

THE VERNACULAR PRESS AND THE EMERGENCE
OF MODERN INDONESIAN CONSCIOUSNESS
(1855 - 1913)

A Thesis
Presented to the University of
London for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is based on three main assumptions: that the press in Indonesia was an agent for intellectual development; that the growth of the vernacular press was pioneered by Dutch scholars, Eurasian editors and peranakan Chinese and Indonesian journalists; and that the development of the vernacular press before 1914 ran parallel to the growth of social, economic and political consciousness of the colonial society in the Dutch East Indies. The first chapter of the thesis traces the origins of the newspaper enterprise in the Indies. It also discusses the significance of the Printing Press Regulation of 1856 and its stipulations concerning 'freedom of the press' in the Indies. The second chapter discusses the early stage of the development of the vernacular press. The third chapter examines the role of the Eurasians in the growth of the vernacular press and the problems encountered by publishers and editors of vernacular newspapers in the last quarter of the 19th century. The fourth chapter looks at the emergence of peranakan Chinese in the newspaper enterprise and the rise of Chinese socio-economic consciousness which led to the birth of a pan-Chinese movement. The fifth chapter examines the rise of a modern Indonesian consciousness marked by a desire to pursue kemajuan (progress) through Western-type education. The chapter also discusses the role of the Amsterdam-based Bintang Hindia in the propagation of modernist ideas among Indonesian intellectuals. The sixth chapter examines the development of indigenous Indonesian journalism and early modern Indonesian consciousness in which the role of Raden Mas Tirto Adhi Soerjo features prominently. The seventh chapter surveys the development of the vernacular press in the Outer Islands and its impact on indigenous intellectual development. The final chapter discusses the emergence of Indonesian political awareness and the rise of political organs published and edited by Indonesians.

The conclusions drawn from this study are: that the Indonesian-language press has largely been an urban, cosmopolitan and multi-ethnic phenomenon; that the modernization of Indonesian thinking resulted from a process of emulating the Dutch, the Eurasians and the peranakan Chinese; and that the vernacular press and the Indonesian socio-economic and political awareness are both intertwined, each complimenting the growth of the other.

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A Note on Orthography

Both the old Dutch spelling system and the new Indonesian-Malaysian common spelling system inaugurated in 1972 are employed in this study. The spelling of names of persons, journals and organizations follow the old Dutch system. Names of towns and cities have been spelt according to the post-1972 Indonesian orthography.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BB	Binnenlandsch Bestuur, Interior Administration, European Civil Service
BKI	<u>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</u> , Contributions to Linguistics, Geography and Ethnography, journal published by the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
Exh	Exhibitum, incoming correspondence of the Colonial Office
f1	florin, Dutch guilder
IP	Indische Partij, Indies Party
KAS	Keradjinan Amai Setia, Industry of Faithful Mothers
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Royal Institute for Linguistics, Geography and Ethnography
MOSVIA	Middelbaar Opleiding School voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren, Secondary Training School for Native Officials
NV	Naamlooze Vennootschap, limited liability company
OSVIA	Opleiding School voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren, Training School for Native Officials
RAA	Raden Adipati Ario, a title
RAT	Raden Adipati Toemenggoeng, a title
RM	Raden Mas, a title
RNg	Raden Ngabehi
SAAM	Sarekat Adat Alam Minangkabau, Adat Association of the Minangkabau World
SDI	Sarekat Dagang Islamiah, Islamic Trading Association
SI	Sarekat Islam, Islamic Association
STOVIA	School tot Opleiding van Inlandsche Artsen, School for Training of Native Doctors
VOC	Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie, United (Dutch) East India Company

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INTRODUCTION

There have been remarkably few serious studies of the history of the press in Indonesia; most accounts have been narrative based on limited research. J.A. van der Chij's inventory of newspapers and periodicals published in the Dutch East Indies, the only reliable one of its kind in the nineteenth century, is undoubtedly the best work¹ undertaken to date; but his compilation stopped short at 1870. The emergence of newspapers and periodicals in the succeeding years has been only partially chronicled, in spite of the efforts of some Dutch writers to record the appearance of newspapers and periodicals in the early decades of the twentieth century.² The development of the vernacular press has been particularly poorly served. Many writers of Dutch-language studies -- such as Wormser,³ Koch,⁴ Drewes,⁵ Douwes Dekker,⁶ Tio Ie Soei⁷ and Kwee Kek Beng,⁸ to name only a few -- have attempted to reconstruct the history

1. See J.A. van der Chijs, "Proeve eener Nederlandsch Indische Bibliographie (1659-1870)", Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunst en Wetenschappen, Vol. XXXIX, Part 1, 1880.
2. See for example, G. Ockeloen, Catalogus van Broken en Tijdschriften-Uitgegeven in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië van 1870-1837, Kolff, Batavia, 1938-1941.
3. See C.W. Wormser, Journalistiek op Java, W. van Hoeve, Deventer, n.d. and his Drie en Dertig aren op Java Deel III: In Het Dagbladwezen, W. Ten Have Amsterdam, n.d. See also his article, "De Pers in Indie", W.H. van Helsingin and H. Hoogenberk (eds.), Daar Werd Wat Groots Verricht. Nederlandsch-Indië in de XXste eeuw, Amsterdam, 1941.
4. See D.M.G. Koch, Verantwoording, een halve eeuw in Indonesie, W. van Hoeve, The Hague, 1956.
5. See G.W.J. Drewes, "De strijd om de drukpersvrijheid en de oudste Inlandsche couranten", Koloniaal Studieen, Vol. 18, Part 1, 1934.
6. See E.F.E. Douwes Dekker, "The Press", Arnold Wright and Oliver T. Breakspear (eds.), Twentieth Century Impressions of Netherlands India, Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co. Ltd., London, 1909, pp. 261-267.
7. See Tio Ie Soei, "Pers Melaju-Betawi dan Wartawan", Istimewa, Surabaya, August 1, 1951.
8. See Kwee Kek Beng, "De Chineesche Pers in Nederlandsch - Indie," Koloniaal Studieen, Vol. 19, Part I, 1935, pp. 194-224.

of the Indonesian press but were bogged down by the unavailability of information, especially pertaining to the press of the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of this century. Their discussions therefore tend to concentrate on the Dutch language press and the peranakan / Indonesian-born Chinese press of the 1920s and 1930s, a feature even of the excellent work in English by G.H. von Faber.⁹

Many Indonesians have undertaken to write the history of the vernacular press,¹⁰ but their writings like those produced in the Dutch language, lack authority because of the limitations of their sources. It seems that many contemporary Indonesians who have written on the history of their press have shared the error of relying too heavily on the works of Adi Negoro¹¹ and Parada Harahap.¹² These writers were famous journalists in their lifetimes, but their writings on the beginnings of the vernacular press and its development are very misleading since not only do they frequently confuse the names of people involved with the early press and the names of newspapers and periodicals, but they never substantiate their statements by quoting sources. Although Leo

9. See G.H. von Faber, A Short History of Journalism in the Dutch East Indies, G. Kolff & Co., n.d. / 1931? /.
10. See for example, Sudarjo Tjokrosiswoyo (ed.), Kenangan Sekilas Perdjuangan Suratkabar, Jakarta, 1959; H. Mohammad Said, Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan Pers di Sumatra Utara, Percetakan dan Penerbitan Waspada, Medan, 1976; also by the same author, Sejarah Pers di Sumatra Utara dengan Masyarakat yang dicerminkannya, 1885 - Maret - 1942, Waspada, Medan, 1976; Subagio Ilham Notodidjojo, Sejarah Pers Indonesia, Dewan Pers, Jakarta, 1977; Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo, Perkembangan Pers Berbahasa Melayu di Indonesia, Panitia Buku Standard Sejarah Indonesia, Jakarta, 1973.
11. See / Jamaludin / Adi Negoro, Falsafah Ratu Dunia, Balai Pustaka, Jakarta, 1949.
12. See Parada Harahap, Serba Sedikit Tentang Ilmu Pers, Akademi Wartawan, Jakarta, 1952.

Suryadinata's work on the peranakan Chinese press¹³ is commendable, it lacks a complete inventory of the peranakan Chinese papers and periodicals; more importantly, the work fails to provide an analytical framework of how the Chinese press evolved and a discussion of the socio-economic factors that contributed to its development.

Nor, in general, have writers addressed seriously the relevance of the vernacular press to the rise of indigenous consciousness which developed into Indonesian nationalism,¹⁴ although van der Kroef¹⁵ and Edward Cecil Smith¹⁶ have acknowledged the importance of the press' role. This thesis aims at filling this void by presenting to the reader a history of the vernacular press which links its development with the emergence of a modern Indonesian consciousness. By modern consciousness is meant the awareness of being a native Indonesian -- an awareness that drove the Indonesian to think and to take steps to improve his lot in the social, economic and political spheres of life in the context of a colonial society. It was also an awareness of the need for indigenous unity in the confrontation with the Dutch and the Chinese in

13. See Leo Suryadinata, "The Pre-World War II Peranakan Chinese Press of Java: A Preliminary Survey, Ohio University Centre for International Studies, Southeast Asia Program, Athens, Ohio, 1971.

14. The exception is Pramoedya Ananta Toer who, prior to the bloody era of 1965, gave a course on Modern Indonesian History at the University of Res Publica. Pramoedya made a fairly extensive use of the early press to trace the history of the Indonesian anti-colonial movement. See Pramoedya Ananta Toer, "Sedjarah Modern Indonesia" / stencilled typescript /, Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Res Publica, Jakarta, 1964. See also writings by Pramoedya and others pertaining to the early Indonesian press in the weekly "LANTERA" column of the Bintang Timor which appeared in 1962-64.

15. See Justus M. van der Kroef, "The Press in Indonesia: By-Product of Nationalism", Journalism Quarterly, XXXI, Summer 1954, pp. 337-346.

