident in Lasem, Central Java. This effort failed because the rich *Peranakan* Chinese families in the area did not have any interest to help funding the establishment of the school. Ong Hok Ham criticized this phenomenon, saying that "if only they paid more attention to education for Chinese rather than spending their money on superficial weddings and funerals, I think the education for Chinese in our country could be revived"²².

Although there were lack of sources in order to compile a concise historiography of education of Chinese in Netherlands Indies before 1900, there were several efforts being done by historians to uncover what really happened during these years. Ming Govaars stated that the wealthy Chinese families who could afford

¹⁸ Govaars, Ming. *Dutch Colonial Education: The Chinese Experience in Indonesia, 1900-1942*. Singapore: Chinese Heritage Centre, 2005, pp. 38.

¹⁹ Ong Tae-Hae. *The Chinaman Abroad, or A Desultory Account of the Malayan Archipelago particularly of Java*. Shanghai: Mission Press, 1849.

²⁰ Op cit., pp. 53.

²¹ Op cit, pp. 38-39.

²² Ong Hok Ham. *Riwayat Tionghoa Peranakan di Jawa*. Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2005, pp. 92.

education for their children decided to build schools for children of indigent parents where they could receive education for free. The education process would be done in the students' or the teacher's house²³. Ming even gave an example by stating the existence of such school in 1737 before finally disbanded during the Chinese massacre of 1740 in Batavia²⁴. Another historian who conducted a research about the same topic was Ong Hok Ham. According to him, there were teachers who managed making their own schools and made contracts with parents who wanted to send their children to their school. The contract usually lasted for a year, from the first day of school until the last day of Chinese New Year. Whenever the contract ended, both parties should make a new contract, or the parents could withdraw from the contract and made a new contract with other teachers. The school fee for these types of schools ranged around 15 to 100 gulden per student²⁵. The students in these schools were only taught on reading, interpreting, and rewriting Chinese classics. There were four classic Chinese analects worth studying which were two Confucius scriptures, one book on his sayings and a book written by Mencius, his pupil. The students would be called one by one in front of the class and they should mention a word taking from one of the classic books and repeating it even though they did not understand the meaning. In writing lessons, the students were obliged to copy a Chinese character without knowing the meaning. Ong argued that the reason why these schools were unsuccessful was because of the lack of advantages for the students after graduating. For example, they could not join any state exams and they could not speak Chinese because they were only taught on how to write and read Chinese analects without knowing the meaning. Moreover, Malay had been used as the daily language for the students outside school and they

²³ Ibid., pp. 92.

²⁴ Govaars, Ming. *Dutch Colonial Education: The Chinese Experience in Indonesia, 1900-1942*. Singapore: Chinese Heritage Centre, 2005, pp. 38.

²⁵ Op cit., pp. 92.

could not find any partner for them to practice their Chinese language taught from school.

Another effort by the Chinese to create schools for Chinese children education in Java was to create charity schools or *Gie Oh* schools (also known as *Beng Seng Sie Wan*). These schools were opened in 1775 and basically catered for indigent Chinese students. The establishment of charity schools was considered important because these schools taught what was going to be the foundation of modern education for Chinese in Java. Instead of teaching the children about Confucian values and teachings, they gave lessons in various Chinese dialects as well as classical Chinese literature²⁶ and eventually gained popularity outside indigent parents, for some wealthy Chinese families sent some of their children to study at charity schools. However, this did not last very long, because since 1902 the establishment of charity schools was gradually replaced by *Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan* schools which offered a more advanced curriculum for their students.

3.2. Education for Chinese in Netherlands Indies

In this sub-chapter, we will explore the topic of education for Chinese in Netherlands Indies on the early 20th century to the 1940s. The education plays an important part in Chinese-Indonesian society during the Pre-Independence era. There were two mainstream types of education for Chinese in Java since 1900 which were the *Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan* schools (THHK) and Dutch Chinese schools (usually abbreviated as HCS, short for *Hollandsch Chineesche School*). In reality, there were more Chinese schools, such as the Malay-Chinese school and several missionary schools that had been established by Catholic missionaries in all over Netherlands

²⁶ Leo Suryadinata. *Kebudayaan Minoritas Tionghoa di Indonesia*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia, 1988, pp. 17.