16. See Edward Cecil Smith, "A History of Newspaper Suppression in Indonesia, 1949-1965", Ph.D. thesis, School of Journalism, Graduate College, University of Iowa, August 1969.

the modern era, which the vernacular press at the beginning of this century dubbed "the era of progress" /zaman kemajuan/. Indeed, the press, and the intelligentsia which was behind its growth and development, were very much obsessed with kemajuan or progress for the Indonesians in the cultural, economic and political fields.

This thesis focusses on the evolutionary growth of the vernacular press, tracing the ways in which it affected and reflected change within the tiny circle of Indonesian intellectuals, contributing to bringing about a modern way of thinking. This thinking in turn espoused changes in the Indonesian society's value system which replaced concepts sanctioned by adat /custom/, whose authority was being eroded by the forces of change. The changes of greatest relevance to this transformation were the spread of modern education, urbanization and the formation of a new kind of "aristocracy" -- the intellectuals as opposed to the bangsawan usul or traditional aristocracy. The emergence of modern Indonesian consciousness was manifest by the early 1910s, following the founding of indigenous organizations and newspapers orientated to the requirements of a modern society and reflecting an economic and political awareness which was integral to the modern consciousness of being Indonesian.

The thesis revolves around five major themes. First, it shows that the vernacular press was a by-product of a European cultural and economic enterprise that had its beginnings in the days of the Dutch East India Company in the seventeenth century. Second, it seeks to demonstrate that the spread of the press was motivated by economic, socio-cultural and missionary motives. Third, that the steady growth and development of the vernacular press was the result of the urban environment with its schools, modern infra-structure, modern communications with the availability of a widely-understood lingua franca, namely the Malay language, albeit in its low, bazaar form. Fourth, the process of

modernization gave impetus to the development of a vernacular press and encouraged intellectual growth among the Indonesians who emulated the Europeans and the Chinese in striving for modernity. Fifth, this intellectual development in turn stimulated the Indonesians to found their own press and to form socio-economic, religious and political organizations. All of these endeavours were manifestations of the modern Indonesian consciousness that was emerging among Indonesian intellectuals.

The first three themes will be discussed in Chapters One, Two and Three. The fourth theme will be discussed in Chapters Four, Five, and Six. The final theme will be examined in Chapters Seven and Eight. In recounting the history of the vernacular press the thesis first concentrates on its development in Java and the Outer Islands in the nineteenth century. For the period after 1900 the development of the vernacular press in the two regions is separated -- the press in the Outer Islands being specially examined in Chapter Seven. This approach is taken because of the relatively slow expansion of the vernacular press and rise of native organizations outside Java, a feature probably relating to the belated development of native education and the slow emergence of an indigenous awakening there.

The first chapter, focussing on the issue of the introduction of the printing press into the Indonesian archipelago, provides the socio-political background against which the growth of newspapers is to be examined. The rivalry between government-backed and private-owned newspapers and periodicals led to the introduction of press regulations that aimed at stifling criticisms of the local authorities and the government in Holland. Resentment over the abuses of the cultuurstelsel (culture system), voiced by people like Baron van Hoëvell led to the clamour for a revision of the press laws. This ultimately resulted in the introduction of the Press Act of 1854 by the Dutch Parliament.

The second chapter deals with the pioneers of the vernacular

press who produced newspapers and periodicals that were literary, cultural, commercial and missionary in kind. The chapter also discusses the factors that contributed to the development of the press and the socio-economic conditions in the Netherlands East Indies that shaped the contents and growth of the vernacular newspapers.

The development of the vernacular press in the 1870s and 1880s will be discussed in Chapter Three. This chapter will examine the role of the Eurasians (Indo-Europeans) who, during this period, were the principal owners and editors of the vernacular newspapers. Competitive demand for subscribers and the presence of more than one newspaper in a town or city led to keen rivalry among the Eurasian publishers and editors which at times resulted in personal quarrels and bitter feuds. The chapter aims at setting this in the general framework of the press industry and journalistic development in the Netherlands East Indies.

Chapter Four deals with the emergence of the peranakan Chinese in the newspaper and printing trade. The various factors that contributed to their participation in the vernacular press business will be examined, namely: the effects of the economic crisis of the 1880s, the denial of the Chinese monopoly over the revenue-farms and the growing Chinese concern about their welfare, as manifested in their criticisms of Dutch policy towards the Chinese community as a whole. It will be seen that the rise of Chinese socio-economic consciousness as expressed through the founding of a Chinese-oriented Malay-language press and the setting up of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan, an Indies pan-Chinese organization, led to a socio-cultural reaction among the Indonesians, who expressed the desire to emulate the Chinese in their pursuit of progress. This indigenous response to modern ideas appeared simultaneously with the colonial government's implementation of the Ethical Policy. The effects of that course, which promised to improve the socio-economic welfare of the native population, will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Chapter Six examines the emergence of a truly Indonesian press and the native socio-economic consciousness that accompanied it. The chapter deals with the role of Raden Mas Tirto Adhi Soerjo, both as the founder of several newspapers and periodicals in the vernacular and as the initiator and organizer of the Sarekat Prijaji /Priyayi Association/ and Sarekat Dagang Islamijah /Islamic Trading Association/. The latter association was the first of its kind to be founded by Indonesians in the Dutch East Indies.

The development of the vernacular press and the rise of an indigenous intelligentsia in the Outer Islands are discussed in Chapter Seven. This chapter examines the awakening of modern Indoensian intellectuals in the Outer Islands, especially in Sumatra, as expressed in their founding of socio-cultural associations, self-help organizations and their establishment of Indonesian-owned printing presses and newspapers.

Chapter Eight deals with the emergence of political awareness among Indonesians associated with the setting up of the Sarekat Islam /Islamic Association/ in 1911, showing how the growth of an economic, religious and political consciousness intertwined with the development of a vernacular press to produce, by the 1910s, a powerful voice of Indonesian nationalism.

It is hoped that by studying the history of the vernacular press in Indonesia from 1855 to 1913 and its role in the emergence of modern Indonesian consciousness, we may arrive at a better understanding of the development of modern Indonesian society, especially pertaining to the growth and spread of intellectual ideas. This thesis also intends to show that modern Indonesian thinking, as manifested in the idea of pursuing progress, emerged from a Western mould and conceived modernization as of emulating the West. The development of the idea of moder-

nization was also aided in no small way by the examples set by the peranakan Chinese who set the trend for the modernization of Indies colonial society by way of the vernacular press. Indeed, the Dutch, the Indo-Europeans and the Chinese all played roles in disseminating ideas to the Indonesians through the press, thus contributing to the birth of modern thinking and the clamour for the modernization of native society at the turn of this century. The roots of this modernization in Indonesian thinking, with its accompanying socio-economic and political awareness and nationalist sentiments, culminating in the 1910s with the rise of the Sarekat Islam, the Muhammadiyah and the Indische Partij [Indies Party], can be traced to the development of the vernacular press which acted as a vital stimulant to the new spirit.

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDThe Advent of Printing in Indonesia

The printing press in Indonesia¹ owes its beginnings to the advent of the Dutch in that part of the Malay archipelago. Its growth and development ran parallel with the gradual expansion of Dutch colonialism.² Its history began when the administration of the United Netherlands Chartered East Indies Company³ found the press useful in the production of multiple duplicates of legal regulations contained in the official proclamations of the local government. Its introduction was

1. Also known as Netherlands Indies or Dutch East Indies when the archipelago was under Dutch colonial rule. On the evolution and usage of the term "Indonesia" see Akira Nagazumi, "Indonesia" dan "Orang-orang Indonesia", S. Ichimura and Koentjaraningrat (eds.), Indonesia: masalah dan peristiwa bunga rampai, Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, Japan, 1976, pp. 1-25.
2. Lured by the promise of the spice trade, the Dutch first arrived in the Indies in 1595 in four ships. In 1619 they conquered the district of Jayakarta and soon established the city of Batavia which was then transformed into a political bastion as well as the centre of commerce and administration. From Batavia the Dutch extended their influence until finally in the first half of the 18th century they found themselves embroiled in the political intrigues of the rival native princes of the Mataram kingdom which consequently, following the signing of the Treaty of Giyanti in 1750, led to their acquisition of political dominance over the Javanese rulers of the divided kingdoms of Mataram based at Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Through further incessant intrigues and diplomatic as well as military manouvres, the Dutch finally gained control over the whole of Java by the end of the 18th century. But their colonisation of the rest of the Indonesian islands was to remain a continuing process. Following the defeat of Diponegoro in 1830, Dutch power and might was finally stamped. Although intermittent native uprisings arose in various parts of the archipelago throughout the 19th century, they were met with Dutch military superiority. Even the indomitable Achenese were brought to subjugation finally in 1903. For a more detailed history of the beginning of Dutch political encounters with the Javanese see M.C. Ricklefs, Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi 1749-1792, a history of the division of Java, Oxford University Press, London, 1974.
3. Known by the Dutch name, Verenigde Nederlandsch Geocstroyerde Oost-Indische Compagnie, the company was formed in 1602 as a result of the amalgamation and cooperation between leading merchant princes and the States General. Hereafter, the abbreviated form, VOC, will be used to refer to the Company.

also due to the initiative of the missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church who found the printing press a useful asset for the publication of Christian religious literature in the vernacular for purposes of evangelical work.

Indeed, it was the missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church who first attempted to introduce printing in the Indies by purchasing a printing press from the Netherlands in 1624. Nevertheless, due to an absence of skilled craftsmen to operate the equipment, the printing press remained unused. Realizing the need for able printers to print religious books and tracts, the Church authorities proposed to the Supreme Government that good type and skilful compositors be despatched from the homeland to the Indies. But the effort to introduce printing did not materialize until 1659 when a private individual by the name of Kornelis Pijl initiated printing in the Indies by producing a *tjitboek*, a kind of almanac or "time-book".⁴

Following Pijl's *tjitboek*, there was a lull in printing activity until 1667 when the Supreme Government took the initiative of founding a printing house and ordering better printing material as well as matrices for casting founts of type. The first product of this printing press was the Bogaaisch Verdrag, the terms of a peace treaty signed between Admiral Cornelis Speelman and Sultan Hassan Udin of Makasar, which was dated 15 March 1668.⁵ The said document was printed by Hendrick Brants, who, in August 1668, was given a contract to undertake printing and bookbinding

4. H.J. de Graaf, Indonesia, Vol. VI of the Spread of Printing: Eastern Hemisphere, edited by Colin Clair, Amsterdam, 1969, p. 12; Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië, 2nd printing, M. Nijhoff, 's Gravenhage, 1917, Vol. I, p. 642; J.A. van der Chijs, "Proeve eener Nederlandsch Indische Bibliographie", Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Vol. XXXIX, Part I, 1880 (hereinafter referred to as "Proeve", Verhandelingen).

5. Chijs, "Proeve", Verhandelingen, XXXIX, p. 2; Graaf, op.cit., p. 13.

work on behalf of the VOC.⁶ By the terms of the contract, Brants took over the press and material in return for a payment of eighty six-dollars, to be paid by instalments; the Company retained the typefoundry. Brants was given rights as sole printer for the City and the VOC for a three year period. Not long after that Brants formed a partnership with Jan Bruyning. The printing house was at Prinsestraat, Batavia.

Upon the expiry of Brant's contract on 16 February 1671, the VOC signed a fresh contract with Pieter Overtwater and three other servants of the Company. These printers (whose contract lasted till 1695) called themselves Boeckdrucker der E. Compagnie (Bookprinters of the East Indies Company).⁷ Soon other names appeared as official printers to the VOC. But the most important figure was an ex-clergyman by the name of Andreas Lambertus Loderus who took over the printing house in 1699 to become a full time printer. Many important works in Dutch, Malay and Latin appeared from his press, including a Latin-Dutch-Malay dictionary compiled by Loderus himself.

Although the City printers had been given a contract to undertake printing work on behalf of the VOC, the Supreme Government felt that there was a need to set up a printing press of its own at the Castle of Batavia in order to print official documents. This press only materialised in 1718 when personnel and material for a printing house arrived from the home country. With its establishment, the City printing house was only allowed to print private work while all official printing was done by the Castle printer.

The existence of two printing houses in the early years of the eighteenth century indicated that the printing press was to play an im-

6. Zubaidah Isa, "Printing and Publishing in Indonesia: 1602-1970", Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1972, p. 13.

7. Chijs, "Proeve", op.cit., pp. 68-72.

portant role in the Indies and that it would be regularly used to "save labour that making hand-written copies involved".⁸ However, while the press had been quite active in printing the company's documents and books for the consumption of the company's servants, there was no evidence to show that newspaper publication was ever attempted until about a hundred and twenty years after the establishment of a printing house in Batavia.

Before the first printed newspaper appeared, a handwritten merchant's newsletter, named Memorie der Nouvelles, had been distributed. This newsletter was actually a compilation of news items and extracts of letters in handwritten sheets. These sheets were distributed among the employees of the VOC who were starved of news in the nooks and corners of the archipelago. This method of despatching news was said to have been adopted by Jan Pieterszoon Coen in 1615. It was also reported that in 1644 the Ambonese government received news regularly from Batavia in a similar manner.⁹ It was only in 1744, under the administration of Gouvernor-General Gustaaf Willem Baron von Imhoff, that the first printed newspaper appeared from the Castle Printing House. The paper named Bataviase Nouvelles first emerged as trial issues on 8 August 1744. Its production was undertaken by Jan Erdman Jordens, a junior merchant and additional senior clerk in the General Secretariat of the VOC at Batavia. Seeing that the weekly paper had the potential of reasonable success, Jordens sought permission for leave to continue his enterprise. By the order of 9 February 1745 the authorities gave him a three-year contract to print the newspaper.

The Bataviase Nouvelles contained only a small folio-sheet which

8. H.J. de Graaf, op.cit., p. 13.

9. See C.W. Wormser, Journalistiek op Java, Uitgeverij W. Hoeve, Deventer, n.d. p. 6.

was printed on both sides in two columns. Readers who wished to buy the paper was informed that it was available on Mondays from Jan Abel, the company's bookbinder at the castle.¹⁰ Apart from printing government edicts, the paper also inserted advertisements which were usually notices of auction sales. But the advertisement-orientated paper seemed to have raised fear among the Directors of the VOC in the Netherlands about the possibility of other European rivals gaining information regarding trading conditions in the Indies. Thus in late 1746, the Board of Directors of the VOC wrote to the Governor-General requesting the latter to forbid further printing and publication of the Bataviase Nouvelles for fear that its contents might be harmful to the monopoly the company had in the Netherlands.¹¹ So it was that the paper was forced to cease publication from its issue of 20 June 1746, after barely two years' existence even though the publisher, Jordens, was given a three-year permit.

Whether the native population of Java knew of the existence of the Bataviase Nouvelles is difficult to tell. Presumably the circulation of the paper was confined to the employees of the VOC and the small community of Europeans. It is hard to imagine that the Bataviase Nouvelles could have drawn any native interest since education in the European script was virtually unknown to them at that time. However, the first newspaper that the Indonesians had probably come into contact with was the Vendu Nieuws which appeared in 1776, after a period of three decades following the discontinuance of the Bataviase Nouvelles. Published by L. Dominicus, the City printer at Batavia, the Vendu Nieuws was actually a weekly advertiser which primarily concerned itself with printing news of

10. G.H. von Faber, A Short History of Journalism in the Dutch East Indies, G. Kolff & Co., Surabaya, n.d., p. 15.

11. Ibid., pp. 18 and 19. Cf. Bintang Timor No. 6, 20 January 1872.

auctions. Known to the local people as "soerat lelang" / literally: auction paper /, the paper also printed announcements of sales from large estates and a few mercantile advertisements.¹² Although the Vendu Nieuws was only an advertiser, it nevertheless did not escape the strict scrutiny of the censor's eyes.¹³

The Vendu Nieuws, was the second and last newspaper to have appeared during the time of the VOC. On 31 December 1799, the Vereenigde Nederlandsch Geocroyerde Oost-Indische Compagnie, following the expiry of its charter, was officially transferred together with all its colonial possessions, debts and property to the Batavia Republic. Thus the administration of the Indies came to be under the jurisdiction of the home government in the Netherlands. The Vendu Nieuws ceased publication in 1809 during the administration of Marshal Herman Willem Daendels who served as Governor-General from 1808 to 1811. In 1809 Daendels bought the City Printing Press and had it merged with the Castle Printing House to form the Landsdrukkerij (Government Printing Press).¹⁴

12. Advertisements became a very conspicuous feature of an Indies newspaper right up to the early years of the twentieth century. When the vernacular newspapers first emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century almost half the pages were allocated to advertisements. It was not uncommon for a newspaper of that period to underscore the words: soerat kabar dan advertentie / news and advertisement paper / beneath its masthead. According to popular opinion, even as late as 1860 the newspaper was still known to the ordinary laymen as surat lelang (auction paper). See, C.W. Wormser, op.cit., p. 11.
13. In 1785, the City printer was strictly forbidden from printing anything without the prior permission of the censor. Censorship was introduced in the Indies in 1668 when the first censor, Pieter Pauw, a public prosecutor for maritime affairs was appointed to the post. The first printing press regulation called the Reglement voor de Drukkerijen te Batavia was introduced by Governor-General A. van der Parra in June 1761. See H.J. de Graaf, op.cit., p. 28 and Zubaidah Isa, op.cit., pp. 23-29.
14. This press continued as the official government printing house until the final days of Dutch rule in Indonesia.

The existence of an official government printing press gave Daendels the idea of publishing an official organ of the government that could be used to propagandize the virtues of his administrative reforms in Java.¹⁵ On 15 January 1810 the first issue of the weekly, Bataviasche Koloniale Courant, appeared in the city of Batavia. Published in large quarto size, the paper was edited by a Professor (Honorary) Ross, minister to the Dutch community in the city since 1788.¹⁶ Like its predecessor, the Bataviasche Koloniale Courant also had columns for advertisements which ranged from bootlaces, carriage velvet and penquills to sales of houses and lands and slaves. The paper's publication was nevertheless abruptly stopped when the English landed and captured Batavia.¹⁷

During the English interregnum Batavia saw the emergence of another official newspaper. On 29 February 1812 the new administration published the Java Government Gazette which was a weekly printed mostly in English at the company's printing house by A.H. Hubbard. Its contents reflected antagonism between the Dutch and the English. However, the paper also contained news of Europe and articles concerning native life

15. According to von Faber, in the opinion of Daendels, "Besides affording the residents the pleasure of being able to read all the news, the object of the paper was to publish all the acts of the General Government so far as they were of general interest, as also the condition of the finances and the employment of the revenue, in order that each and everyone might be given the opportunity to study the affairs of the colony and acquaint himself with the great changes that had been made in the administration and be assured of the salutary intentions and results of the same."

See von Faber, op.cit., p. 21. On the administration of Daendels, see Clive Day, The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1966 (reprint).

16. von Faber, op.cit., p. 24.

17. Its last issue appeared on 2 August 1811, exactly a week before the fall of Batavia.

and customs.¹⁸ But its circulation ceased with the return of the Dutch in 1816. Its demise was, however, quickly followed by the birth of the Bataviasche Courant which appeared on 20 August 1816. Twelve years later, the paper was rebaptized the Javasche Courant.¹⁹

While the official government newspapers seemed to have had some response from subscribers (judging from the number of years the papers were in circulation),²⁰ it was not until 1831 that the first privately-owned newspaper appeared. The belated appearance of privately-owned newspapers was probably because there were not many people who could read in the Indies.²¹ Also, with the exception of the government-owned printing house and the printing press of the missionaries, there was yet little effort among the private citizens to set up printing establishments. Difficulty in procuring typefoundries from which founts could be furnished was one hindering factor. But more important was the absence of skilled compositors in the Indies. Because of this the missionary press was the only non-governmental printing press that was actively involved in the craft of printing during the eighteenth century.