Indies before the 20th century. However, the reason why this chapter is going to focus on the two main schools is because these schools were the most famous Chinese schools in Netherlands Indies around the early to mid-20th century and were the two agents of resinification.

3.2.1. Tjong Hoa Hwee Koan schools

Tjong Hoa Hwee Koan (mostly abbreviated as THHK) is the first Pan-Indonesian organization in Netherlands Indies. Prior to THHK, there had been a few Chinese organizations, but they were made regionally and only serving several clans or regions. THHK was one of its' kind, for it was established as the reaction to the Confucianist Revival²⁷ that happened in late 19th century.

In my opinion, the reason why education for Chinese flourished in Netherlands Indies around these years can be deduced from the “orphan of empire” theory. In this theory, the Chinese were portrayed as the ‘orphans’ in a strange land and deserted by their own country. In the early 20th century, most Chinese in Netherlands Indies were *Peranakan* Chinese who felt no connection to Mainland China. However, they had the feeling of not being Indonesian enough. Moreover, they experienced several discrimination from the colonial government with laws that were made to limit their activities such as *Passenstelsel* (pass system) and *Wijkenstelsel* (the Chinese must live in appointed areas made by the Dutch)²⁸. These discriminating laws created a reaction

²⁷ Confucianist Revival was a movement suggesting a relation between Confucianism and the Confucianist phase of overseas Chinese nationalism. It was coined by youth Westernized Chinese in Singapore on 1898. In 1899, the spirit of Confucianist Revival was brought to Netherlands Indies by a Chinese of Javanese descent named Yoe Tjai Siang. Yoe then spreaded the Confucianist movement to several cities in Java through newspapers such as *Li Po* in Sukabumi and *Ho Po* in Buitenzorg (Bogor). Taken from Lea E. Williams. 1960. “Overseas Chinese Nationalism: The Genesis of the Pan-Chinese Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1916”. Glencoe: The Free Press, pp. 56.

²⁸ Suryadinata, Leo. *Kebudayaan Minoritas Tionghoa di Indonesia*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia, 1988, pp. 7.

from Western-educated Chinese leaders in the late 19th century and they wanted to start a new cause to repair the Chinese social condition in Netherlands Indies.

THHK was founded in Batavia in 17 March 1900 by a group of Batavian Chinese. Their primary aim of founding the organization was to promote the Confucianist code of conduct in Netherlands Indies. Another aim of creating such organization was to unite the Chinese descent in Netherlands Indies, nevertheless the family origins or whether they were *totok* or *Peranakan*, just like what had been stated on the third point of the second article of THHK establishment Statutes, as follows: “To establish and preserve a house where leaders can gather, to discuss about the issues of the organization as well as other issues that are useful for outsiders as long as it does not interfere with the State Law²⁹”. The first president of THHK was a *Peranakan* named Phoa Keng Hek³⁰, a *Peranakan* Chinese who obtained Dutch-missionary education in Buitenzorg, West Java³¹.

One of the ways that THHK proposed to unify the Chinese in Netherlands Indies was through education, because there had been a greater need to promote Confucianist Revival rather than only publishing articles in local papers or discussion about Confucian values. Finally, after careful considerations, the first THHK school (also known as *Sekola Tjina* or ‘Chinese school’ in English) was established on 17 March 1901 in Batavia, exactly one year after the organization was founded³². The first THHK school was opened in Patekoan Street in Glodok, an area in Batavia.

In the newly-improved THHK school curriculum, they simplified the whole teaching methods. They were modeled after modern Chinese and Japanese schools,

²⁹ Nio Joe Lan. *Riwajat 40 Taon dari Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan – Batavia (1900-1939)*. Batavia: Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan, 1940, pp. 7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 235.

³¹ Lohanda, Mona. *Growing Pains: The Chinese and the Dutch in Colonial Java, 1890-1942*. Jakarta: Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, 2002, pp. 51.

³² Williams, Lea E.. *Overseas Chinese Nationalism: The Genesis of the Pan-Chinese Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1916*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960, pp. 69.

especially for the structure of their school levels. There were six classes, and the students would be promoted to higher levels after completing several study courses. Children were no longer given tasks to memorize the whole Confucian Book of Analects. Instead, they were given books about the same analects with simpler language for them to understand³³. The school used Mandarin Chinese language as the main language of teaching in the schools, thus helped the spreading of Chinese language among the Chinese³⁴.