18. von Faber, op.cit., p. 29.

19. H.J. de Graaf, op.cit., p. 29. von Faber, however, mentioned that the Javasche Courant emerged in 1829. It had also incorporated the Bataviaasch Advertentieblad, a weekly advertiser that first appeared in 1825. The Javasche Courant appeared thrice weekly. See von Faber, op.cit., p. 34.
20. Although the Bataviase Nouvelles was rather short-lived due to official banning by the VOC, the Vendu Nieuws remained in circulation for thirty three years; the Bataviasche Kolonial Courant and the Java Government Gazette had to cease publication because of changes in administration. The Bataviasche Courant, which first appeared in 1816 and was renamed Javasche Courant twelve years later remained in existence for over half a century.
21. European schools only became more easily available after 1816. The Indies' Government Regulation of 1818 paved the way for the importation of government teachers from the Netherlands and thus more schools were founded in the principal towns. See A.D.A. De Kat Angelino, Colonial Policy, Vol. II, The Dutch East Indies, M. Nijhoff, The Hague, 1931, pp. 198 and 203.

The Missionary Press

Following the abortive attempt at the setting up of the first missionary press in Batavia in 1624, the clerical community did not have the chance to operate printing equipment until 119 years later, when in 1743 the Seminarium Theologicum at Batavia came to possess a printing press. Not much is known about this press but it was reported that it had published the New Testament and some prayer books in Malay translation.²² But its existence was short-lived for in 1755 it was forced to merge with the Castle Printing House.²³

The interest of missionaries in the printing press was quite obvious. The press was a useful tool in their evangelical work especially in the publication of Christian literature and translations of the Bible and religious catechisms. The press was also an asset in their effort to spread literacy and church education among the native children.

Although the original charter of the United East India Company did not stipulate the maintenance of a Calvinist clergy in the East Indies, the Board of Directors realised the need to send out missionaries in order to supply the spiritual needs of the company's servants. It was also felt that the missions could act as a counter to Catholicism and Islam.

The number of missionaries fluctuated during the time of the VOC.²⁴ Their number, however, grew after 1800. The period following the

22. The first Malay translation of the catechism was nevertheless printed in 1685 at Batavia. See Chijs, "Proeve", op.cit., p. 7.

23. Zubaidah Isa, op.cit., p. 22.

24. During the two hundred years of VOC's rule only about one thousand Calvinist predikants / preachers / were sent out to the East Indies. The Company also despatched several thousand lay readers and school masters. Zubaidah Isa, op.cit., p. 19.

dissolution of the VOC also witnessed an increase in the number of printing presses used by the missionaries.²⁵ Missionary zeal was accentuated after the formation of the Nederlandsch Zendelingen Genootschap [The Netherlands Missionary Society]²⁶ in 1797. In 1831 most of the barriers against Protestant missionaries were removed, culminating in the establishment of Protestant mission stations in various places. By the middle of the nineteenth century missionary interest in printing had extended to the publication of newspapers in the vernacular language.²⁷

The earliest printing press owned by the missionaries was that of Joseph Kam who arrived in the Moluccas in 1813. His equipment was reportedly in operation in 1819. It printed religious tracts and school books for the elementary school that was run by the church. But the most famous of the mission presses was the seminary press that was set up by Walter Henry Medhurst, an Englishman who arrived in Java in 1822. A year later he took over the chapel at Parapatan from the original founder, a Mr. Slater.²⁸ A missionary interested the craft of printing,

25. Ibid., p. 22.

26. The society was formed at Rotterdam. During its early period the Netherlands was under the rule of the French and so it could only send out its missionaries through the London Missionary Society. They departed for the Indies in 1814 and were appointed clergymen of the East Indian State Church. See "Islam and Christianity in Malaysia", The Moslem World, Vol. I, 1911, p. 243.
27. The Bintang Oetara (published in 1858) and the Selompret Melajoe (1860) were edited by missionaries. In 1867 the Biang Lala was published by the missionary press at Parapatan and in 1869 another missionary paper called Tjahaja Siang appeared at Tondano. For more details see the following chapter.
28. The said chapel was started in 1821 by Rev. John Slater with the assistance of the English residents at Batavia. On the English chapel at Parapatan, see W.H. Medhurst, China: Its State and Prospects, with Special Reference to the Spread of the Gospel, J. Snow, London, 1838.

Medhurst printed material in English, Dutch, Chinese, Japanese and Malay.²⁹

In 1828 the press made use of Lithography. The work produced by the press was so prolific that between 1823 and 1842 a total of 189,294 copies of various works was published. These included sermons, parts of the Old and New Testaments, a dictionary and some secular pamphlets of a general nature.³⁰

Another famous mission press was also set up by an Englishman, Nathanier Ward, who worked for the Baptist Missionary Society in Benkulen. Set up in that region in 1819, the press printed both religious and secular works. Its activity nevertheless subsided following the surrender of Benkulen to the Dutch in 1826. Other mission presses which were active in the nineteenth century included those in Ambon, Tomohon, Tondano, Kupang and Banjarmasin.

Although the missionaries had been active in the printing of religious books and church literature in general, newspaper publication was only taken up by them in the second half of the nineteenth century. The reason for this probably lies in the existence of strict censorship regulations to which all printers had to adhere prior to the revision of the press laws undertaken in 1856, as well as the fact that the top priority of the missionaries was to publish religious publications and educational books for their mission schools.

The Rise of Dutch-language Newspapers

The second quarter of the nineteenth century opened a new chapter for the newspaper in the East Indies. The period marked the rise

29. Medhurst was from the London Missionary Society. He went to Malacca in 1816 at the age of twenty where he supervised the Anglo-Chinese press of the society. Through Medhurst, the mission procured printers from China to come to Java to carry out the printing of books in the vernacular. See Ibid., p. 331.

30. Zubaidah Isa, op.cit., p. 51.

of privately-owned printing presses and the emergence of privately-printed newspapers. In 1825 the Bataviaasch Advertentieblad / Batavian Advertiser / appeared at Batavia from the Landsdrukkerij. Another commerce-orientated paper called Nederlandsch Indisch Handelsblad / Netherlands Indies Commercial Paper / was issued in 1829 also at Batavia. But its publisher and printer is unknown although it certainly was not printed at the Government Printing Press.³¹ Surabaya witnessed the emergence of its first newspaper in 1837 when the weekly, Soerabaijasch Courant³² was issued, probably by F.C. Smith who had purchased a printing press from H.J. Domis³³ in around 1834. Not long after that, in 1845 Semarang saw the emergence of a weekly advertizer called Semarangsche Advertentieblad, which in 1852 was rechristened De Locomotief. The Semarangsche Advertentieblad was printed at the Oliphant & Co. printing press.³⁴ Exactly a year after the Semarangsche Advertentieblad appeared, the city saw yet another newspaper named Semarangsche Courant.

Like Batavia, Semarang was a port city and was a beehive of commercial activity. In the second half of the nineteenth century Semarang became an important centre of the newspaper industry keenly

- 31. J.A. van der Chijs, "Proeve", op.cit., pp. 57 and 61.
- 32. Some confusion appears to have arisen regarding the name of the first Surabaya newspaper. While Chijs recorded the Soerabaijasch Courant as the paper that appeared in 1837, Wormser claimed that in 1835 C. F. Smith had already launched the Soerabaijasch Advertentieblad. E.F.E. Douwes Dekker thought that the Soerabaijasch Courant appeared in 1835. But both these writers did not name their sources. The present writer, however, is of the opinion that Chijs' information is more reliable. When C.F. Smith wanted to publish an advertizer in Surabaya he sought the permission of Governor-General J.C. Baud around July 1835 through the intercession of the Resident at Surabaya. The permission was only granted in 1836. Thus it was not possible for Smith to publish a newspaper without first obtaining the government's permission. See H.J. de Graaf, op.cit., p. 41. See also C.W. Wormser, Drie en Dertig Jaren op Java Vol. III: In Het Dagbladwezen, Amsterdam, n.d., p. 43. Cf. E.F.E. Douwes Dekker, "The Press", A. Wright and O.T. Breakspear (eds.), Twentieth Century Impressions of Netherlands India, Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co. Ltd., London, 1909, p. 261.
- 33. H.J. Domis was Resident at Semarang, Pasuruhan and Surabaya between 1827 and 1834 before he left for retirement in Holland.
- 34. The firm was a private publisher that came to existence in 1844. It

competing with both Surabaya and Batavia in producing the major newspapers in both the Dutch and Malay languages. The relatively large populations in these cities and their significantly urban and commercial character were determining factors in making the newspaper business a viable pursuit for publishers and printers. As port cities engaged in the transhipping of agricultural products, the cities of Batavia, Semarang and Surabaya tended to draw merchants and traders of all races. Among these merchants and traders there was a dire need for advertizers not only for purposes of marketing their commodities but also to acquaint themselves with the current prices of goods in the markets and information about the arrivals and departures of shipping vessels and mails. It was for this reason that when the newspaper (popularly known then as news - and advertisement paper) first made its appearance in these major cities in the early decades of the nineteenth century, it was a welcome sight. Prior to 1856, no less than sixteen newspapers had appeared in the Indies both from the efforts of the government and private publishers. Out of these, ten were privately-owned.³⁵ There were also two periodicals. The monthly, Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië became the first periodical to be published in the Netherlands East Indies. Permission to publish it was granted by the Government decision of 10 January 1838, No. 1. Edited by the Reverend W.R. Baron van Hoevell,³⁶ the magazine, which tried very much to steer free from excessive government interference in its contents,

35. For more detailed information about this see Appendix A.

36. Baron van Hoevell arrived in Java in 1837 and lived in Batavia as a preacher. His interest in publishing a periodical induced him to see the Director of the Landsdrukkerij, Mr. J.J. Brest van Kempen. Together with another colleague, S.A. Buddingh, they decided to seek permission for publishing a magazine. They also requested for reduction in printing costs at the Landsdrukkerij. "Uit de geschiedenis van de Indische pers", a cutting from an unidentified newspaper located by the writer at the library of the Press Institute, Amsterdam in 1973. A pencil notation on the clipping suggests that the author of the article that gave a detailed history of the Indies press up to 1885 was Koch (presumably D.M.G. Koch). Hereinafter referred as "Uit de geschiedenis van de Indische pers".

was printed at the Landsdrukkerij. Around the year 1840 the office of the General Secretary initiated the publication of another periodical called De Kopiist.³⁷ Edited by E. de Waal who was an official of the General Secretary, the magazine was launched with a view to rival the Tijdschrift van Nederlandsch-Indië. In 1844 the editor changed its name to Indische Magazine and it was also printed at the Landsdrukkerij.

All newspapers and periodicals published before 1855 were in the Dutch language. Widespread illiteracy among the natives of the Indies made it inconceivable to have newspapers published in the vernacular language during the first half of the nineteenth century. Although the Muslim population generally attended traditional religious classes in the pesantren and langgar,³⁸ knowledge of reading and writing among the people was narrowly confined to reading Arabic texts which, more often than not, were recited without much understanding. Even though the Javanese had a literary tradition of their own, this was a monopoly of those in the upper stratum of society which was normally limited to the court writers. The first attempt at making available some form of Western-type education to the native population was undertaken by the missionaries who in their evangelical work set up schools which taught reading and writing in the Malay Jawi and Rumi scripts. But, up to about 1850 government concern for native education was limited to the native Christians in the Moluccas.³⁹ It was not until

(Continuation of footnote 34)

was also the first to undertake book publishing in Semarang. Chijs, "Proeve", op.cit., p. 67; Zubaidah Isa, op.cit., p. 56.

37. Ibid.

38. Pesantren are abodes of santri (students of religion). In the nineteenth century, they were the native educational establishments where pupils from very distant parts lived together in order to apply themselves under the guidance of one or more masters, to the study of Islamic books on theology. The langgar or surau were small mosques where lessons on the Arabic alphabets and Koran reading were taught to children from a young age.

39. A Manual of Netherlands India (Dutch East Indies) December 1918, Naval Staff Intelligence Department, p. 139.

1848 that a modest sum of 25,000 guilders was placed upon the budget to meet the cost of a few native schools which were mainly for the training of indigenous civil officials.⁴⁰ The early schools run by the clergy of the VOC were mostly found in Amboin where the Dutch language was replaced by Malay as the medium of instruction by about the third decade of the eighteenth century. The increasing use of Malay as a lingua franca of the Netherlands East Indies helped in a big way towards the growth and development of the vernacular press in the second half of the nineteenth century. It would therefore be useful to discuss the historical background of the development of the Malay language as used in the major cities where the press was most active.

The Development of "Low Malay"

As a lingua franca of the Malay archipelago, the Malay language was used by the Dutch in their dealings with people in the eastern part of the archipelago and the Malay-speaking ports of the western region even before the founding of Batavia in 1619. However, the kind of Malay spoken was the simple form of the language, commonly known as pasar /bazaar/ Malay or Low Malay. Nevertheless this form of the language was the common means of intercourse between the natives and foreigners.⁴¹ In Batavia, where it had undergone a historical development of its own, on account of the presence of Portuguese and Dutch which shed some marked influence on the language, it was known as Melajoe Betawi /Batavian Malay/.⁴² While it was not unlike pasar Malay in the sense that its

40. De Kat Angelino, op.cit., p. 204.

41. John Crawfurd, A Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language with a Preliminary Dissertation, Vol. I, London, 1852, p. x.

42. For a clear account of the development of Low Malay as used in Batavia and Amboin see John Hoffman, "A Foreign Investment: Indies Malay to 1901", Indonesia, No. 27, April 1979, Cornell University, Ithaca, pp. 65-92.

syntax did not conform to strict grammatical rules of literary Malay, it nevertheless had its own distinctiveness much influenced by Balinese, Javanese, Chinese, Portuguese as well as Dutch. Batavian Malay also developed a unique pronunciation.⁴³

As early as 1620 Malay had been adopted, besides Dutch, as the language of the Reformed Church in Batavia.⁴⁴ Although initially it was the lingua franca of Batavia, its utility nevertheless gained recognition among people of the various ethnic backgrounds in other parts of Java who felt that High Malay (the type of Malay used by the Malays of Johore and the Riau archipelago), was too difficult to comprehend. On the other hand, many non-Malay speakers of Batavian Malay regarded Melajoe Betawi as most acceptable since it was more flexible in absorbing foreign words and even syntax.⁴⁵

In the Outer Islands the simple form of Malay or what was known as Low Malay also had its own peculiarities. In the Minahassa it was called Menado Malay, a variant that evolved as a result of its being used as the language of the church and schools.⁴⁶ The Malay language of the Moluccas was another variant which owed its widespread acceptance among the local population to the missionaries who had adopted it as the language of the church and education. In Java, what was known as Batavian Malay was also called Low Malay in the other cities. It was also called bahasa

43. Pauline Dublin Milone, Queen City of the East: the metamorphosis of a colonial capital, Ph.D. dissertation, Berkeley, 1966, p. 253.

44. John Hoffman, (quoting Valentyn), op.cit., p. 68.

45. Although Javanese is the mother-tongue of the Javanese people, its complexity on account of its different speech-styles for different social status, kinship and age of the speakers and the special vocabularies involved made it quite impossible for non-Javanese to adopt it as the lingua franca of the island and the archipelago. Neither could Sundanese, Madurese and the languages of the other ethnic groups in the Outer Islands supplant Malay as the most convenient vehicle of communication.

46. A. Teeuw, A Critical Survey of Studies on Malay and Bahasa Indonesia, KITV, 's Gravenhage, 1961, p. 48.

Melajoe adoekan /mixed-Malay/, Melajoe kaoem /communal Malay/ and Melajoe pasar /bazaar Malay/.⁴⁷ It was a kind of language most readily understood by the common people of various races in the cities and ports of commerce.

However, while the Dutch through force of circumstances had, since the days of the VOC, accepted Malay as the unofficial language of communication, and as the language of administration and commerce, controversy nevertheless arose regarding the type of Malay to be advocated and popularized. This controversy did not ebb until the mid-nineteenth century. Although the missionaries and the common man in the street were more acquainted with the so-called Low Malay, the administrative authorities at Batavia, ever since the period of the VOC, had always wanted a purer form of Malay i.e. High Malay to be promoted.⁴⁸ At the official level, therefore, High Malay was preferred by the authorities but among the common people who for practical reasons needed the language as a means to communicate, Low Malay was more practical as it was flexible and locally adaptable and served their ends. It was therefore not surprising to find Low Malay rapidly spreading in the major port cities and urban centres of Java and the Outer Islands. By the mid-nineteenth century, the language was given further impetus to develop and grow when newspapers and periodicals in Low Malay began to appear in the various cities and townships. The language was not only spoken by natives but also by Chinese, Europeans (be they full-blooded or Indos), Arabs and all other foreign orientals who lived in the Indies and were occupied

47. See Bintang Timor, No. 158, 13 July 1886.

48. According to Francois Valentyn, the famous cleric and student of the Malay language in Amboin, from at least 1660 the authorities at Batavia had been promoting High Malay, and in 1677 and 1678 they sent out orders for it to be used instead of the "low, common and intelligible (although degenerate) language". The VOC's Directors also expressed concern about the corrupted form of Malay and wished that it be "restored to its old purity". See John Hoffman, op.cit., pp. 68-69.

with one form of trade or another.

The Colonial Society

The foreign population was predominantly male. Unlike the indigenous population who lived in the desa / villages⁷ in the rural areas, the foreigners of various races lived mostly in the towns or cities. The majority of the foreign population was engaged in economic activity of some sort. The big coastal cities of Java, namely Batavia, Semarang and Surabaya, were heavily marked by their presence. The coastal cities in the Outer Islands, such as Padang, Medan and Makasar, were also leading commercial cities that attracted the foreigners.

Colonial society in the Indies was, since the days of the East India Company, largely based on racial distinctions. By the mid-nineteenth century full-blooded Europeans in the civil service, private business and army formed the upper-crust of the status hierarchy. Although Eurasians and Christian natives⁵⁰ were classified legally as Europeans, they in practice enjoyed lower status than the full-blooded Europeans. Next in the hierarchy were the Chinese and the Arabs, who began to arrive in large numbers in the early nineteenth century, with the bottom-rung of the social ranking occupied by the Muslim natives, commonly known as orang Selam.⁵¹

50. Many natives became Christians partly because they wanted to attain a higher status as Article 119 of the Reggerings Reglement stipulated that all Christians were "Dutchmen". Christian natives were also allowed to be married in civil courts and their children's names would be included in the Burgelijke Stand / civil registration⁷. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 43, 23 October 1869.
51. In terms of privilege, this hierarchy nevertheless did not necessarily mean that native Christians were favoured over Europeans and Eurasians in respect of employment opportunities, salary levels and social life even though the former might have had better education and had attained European civil status. See Milone, op.cit., pp. 148-149.