Another language that was finally used by THHK in their school system was English language. Due to the high demand for adding another language to the school, THHK decided to make an English school in September 1st 1901 with the name Yale Institute Afdeeling C Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan or famously known as Yale Institute³⁵ under the direction of a THHK member named Li Teng-hui. They imported teachers from Singapore to teach English at Yale Institute, because the hiring price was less expensive than hiring Westerners as teachers. However, after Li's departure from Yale Institute to Fuhtan University in Shanghai in 1903, little was known about what happened to Yale Institute. English training was happened to be taken over by Westerners at this time, including by American Methodist Episcopal Malaysia Mission³⁶. At the end, Yale Institute was merged with Chinese school in 8 January 1905³⁷.

Slowly but sure, THHK schools gained popularity and attention, even from the European press. Besides compliments on being the first public school organization for

³³ Op cit., pp. 23.

³⁴ Ang Jan Goan. "Pendidikan THHK Setengah Abad". *Hari-Ulang ke-50 Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan Djakarta*. Jakarta: Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan, 1950. 8. Print.

³⁵ Nio Joe Lan. *Riwajat 40 Taon dari Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan – Batavia (1900-1939)*. Batavia: Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan, 1940, pp. 41.

³⁶ Williams, Lea E.. *Overseas Chinese Nationalism: The Genesis of the Pan-Chinese Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1916*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960, pp. 72.

³⁷ Op cit., pp. 92.

the Chinese, several criticisms also landed to THHK, especially regarding the fund source for the schools. An article by the *Expres* stated that the indigenous and Europeans were made to come up with the money, so the Chinese did not have to pay anything. Wherever a Chinese school was established, the local businessmen would raise the prices of certain products, with the profit of the products to be sent for the school fund. On the other hand, the Chinese community had known from the start that they would establish THHK schools under financial problems, thus they kept selling things to lighten the financial burden for the school, such as selling picture stamps, organizing fancy fairs, and cultural evenings.

Another criticism that aroused during the early 20th century about THHK schools was from the *Peranakan* Chinese, stating that THHK schools could not fulfill the demands of the Chinese in Netherlands Indies. The first critic was about the curriculum used by the school. The *Peranakan* Chinese argued that the curriculum in the THHK schools were only suitable in Mainland China and for *Totok* Chinese only. Since the lessons were given in Kuo-Yu language, it was hard for the *Peranakan* children to keep up with the studies, especially *Peranakan* children who could not speak Chinese because they were not taught Chinese at home. Moreover, the employment prospect of THHK graduates was low, because Chinese language was not used widely in the colony. To address this issue, THHK tried to incorporate Dutch language as one of the subjects in THHK curriculum, as what had been stated under *Bestuursvergadering* (Board Meeting) on 29 December 1913 that started from 1 January 1914, Dutch language would be taught at THHK schools every Wednesdays and Saturdays for two hours of lesson³⁸.

³⁸ Nio Joe Lan. *Riwajat 40 Taon dari Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan – Batavia (1900-1939)*. Batavia: Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan, 1940, pp. 110.

The third criticism by the *Peranakan* Chinese towards THHK schools was that after twenty years of establishments, THHK schools only offered elementary school services. There was no action to educate Chinese children who had passed the final elementary school exam. Even the children of THHK members would be sent to Dutch-Chinese schools after graduating from THHK schools. To address this issue, THHK established a higher education school named *Sekola Tengah* or Middle School in English (Tiong Hak Tong). To achieve this goal, THHK worked with another Chinese association in Surabaya under the name of Djawa Hak Boe Tjong Hwe³⁹. However, this school did not have a long history. There were fewer students who enrolled, thus causing the school to go bankrupt. On 8 March 1915, the Tiong Hak Tong Commission finally closed the school for good.

However, nearly at the same time, THHK schools got themselves a rival in educating the Chinese: the colonial government's Dutch-Chinese school (HCS; abbreviation for *Hollandsch Chineesche School*).

3.2.2 Dutch-Chinese School (*Hollandsch Chineesche School* – HCS)

Apart from the schools made by the Chinese, an attempt to facilitate education for Chinese was pursued by the Dutch colonial government. On 10 June 1907, J. G. Pott who served as the Director of Education, Worship and Industry in Netherlands Indies proposed the idea of accommodating the Education for Chinese to Governor-General J. B. van Heutsz. Pott concluded that the Netherlands Indies government should not let the Chinese involved in colony-related affairs such as providing education to Indies-born Chinese children or paying Chinese school inspectors, something that had been done by THHK since 1900. Moreover, Pott felt that the

³⁹ Hak Boe Tjong Hwe is a centered organization to maintain and control THHK schools and to recruit suitable teachers from Mainland China.

Chinese should be assimilated to the colony to avoid them pledging their allegiance to Mainland China. One of the ways towards the assimilation of Chinese to the society is for the government to provide education to them⁴⁰. Pott suggested the Indies Council to establish a Dutch-Chinese school for Chinese people who were able to pay for the school fees, similar to European students at European schools.

After a careful consideration by the Indies Council, Pott's idea of a Dutch-Chinese school was finally brought into realization. On 1 July 1908 the first HCS schools were opened in several cities in Java, such as Batavia, Semarang and Surabaya. These schools were established under the regulation for European education (*Europeesch onderwijsreglement*) and hence, the curriculum followed the standard of European school curriculum⁴¹. In a few years, the schools' popularity gradually increased, attracting both males and female students from Chinese families. For example, in 1909, the total of female students in HCS schools increased to 329 students due to the establishment of new HCS schools in several other cities such as Bandung, Surakarta, Malang, Padang, Manado, Banjarmasin, and Singaraja. The teachers of HCS schools were taken from public ELS (*Europeesch Lagere School*, or primary schools for Europeans in Netherlands Indies). These schools ran inside leased buildings, but finally the government decided to build HCS schools their own buildings, such as what happened in HCS Surabaya⁴². Some of the schools were already equipped with libraries and basic school furniture.

⁴⁰ Govaars, Ming. *Dutch Colonial Education: The Chinese Experience in Indonesia, 1900-1942*. Singapore: Chinese Heritage Centre, 2005, pp. 80.

⁴¹ Under the regulation of European education in Netherlands Indies, the primary school education should consist of subjects as follows: reading, writing, counting, beginner Dutch language, the history of the Netherlands and Netherlands Indies, geography, natural science, singing, basic of hand drawing, gymnastics, useful crafts for girls, beginner French, English, and High German languages, general history, mathematics, hand drawing, and beautiful handwork for female students. Taken from *Verordeningen Europeesch Lager Onderwijs*. Batavia: G. Kolff & Co, 1923, pp. 3-4.

⁴² *Algemeen Verslag van het Europeesch Middelbaar en Lager Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indies over 1914*, pp. 186.

There were seven grades in a HCS school. The Director of Education and Worship had the full authority to set the curriculum and the study plan for each class. The school activity lasted for six days, from Monday to Saturday, from 7.30 A.M. to 1 P.M. with two break times (30 minutes each, on 9 A.M. and 11 A.M.) . The school time from 11.30 AM to 1 PM was reserved for higher classes (fourth grade and above)⁴³. The school closed every Sundays, Friday and Saturday before Easter, the second day of Easter, Ascension Day, the second day of Pentecost, and every December 6th⁴⁴.

During their establishment, it was clear that HCS soon gained more popularity rather than THHK schools. While THHK schools enforced a more traditional way of teaching, emphasizing in Confucian values, while HCS schools had focused their subjects on Western education. Another appealing point from HCS was that they taught the subjects in Dutch such as Dutch language, arithmetic, history, and geography⁴⁵. Most of the students in HCS came from the *Vreemde Oosterlingen* families (mostly Chinese) around the age 6 to 12 years old⁴⁶. After a few years, HCS finally added English in their curriculum in 1912. An after-school English course was offered for four hours a week in several HCS schools. For example, the schools in Batavia, Buitenzorg (Bogor), Semarang, Grisee (Gresik), Bandung, Padang and Surakarta opened a three-year afternoon (*namiddag*) English course for their students⁴⁷.

The school buildings of HCS schools were very simple, and so did the classrooms. In a picture of a HCS school classroom in Malang, two blackboards were placed in front of the classroom, with ten study desks and tables placed facing the

⁴³ *Verordeningen Europeesch Lager Onderwijs*. Batavia: G. Kolff & Co, 1923, pp. 43.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 45.