The population of Java around 1855 was about 10.9 million.⁵² Of this figure, the number of non-natives was slightly over 178,000.⁵³ The majority of them were Chinese. The number of Europeans including Eurasians settled in Java in 1856 amounted to 20,000 and were mostly officials.⁵⁴ Of them about half were Indos or Eurasians. But after 1860 Java saw an increase in the number of Europeans born outside the Indies.⁵⁵ In 1873 the foreign population of Java was composed of 27,448 Europeans, 153,186 Chinese, 5,608 Arabs and 16,456 people of other non-indigenous races.⁵⁶ The lure of the lucrative sugar industry and the opening of the colony to private enterprise had also induced many Dutchmen of good social standing to come to the Indies to seek better fortune. These Dutchmen were especially attracted to Java where by the early 1880's there arose a class of wealthy Europeans leading a life of splendour and comfort.⁵⁷

To understand the development of the press in the second half

52. Statistical material on population in the Dutch East Indies are of limited reliability. Much of the information on population available relate most exclusively to Java. For a general survey of the population in the Indies and present-day Indonesia, see Widjojo Nitisastro, Population Trends in Indonesia, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, in 1970.
53. See Ibid., p. 38, f. 18.
54. De Klerck, op.cit., p. 224.
55. In 1860 the Europeans numbered about 44,000. See Department van Landbouw, Nijverheid en Handel, Tijdelijk Kantoor voor de Volkstelling 1930, Volkstelling 1930, Vol. VI, Europeanen in Nederlandsch-Indië, Subsidiary Table No. 8, p. 31.
56. Selompret Melajoe, No. 20, 17 May 1873.
57. In 1883 the population of the Indies was reportedly 27.5 million. Out of this figure, 24 million were natives. See Bintang Timor, No. 223, 19 September 1885.

of the nineteenth century it is important to examine the role of foreigners, especially the Europeans and the Chinese. These two communities comprised the newspaper's readership in the early days of the press in the Indies. The European officials, businessmen and civilians were subscribers to the Dutch-language newspapers. But the Chinese, who were businessmen and urban dwellers, found newspapers expedient in the promotion of their business or trade so that when the vernacular press first made its advent in the Indies, they were the ones who came to support its circulation by becoming subscribers alongside the salaried priyayis or native officials.

Around the middle of the 19th century, the Chinese formed a sizeable part of the population in the principal cities of Java, namely Batavia, Semarang and Surabaya. They were also predominant in Sukabumi, Cirebon, Bogor and Malang. In the Outer Islands, Medan, Padang, Makasar and Banjarmasin were known to have considerably large Chinese population. These Chinese acted as a link between the indigenous population and the Europeans in the fields of commerce and trade. They were holders of the opium shops, pawnshops and gambling houses. While many of them possessed large shops selling European as well as Oriental goods, the poorer class went about as peddlars, carrying all sorts of wares deep into native villages.

There were two categories of Chinese. While most nineteenth century Chinese in Java were peranakan which meant that they could trace their ancestry to both Chinese and native descents, there were also singkeh or totok (full-blooded Chinese) who came to the Indies mostly from the South China provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien because of the lure of trade and fortune-hunting. Peranakan culture which originally developed in Batavia and Java, had through the years evolved a language which was a mixture of the Hokkien dialect and Melayu Betawi.⁵⁹ Although

59. Ibid., p. 199.

the peranakan adopted many elements of indigenous culture, they nevertheless retained the ideals of ancestor worship, respect for the elders, clan name exogamy and inheritance of father's name as well as traditional Chinese perceptions of religion and customs. The extent to which they adopted the native cultural elements varied from region to region.⁶⁰

By the middle of the nineteenth century the majority of the Chinese in the Indies consisted of peranakan. It was not until the 1860s that Chinese were directly imported to provide labour for the plantations and mines in the Outer Islands.⁶¹

Another group of peranakan whose role was extremely important in the growth and development of the vernacular newspaper in the second half of the nineteenth century was the Eurasian or Indo-European community. Like the Chinese peranakan the Eurasian community was born out of inter-marriage or co-habitation with the native women of the Indies.⁶² Although officially categorised as European the Eurasians were nevertheless inheritors of two cultures - European and native. In 1854 out of a total of 18,000 Europeans in Java, about 9,000 were actually Indos or Eurasians. As already noted, in the colonial social hierarchy, the status of the

60. While many peranakan Chinese for example, were identifiable by their having the shaved-head pigtail (up to 1911) and wearing the pajama-like costume of tunic and trousers similar to that of the singkeh, in the court centres of Central Java, wealthy upper class peranakan Chinese adopted Javanese language and customs, and beliefs although they still retained their Chinese names. In the Outer Islands in areas where the Chinese outnumbered the natives, a more substantial part of their Chinese cultural elements were retained. Peranakan Chinese, on the whole considered themselves Chinese vis a vis the natives, the Dutch, and the other communities. See Milone, Ibid., pp. 198-202; see also Koentjaraningrat, "Twentieth-century Rural-Urban Changes", see Soebadio and Sarvaas (eds.), Dynamics of Indonesian History, North Holland, Amsterdam, 1978, p. 364, fn. 43.

61. G. William Skinner, "The Chinese Minority", Ruth T. McVey, (ed.), Indonesia, New Haven, Yale, 1963, p. 98.

62. There were Eurasians or Indos whose European fathers had married their native mothers. But there were also Eurasians whose fathers had taken their mothers as unmarried "wives" more popularly known as nyai.

Eurasian in theory was within the European social ranking. Because of that some Eurasians felt superior to the natives and tried to distinguish themselves, as far as their means allowed, by wearing European attire and by insisting that the other non-European communities regard and address them by the term Olanda [Dutchmen].

In practice, however, the status of the Eurasian men was mainly determined by their economic position and educational background. Although there were some Eurasians who by virtue of their economic wealth, could share the top stratum of Indies colonial society with the full-blooded Europeans, nonetheless, a large number of them were clerks, junior army officers and civil servants who occupied a kind of middle-class position. Most Eurasians therefore lived on a lower social level, barely distinguishable from that of the majority of Christian Indonesians.⁶³ The Eurasians, in general, were referred to by the Indonesians as Sinjo or Njo in short, and spoke Dutch and Low Malay. Culturally, they seemed to have adopted elements from both European as well as Indonesian cultures. In the nineteenth century, however, relations between natives and Eurasians were generally not too amicable. The fact that the Eurasians were categorised as Europeans, thus placing them in the highest social caste, exacerbated the relationship. Religious differences also contributed to the racial polarisation.

Status ranking in the nineteenth century reflected the increasing influence of race as a criterion for differentiation. While the European class formed the apex of the status hierarchy in colonial Indies society and the Foreign Orientals (which included Chinese, Arabs, Indians and other Asians) occupied the middle rung, the native population formed the base of that hierarchy. Ethnic identification and separateness was

63. Milone, op.cit., p. 149.

cultivated through residential segregation. Thus in nineteenth century Dutch East-Indies, especially Java, the urban centres were predominantly characterised by the existence of separate quarters for Chinese, Arabs and natives.

The economic position of the native population in Java around 1850 was in a state of malady. Although the cultuurstelsel /cultivation system/ had seemingly benefited the aristocratic elite of Javanese society, the bulk of the native population, nonetheless, had not gained much from it. Between 1837 and 1851 there were substantial population movements as villagers tried to avoid labour burdens and poor conditions by leaving their agricultural land for the towns and larger cities, and moving out of the interior towards the coast.⁶⁴

The difficulties of the native peasantry of Java were already apparent by the 1840s. In the sugar areas where sugar cane was grown on the same land as rice, problems had arisen due to difficulty in rotating the planting and harvesting of the two crops. Sugar mills were also competing with rice agriculture for water supplies. As a result, cases of rice shortage began to emerge and the price of rice fluctuated according to supplies. Famines broke out between 1843 and 1848 followed by outbreaks of cattle plague and epidemics. The situation deteriorated when widespread hunger and poverty occurred in Central Java around 1850 and continued till 1858 and 1861. The sufferings of the natives of Java opened the eyes of many people regarding the great failings in the working of the cultuurstelsel.

One of those concerned individuals who disapproved of the way

64. See M.C. Ricklefs, A History of Modern Indonesia, MacMillan, London, 1981, p. 117. See also Robert van Niel, "Measurement of change under the Cultivation System in Java, 1837-1851", Indonesia, No. 14, October, 1972, pp. 98-107.

the cultivation system had abused the indigenous population was Dr. W.R. Baron van Hoevell, the editor of the Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indie [Periodical of the Netherlands Indies]. Baron van Hoevell was himself weary of the heavy-handedness of the government in controlling public opinion and muzzling the press. His intention to expose the failings of the cultivation system through the Tijdschrift had often been hampered by what he considered as blatant interference and continued harassment of the periodical by the General Secretary of the government who had the final say in determining what was printable and what was not.⁶⁵ Opposition to the cultuurstelsel also began to grow in the Netherlands, advocated by the liberals in the States General. Indeed, by the late forties, interest in the management of the colonies began to be increasingly voiced in the Dutch Parliament. A desire to acquaint members of the Tweede Kamer with affairs in the Indies soon led to deliberation for constitutional changes which were set afoot by 1848.

The Constitutional Revision of 1848 and the Promulgation of the Press Act

In 1848 constitutional reforms were instituted in order to give the Dutch Parliament more say in the management of the Indies. The newly enfranchised Liberal and Clerical party members criticized the excesses of the cultuurstelsel. The voice for change seemed to gain

65. A government resolution of 1844 absolutely prohibited the publication of material obtained from government sources irregardless of whether it was confidential or otherwise or whether it had scientific value or not. The acid test for this regulation came when an article written by Franz Junghun, himself a civil servant, was sent to the Tijdschrift for publication. The article, which gave impressions of a journey in Java made some unfriendly remarks about the regents in the Preanger region. When the said manuscript was sent to the General Secretary for his perusal and approval, the reply the editor of the Tijdschrift received was a reprimand and a threat to ban the periodical if the article was published. Its author, Junghun, was also threatened with dismissal and deportation from the Indies if he repeated the action. Exasperated with the government's uncompromising attitude with regard to the freedom of the press, van Hoevell left for the Netherlands in 1848, taking along with him the Tijdschrift and determined to bring about the abolition of the cultuurstelsel. See "Uit de geschiedenis van de Indische pers".

support not only from Dutch politicians but also from the middle-class who had grown wealthy on the profits which the Dutch economy had reaped from Java. The pressure to open up the cultivation system to free enterprise led to a call for more liberalization of the government's role in colonial economy and the lifting of some of the legal barriers that made private enterprise excessively restricted. Intertwined with this demand for private enterprise was the demand for a greater freedom of the press.

The outcome of the agitation for changes in the system of government based on liberal principles was the birth of the new constitution for the Netherlands East Indies, the Regeerings Reglement / Government Regulation⁶⁶ of 1854. This new constitution included Article 110 which concerned the press:

The supervision of the press by the Government must be regulated by ordinance in agreement with the principle that the publication of ideas and sentiments by the press and the admission of printed matter from outside the Netherlands must not be submitted to any restriction except such as is needed to ensure public order.⁶⁶

The above article did not prescribe how the supervision of the press should be but, nevertheless, it did produce a preventive supervision.⁶⁷

66. See S.L. van der Wal (ed.), De Opkomst van de Nationalistische Beweging in Nederlands-Indië; een Bronnenpublikatie, J.B. Wolters, Groningen, 1967, p. 240, fn. 2. On the Printing Press Regulation of 1856, see A.D.A. de Kat Angelino, op.cit., vol. 2, pp. 422-424; (Anon), "De Drukpers in Nederlandsch-Indië", Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, vol. 19, part 1, 1857; "Uit de geschiedenis van de Indische pers"; see also "Pers Reglement" in Djawi Kando, No. 88, 30 July 1907.

67. The following points, stipulated in the Press Act of 1856, illustrate the preventive character of the new press laws:

1. To practise the profession of a printer or publisher, one had to inform the Head of Local Government one month ahead (Article 1).
2. A security of fl.200,- to fl.5,000,- (to be determined by the Head of Local Government) had to be placed, subject to the Governor-General's alteration within the limit (Articles 2 and 5).
3. The printer or publisher was required to send a copy of his publication each to the Head of Local Government, the Officer of Justice and the General Secretary within 24 hours of publication. (Article 13).
4. The publisher held full responsibility for the contents of the

Failure to adhere to the regulation would jeopardize the chances of a printer or publisher to continue his trade. The Press Regulation also empowered the Governor-General to order the closure of the printing house if the transgression of the law was considered serious. Other preventive and also suppressive measures involved the confiscation of the offensive printed matter, imposition of fines or imprisonment terms, or both, to those found guilty of overstepping the press law. The final Press Act, however, did not come into implementation until 1856. When it appeared many who expected much of the envisaged press freedom were disappointed. What materialized from the Press Regulation of 1856 borne by the Royal Resolution of 8 April 1856 (Staatsblad / Statute-book 7 1856 No. 74) was nothing more than a preventive and repressive Act.⁶⁸ In the final analysis the Printing Press Regulation, or in Dutch the Drukpersreglement, was in effect meant to intimidate and curb the newly emerging press in the Indies.⁶⁹ This Press Regulation of 1856 was intended to stifle criticism of the colonial government by way of instituting preventive as well as repressive measures. It was within this background that the vernacular press emerged and developed in Indonesia.

(continuation of footnote no. 67)

newspaper he published when the author of an article could not be determined (Article 17).

5. Every article or news item sent for publication must bear the signature of the author (Article 18).

68. J. de Louter, Handboek om het Staats-en Administratief Recht van Nederlandsch-Indië, Amsterdam, 1914, p. 161.
69. When the Press Regulation of 1856 was first announced the number of Dutch-language newspapers in the Indies was still small. They were: The Java Bode, the Oostpost, the Soerabaijasch Nieuws en Advertentieblad, the Semarangsche Courant, and Semarangsche Advertentieblad. There were only two periodicals, namely the Opwekker, which was a missionary journal, and the Indisch Schoolblad.

CHAPTER II

THE GENESIS OF THE VERNACULAR PRESS

This chapter examines the early history of the vernacular newspapers and periodicals and the role of the people involved in the early growth of the vernacular press. The early press was essentially of three types. While many of the pioneering publishers were commercially motivated, there were others who had idealistic and enlightenment-oriented goals. Some aimed primarily to provide reading materials for the newly established native schools and teachers' training colleges while Christian missionaries saw the potential of the press for disseminating religion.

Apart from looking at the circumstances that led to the emergence and growth of the vernacular press in Java and the Outer Islands from 1855 to 1873, this chapter also discusses the spread of Western-type education through government and mission schools and its role in the development of the vernacular press. The chapter also examines the readership and contents of the three types of newspapers and periodicals, namely the commercial, enlightenment-oriented and the missionary.

The Pioneers

The history of the vernacular press in Indonesia opened when the Javanese-language weekly, Bromartani /All-Round Proclaimer/, made its maiden appearance on 25 January 1855.¹ Edited by

1. Bromartani No.1, 25 January 1855. This was probably the specimen edition which was circulated as a trial to test the response of readers and also to give widespread publicity to local residents in order to attract subscribers. This practice of circulating trial or specimen edition was carried out by almost all publishers or printers of new newspapers and periodicals throughout the nineteenth century. The first regular edition of the Bromartani appeared to have begun on 29 March 1855. See Bromartani, No.52, 23 December 1856.

C.F. Winter Sr.² and Gustaaf Winter, the paper appeared on every Thursday from the printing press of Hartevelt Brothers at Surakarta. The environment surrounding its birth is interesting and the circumstances that led to its emergence were many.

The Bromartani was founded after the Government Regulations of 1854 which had envisaged the relaxation of the Press Laws in the Indies. When the newspaper first appeared the Press Bill was still being debated in the Dutch Parliament. Whether it was a response to the promise of press 'freedom' spelt out by the Government Regulations of 1854 or merely a coincidence, the Bromartani nevertheless did emerge in an atmosphere of expectation for press liberalism just one year before the Press Act of 1856 was introduced. The severity of the Press Act when it finally materialized should however be placed in the context of the period when criticisms levelled at the Cultivation System of van den Bosch by the Liberals were taken up and amplified by the emerging private Dutch press in the Indies. The new Press Regulation was aimed at stifling these criticisms against the colonial government. Nonetheless, compared to the earlier period when government regulations made no mention of the press, the new Press

2. Carel Frederik Winter was a Eurasian born on 5 July 1899 at Yogyakarta. In his career he served as translator of Javanese language for the government. He also served until 1843 as instructor of the Javanese language in the Institute for the Javanese language at Surakarta. C.F. Winter Sr. was a reputed Javanese philologist and in 1844 with the collaboration of J.A. Wilkens he prepared the enlarged Javanese-Dutch dictionary. When the Normal school for teachers was set up in 1852 he again helped the principal, Palmer van den Broek, to translate and introduce pamphlets as reading materials for the students. He died at Surakarta on 14 January 1859. See Encyclopedie van Nederlandsch-Indië, second printing, Part IV, 1917, Leiden, p.786. See also, H. Kroeskamp, Early Schoolmasters in a Developing Country: A history of experiments in school education in 19th century Indonesia, Van Gorcum, Assen, 1974, pp.303-304, 306, 312, 315.

Act of 1856 could probably be said to be an improvement. Previously the government had the right to prohibit at random the publishing of printed matter and the Governor-General had unlimited powers to expel anyone who appeared to pose a threat to peace in the Netherlands Indies so that no one dared to risk publishing anything without getting prior permission from the government. Notwithstanding the severity of the new Act, it was considered by some to represent a limited advance and its was not improbable that this could partly be the reason for the founding of new private-owned newspapers, including the first vernacular newspaper, the Bromartani.

The Bromartani was in fact not the only vernacular publication which appeared in January 1855. A periodical entitled Poespitamantjawarna /Multicoloured Flowerbud/ appeared simultaneously with the Bromartani. Edited and published by Gustaaf Winter, the son of C.F. Winter Sr. who was also proficient in the Javanese language and literature,³ the periodical was also printed at the printing press of Hartevelt Brothers & Company. The Poespitamantjawarna was to appear once in every two months and every issue had 100 pages.⁴ In its maiden edition, the editor discussed in the first two pages the value of having a number of short pleasant stories in one magazine. The third page gave the full masthead of the Poespitamantjawarna and promised that it would contain the best short stories both in Javanese and translated from European language. The next seven pages contained the beginning of a story called "Harun Alrasyid of the Present Day" which was about an event in Algeria after

3. Tjaraka Welanda, No.4, 22 April 1855.

4. The number of pages given by the Tjaraka Welanda could be a misprint. One would think that the magazine had only 10 pages since to get articles from contributors during this period was no easy matter. The subscription rate for the Poespitamantjawarna was fl.15,- per annum if taken before the appearance of the first regular/ regular/ edition, or fl.18,- if taken later.

its conquest by the French. The editor, Mr. Gustaaf Winter, stated that he welcomed articles from contributors. Like the Bromartani, the Poespitamantjawarna could be categorized as an enlightenment-oriented publication since its literary cum educational orientation was aimed at providing the natives an impetus towards learning.