⁴⁵ History of the Netherlands and Netherlands Indies and geography of the Netherlands.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 186.

blackboards. The floor was made from wood. On the wall behind the blackboards, there were several pictures hung, most of them were luxurious pictures such as the interior of a royal house or an ideal situation in an open public space. The pictures shown as the decoration in the classroom was a typical decoration in Dutch-made schools, to show the children about modernity and the goal of a good education.

Another factor of HCS success was because the HCS graduates had the opportunity to continue their education to further studies. Compared to THHK who had no secondary education (apart from Tiong Hak Tong middle school), HCS promised their students that they could continue studying on a higher level education system such as HBS (*Hogere Burgerschool*, Dutch secondary school), since HCS was made by Dutch government and incorporated Dutch language in their curriculum. This advantage even caused some THHK members to send their children to HCS schools⁴⁸.

3.3. Resinification in THHK and HCS Schools

As what have been mentioned in prior chapters, early 20th century was a very important era for Mainland China. It was the year of the change, with several rebellions ongoing in the country which resulted in the 1911 Revolution by the Nationalist which succeeded to overthrow the Imperial government. This revolution was connected to resinification and Confucianism Revival in general. The Chinese Nationalist, led by Sun Yat Sen, was focusing their effort and their fund-gathering events from the overseas Chinese, and that included the Chinese in Netherlands Indies as well. This sub-chapter will explore the connection between resinification in Chinese schools in Netherlands Indies, such as THHK and HCS schools and to see what kind of resinification they offered to the Chinese children in the colony.

⁴⁸ Kwee, "Doea Kepala Batoe", hlm. 112-113; *Sin Tit Po*, 1 February 1936.

3.3.1. Resinification in THHK schools

The attempt of Chinese resinification was caused by several critiques towards the life of *Peranakan* culture in Netherlands Indies. Ong Tae-hae was one of the Chinese people vocal to this matter. He voiced his sentiments against the acculturation between Chinese and indigenous culture by saying that the Chinese had started to cut themselves off from the native land and avoiding their homeland culture, such as refuse to eat pork. Instead, they chose to become Javanese, called themselves Islam, and adopted native customs⁴⁹. His critique had shown that the influence of Islam had been very strong among the Chinese immigrants and that there were still a few people from Chinese descents that were concerned about the growth of Islam among the Chinese and the prospect of *Peranakan* people to finally acculturate with the indigenous society. Another example of the fear of indonesianization happened in Makassar, where the Chinese tried to build more Chinese worship houses to avoid the *Peranakan* community to fully integrate to the indigenous society⁵⁰.

The controversy of resinification did not stop. A few researchers voiced a different opinion about this topic. Mary Somers Heidhues, for example, gave an opinion that the Chinese had never assimilated and had never lost their Chinese-ness. Another similar opinion was voiced by Niel, who said that the Chinese would always have a tendency to look to their country, even though they had resided and gained citizenship in other countries⁵¹. However, I have a different opinion about Chinese and resinification. In my opinion, around the early 20th century, the Chinese in Netherlands

⁴⁹ Kwartanada, Didi. "Lahirnya Satu Generasi Baru Tionghoa di Jawa: Pendidikan dan Resinifikasi Anak-anak Peranakan di Yogyakarta 1930-an s/d 1950-an". *Konferensi dan Workshop Internasional "Dekolonisasi dan Posisi Etnis Tionghoa Indonesia 1930-an s/d 1960-an, Padang 18-21 Juni 2006*. n.p., n.d., pp. 2.

⁵⁰ Wirawan, Yerry. *Sejarah Masyarakat Tionghoa Makassar*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2013, pp. 109.

⁵¹ Poerwanto, Hari. *Cina Khek di Singkawang*. Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2014, pp. 123. Print.

Indies mostly had been able to integrate with the local community, and hence resinification was important if the pro-Chinese groups wanted to rally support for the Nationalist movement in Mainland China.

The spirit of resinification did not start until the establishment of THHK in 1900. The concept of Confucianism Revival was connected to resinification. Their initial efforts were designed to encourage the Chinese in Netherlands Indies to think about reformation, not only in their political point of view, but also in their daily lives. One of the things that the Confucianism Revival was criticizing against was the lavish practice of funerals. They thought that the lavish practice of funerals and weddings “were not useful or meaningful, wasted money and caused people of other races to laugh (at the Chinese)⁵²”.

The Chinese under THHK then started making efforts to resinify Chinese society in Netherlands Indies through the students being enrolled in the schools. The first effort was to emphasise Confucius and Mencius teaching in the school curriculum. In short, they brought the lessons which were usually taught in worship temples to school buildings.

Other effort done by THHK schools to spread resinification was to give Chinese language lessons to the students. THHK believed that one way to pursue resinification among the Chinese in Netherlands Indies was to teach the language of their mother tongue. There were several families from either *totok* or *Peranakan* descent who did not teach their children Malay or Dutch, so these languages were omitted from the list. On the other hand, THHK realized that they could not use Chinese dialects (such as Hakka, Cantonese, or Amoy) as the main teaching language, because most Chinese in Netherlands Indies came from different regions in China with

⁵² Williams, Lea E.. *Overseas Chinese Nationalism: The Genesis of the Pan-Chinese Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1916*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960, pp. 57.

different dialects⁵³. They felt that the usage of neutral Chinese dialect was important for their cause, therefore they adopted Kuo-yu⁵⁴ as their main language of instruction. Henceforth, Kuo-Yu was used as the language on reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, and natural science through simple Chinese textbooks.

Even though the main focus for THHK is providing education for Chinese for children, did not mean they abandon the importance of resinification for Chinese adults. THHK began giving adult education by the form of lectures in the THHK building in Batavia, lectures talking around Confucianism and Chinese culture. The members used the THHK building every day from early morning to late evening for social and cultural activities.

The resinification effort by THHK finally bear its'fruit when on 1907 they started sending students to Nanjing. On 1 January 1907, Tjian Soen, the secretary of Chinese Affairs in Den Haag sent a letter to THHK saying that the government of Imperial China permitted maximum 30 students from THHK schools in Java to continue their education in Nanjing and that the Chinese government would pay for the school tuition and daily allowances⁵⁵. On 2 February 1907, for the first time in THHK history, 21 students from THHK schools were sent from Batavia to Mainland China under the supervision of Mr. Tong Hong Wie⁵⁶. According to the letters sent by the students in Nanjing, they were seemed to be on the right hands, because they did not want to go back to Java at least until they have finished their education. The Chinese government even had a plan to make a school named Kay Lam Hak Tong which would be the center of education for overseas Chinese who were sent to China

⁵³ Ibid., pp. 70.

⁵⁴ Standard Chinese language from Beijing dialect.

⁵⁵ The Chinese government was only responsible for paying the school tuition and hot meals three times a day for the students, thus the students from Java should fund other costs by themselves. Taken from Nio Joe Lan, 1940. "Riwajat 40 Taon dari Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan – Batavia (1900-1939)". Batavia: Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan, pp. 102.

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 103.

for school. However, further plans to develop Kay Lam Hak Tong and sending more Chinese students to Mainland China were cancelled due to the 1911 Revolution⁵⁷.

3.3.2. Resinification in HCS schools

One may say that HCS did not take part in resinification process among the Chinese-Indonesians during the early 20th century. In a context, the statement was correct. To add to the argument, the education system during the Dutch government were made as a political effort to gain support from the Chinese and indigenous citizens. For the Chinese case, it was the attempt by the government to lure the Chinese to the “perfect” middle-class society. This was shown through the curriculum of HCS schools that was similar to the ELS curriculum as well as the teaching process in the class.

However, I argue that the Dutch government took part in resinification for the Chinese in Netherlands Indies. The only resinification HCS performed during their operation until 1942 was to incorporate Mandarin Chinese language lessons due to the demands of the students’ parents.

It was H. J. F. Borel who served as the Officer for Chinese Affairs who gave the idea of giving a slot for Mandarin Chinese lessons per week at HCS schools. The background of the inclusion of Mandarin Chinese was the fear of losing students to THHK schools.

However, the realization of Chinese language lesson in HCS schools did not establish before the Chinese Revolution of 1911. Alarmed by the amount of support from overseas Chinese to Mainland China as well as the amount of THHK schools, the colonial government asked for advices from W. J. Oudendijk (Government Advisor in

⁵⁷ Govaars, Ming. *Dutch Colonial Education: The Chinese Experience in Indonesia, 1900-1942*. Singapore: Chinese Heritage Centre, 2005, pp. 175.

Chinese Affairs). Oudendijk stated that the government should follow the wishes of the Chinese which was to incorporate Chinese lesson to HCS schools. As an experiment, Director of Education G. A. J. Hazeu introduced an after-school Chinese course at seven HCS in Java in 1915⁵⁸. The practice and demand to incorporate Chinese lessons in HCS schools continued until the 1920s, such as the request by Chinese people in Malang. HCS school in Malang finally followed the demand in 1927, however the course failed because lack of teamwork between the school administrative and the teacher.

If there were another efforts of resinification by HCS schools, it would be done by private Dutch-Chinese schools sometimes known as *HCS Nasional*. These schools were established by a group of *Peranakan* people who obtained Dutch education, such as a HCS Nasional in Surabaya, HCS Nasional in Rembang, and a HCS Nasional in Yogyakarta which was made by Dr. Yap Hong Tjoen, a famous *Peranakan* doctor⁵⁹. However, these schools were not really successful and long-lived. HCS Nasional were made by the Chinese *Peranakan* of Netherlands Indies as a contender to the original HCS. They provided the same Western curriculum as HCS, however they also maximised the amount of Chinese language and culture teaching. These schools were banned by the colonial government as soon as the year of their establishments because the government did not want the Chinese people to think that they were behind these schools.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 100

⁵⁹ Suryadinata Leo. *Kebudayaan Minoritas Tionghoa di Indonesia*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia, 1988, pp. 17.

Chapter Four

Conclusion

To sum up, both education and resinification were important steps in the course of Chinese history in Netherlands Indies. Education was important for them because through education, the Chinese people in Netherlands Indies gained insight about political view, Western culture, as well as other knowledge. Resinification was also important because it was the first effort towards the Chinese conscience that they should have a political tendency in the country.

The Chinese were not the only one to promote education. Another agent who promoted education for Chinese were the Dutch colonial government who decided to make Chinese school to avoid the Chinese in Netherlands Indies from being resinified and with the result of them pledging their support to the ongoing Revolution that was happening in Mainland China. In conclusion, the Dutch colonial government effort to create education for the Chinese in the colony was a mere political effort to gain support from the Chinese and was a tool for the government to lure the Chinese to experiencing the perfect middle-class life, and from there it was expected that the Chinese would refrain from pledging their support to Nationalist cause in Mainland China.

This thesis also proved that HCS was also a part of resinification agent in Netherlands Indies throughout the early 20th century, apart from the fact that it was a Dutch-made school for Chinese and it was made to keep the Chinese away from resinification attempts done by THHK. The resinification done by HCS was mainly revolved around the teaching of Chinese language as an after-school program. This was also considered as a ‘forced’ resinification, because the establishment of Chinese language program was done after several protests and demands from the Chinese parents who sent their children to HCS.

On the other hand, the resinification process took place in THHK schools. The curriculum of the school itself had shown the resinification attempt, such as emphasizing on Confucian values and norms, as well as teaching Chinese language to the students. Taking a look at the foundation of the organization itself, it had been built under the spirit of Confucianism Revival, shown by several visits by Kang You Wei to THHK schools. This showed that even though THHK was an organization made by prominent *Peranakan* Chinese, they had the same Confucianism Revival spirit and they had the ability to gather Chinese in Netherlands Indies from every walk of life to join their cause to establish Confucianism Revival in Netherlands Indies and the cause of resinification.

The last but not least, another conclusion that can be deduced was that the Chinese in Netherlands Indies had been lured to being “the confused victim” in Indonesian history since the beginning. They had become the “middlemen” since the early colonial days, and that was the initial position that had been prepared for them. On the early 20th century, the Chinese were made confused of the education and the political situation between Mainland China and Netherlands Indies. The Dutch colonial government wanted to keep the Chinese just as what they were in Netherlands Indies, with an advantage that the Chinese were very excellent in trade. The same thing happened on the 1960s especially after the 1965 coup, where the Chinese were forced to assimilate with the local culture and the government abolished every Chinese-related culture practice and language teaching to keep the Chinese in Indonesia away from People’s Republic of China with the risk of being deported from Indonesia if they did not obey the assimilation law.

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