Both the Bromartani and the Poespitamantjawarna used the Kromo Inggil, the polite form of the Javanese language.⁵ This was of course not unusual since both publications were produced and circulated in the kraton-city of Surakarta. Surakarta, the capital city of the principalities of both Surakarta and the Mangkunegaran, where both the kratons of the Susuhunan and the Pangeran Adipati Mangkunegara were situated, was the seat of Javanese culture and traditions (besides Yogyakarta) and it was here that the royal families and nobility led a life in the traditional and aristocratic priyayi manner. In 1833 the city had seen the rise of the Instituut voor de Javaansche Taal [Institute for the Javanese Language] which lay the foundation for the study of the language by European philologists, among whom were J.A. Wilkens, T. Roorda van Eysinga and C.F. Winters. In 1843, when the Institute was abolished by government,⁶ literary activities were still pursued at a Javanese-language Centre in Surakarta by Javanese researchers such as Raden Panji Puspowilogo and Raden Ngabei Reksodipuro

5. Kromo Inggil is the refined form of the Javanese language used with the intention of respecting the people being addressed to.
6. The institute for the study of Javanese was closed because a college for the training of Dutch colonial civil servants (where the teaching of Javanese was also conducted), was set up at Delft in 1842. Unfavourable reports on the conduct of several of its students was also said to be a reason for its closure. See E.M. Uhlenbeck, A Critical Survey of Studies on the Languages of Java and Madura, Martinus Nijhoff, 's Gravenhage, 1964, p.46.

with the collaboration of the European scholars.⁷

In 1855 the total population of the region of Surakarta was 686,426.⁸ In the city the population, which totalled about 10,000, was multi-racial in nature. There were Europeans, whose preoccupation was mainly in the coffee plantations and running the shop houses in the city, and the Chinese. These communities lived in separate kampongs quite apart from one another and the native population. The Chinese quarter was also commercially busy, with their bazaars and all sorts of industries. The Javanese were engaged in occupations such as batik-makers and goldsmiths.

In the period when the Bromartani was introduced, the Susuhunan was Sampejan Dalam ingkang Sinuhun Kanjeng Susuhunan Perabu Pakubuwana VII who was also called Sunan Purbaya. He was known to be a benevolent and friendly person, who in 1852 was said to be ready already a very old man.⁹ It was he himself who had given the name "Bromartani" for the first Javanese newspaper to be published in Java. It was possible that the publication of the paper could have had the support of Pangeran Adipati Aria Mangkunegara IV also, whose reign commenced in 1853. This

7. These same people had helped the government in the implementation of the teachers' training college project in 1852. They had helped to write, edit and translate schoolbooks into Javanese for the teachers' college at Surakarta.
H. Kroeskamp, op.cit., p.304.
8. Widjojo Nitisastro, Population Trends in Indonesia, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1970, p.5. Cf. Dr. S.A. Buddingh, Néerlands-Oost Indie, Rotterdam, 1859, Pt.I, p.231.
9. He ascended the throne in 1830, succeeding Pakubuwana VI who was exiled in that year to Amboyna and died there in 1849. Susuhunan Pakubuwana VII died in 1858.
Dr. S.A. Buddingh, op.cit., p.232.

prince was a reputed historian, poet and musician.¹⁰ The initiative in producing the Bromartani was taken by Hartevelt Brothers and Company who had sought permission from the government to publish a newsweekly in Javanese. They had done so, they said, after having been urged by many Javanese and Dutch men to start such a paper. They said they were trying to satisfy these wishes with the help of the philologist, C.F. Winter Sr. and Gustaaf Winter, his son.

Surakarta by 1855 had become a centre for the dissemination of Western-type education among the Javanese, particularly among children of nobility. In 1852 a government primary school had been set up with 112 pupils studying in it. Apart from this there was the Mangkunegaran school which was attached to the teachers' normal school and was set up in 1853. This school, which had European teachers, was attended by children of the highest Javanese circles from the autonomous territory of the Mangkunegaran. The number of pupils soon rose from 11 to 30. It is significant to note that there was also a girls' school during this period but it had only 18 pupils.¹¹ Subjects taught in the Mangkunegaran school were reading and writing Javanese and Malay as well as arithmetic and geography.¹² The teachers' college had 13 pupils who were sons of native chiefs from all over Java. The college had its first Madurese boys in 1853, and in 1856 Sundanese boys also joined in.¹³

The emergence of these schools in Surakarta had given rise to the problem of books and reading materials for the pupils. The headmaster of the teachers' college, Palmer van den Broek, made constant

10. C. Lekkerker, Land en Volk van Java, Part I, Batavia, 1938, p.343.

11. Dr. S.A. Buddingh, op.cit., p.230.

12. H. Kroeskamp, op. cit., p.317.

13. ibid, p.311.

efforts to collect reading material for his pupils and therefore welcomed the emergence of the Bromartani and the periodical, Poespitamantjawarna. Indeed, it seems not unlikely that C.F. Winter and the Hartvelt brothers had the Surakarta pupils in mind when establishing the paper. Its contents seemed aimed both at school and college pupils and general readers. Articles which were related to science or physics such as concerning the weights of air, water and matter and news from different countries were definitely intended for the student teachers if not for the school pupils in general.¹⁴ For the genral reader, however, the Bromartani provided such items as news of deaths, births, sales and auctions, government decrees, appointments and promotions of officials, articles about development of agriculture and industry, hikayats and news which would arouse curiosity ifor the world events everywhere.¹⁵ Local news of events in and around Surakarta were also reported. In 1856 for example, the ceremony on the occasion of the accession to the throne of the new Sultan of Yogyakarta, Amangkubuwana VI, was closely followed and reported. The paper also had advertisements and notices of auctions and the time schedule for the depārture and arrival of ships.¹⁶

But towards the end of 1856, the paper began to suffer from lack of subscribers, apparently there were only 290, not enough for viability, which led the publishers to announce that trouble lay ahead for the paper.¹⁷ Because of the lack of progress in the recruitment of subcribers,

14. See Bromartani No. 1, 25 January, 1855.

15. Ibid. See also Bromartami No. 52, 23 December, 1856.

16. Examples of advertisements displayed were: auctions, sale of silverware, jewellery and furniiture by local European-owned shops in Surakarta. There were also advertisements on alcoholic drinks, cigars, vegetable oil, amd foodstuff.

17. See Circular from Hartevēlt Brothers & Co. dated August 1856.

the publishers, Hartevelt Brothers & Co., were forced to stop the publication of the paper since it was not making good business.¹⁸. Thus the last edition of the Bromartani made its appearance on 23 December 1856. However, the publishers expressed their hope that the cessation would only be temporary and expressed optimism that the publication of the paper would be resumed by others. They also hoped that the contents would be further improved. As it was the paper never reappeared until 1871 when a publisher at Surakarta, P.F. Voorneman, revived the Bromartani using the same masthead.¹⁹

In 1856, when the Bromartani was entering its second year of existence, E. Fuhri, a publisher at Surabaya, founded the first Malay-language newspaper in Indonesia, entitled Soerat Kabar Bahasa Melaijoe. Its emergence was announced by De Oost-post, a Dutch paper circulating in Surabaya. The maiden issue of the commerce-oriented Soerat Kabar Bahasa Melaijoe [Malay Language Newspaper]⁷ appeared on 12 January 1856 and its publisher promised that it would appear every Saturday.²⁰ In its first editorial, the publisher expressed his hope the Soerat Kabar Bahasa Melaijoe would serve to assist the merchants and shopkeepers of East Java. To achieve this end, notices and information regarding commerce would be inserted in the paper such as the time-schedule for the arrival and departure of merchants' ships, the holding of auctions

18. The Hartevelt Brothers & Co. said the Bromartani started off with fl.4,000,-capital for yearly expenditure in publishing the paper. But the subscription rate of fl.12,-per annum had not brought enough readership to support its circulation. See ibid.
19. The paper's subscription rate remained at fl.12,-per year.
20. The subscription rate was fl.10,- per year for residents in Surabaya and fl.12,- /free of postage/ for readers outside the city. The publisher, E. Fuhri & Co., informed readers that subscription fees should be settled before delivery could be made. The advertisement rate was fl.1,- for every ten words, plus stamp duty charges.

and the price list for market commodities in Surabaya. Because of its commercial orientation, one would expect the readership of the paper to be made up of the Chinese mercantile community and the Arab and native traders in the city. Its exact circulation figure is unknown, but its readership could not have exceeded more than three to four hundred,²¹ and it is not improbable that its failure to recruit subscribers was the reason why the publisher ceased its publication after its thirteenth number. It thus existed for only about three months. Its demise could partly be attributed to the fact that the paper did not have a permanent editor as was reflected by the omission of the editor's name on the front page. Even though it had tried to use Low Malay, it did not succeed in recruiting enough subscribers to maintain its existence.

The year 1856 not only saw the emergence of the first Malay-language newspaper in the Indies but also the birth of the first Malay periodical²² to be circulated in the archipelago. This monthly journal, called Bintang Oetara /Northern Star, first appeared on 5 February 1856; it was published by H. Nygh at Rotterdam and edited first by Dr. P.P. Roorda van Eysinga, the professor of Philology at Delft, who was reported to be a 'lover of the high Malay, the type used in Padang, Palembang and the other states'. The journal was first printed at the press of Stefanus Mostart & Sons at Rotterdam, and later at H.L. Smiths & Sons Press, 's Gravenhage. After the death of Dr. P.P. Roorda van Eysinga, the Bintang Oetara came to be edited by his son, W.A.P. Roorda van Eysinga. The new editor explained that since the periodical had a good market in Java, he would try to use a more simple form of

21. The Bromartani had only 290 subscribers when it ceased publication.

22. The caption beneath its masthead however read: 'Soerat Chabar baroe', meaning New Newspaper. But it was not at all a newspaper. There was no local news, only articles of literary nature.

the Malay language which he called Melayu luar or outsiders' Malay.²³

The periodical's distributor was Lange & Company, a bookshop owner at Batavia.

The Bintang Oetara was another enlightenment-oriented periodical which devoted its pages to Malay and Indo-Persian hikayats, pantun, articles of general knowledge and reports of events overseas from such distant lands as America and Holland. The hikayats were extracted from the Malay and Javanese texts such as Tajul 'Salatin and the story of Raden Mantri and Ken Tambuhan and also translations from the Arabian Nights and Indo-Persian stories such as "Hikayat Hatim Taya" /sic/. Other features of the Bintang Oetara were: Chess-playing, quiz and riddles, illustrated drawings of strange animals such as the kangaroo, bear and the elk, allegorical stories from animal fables and articles about places like Amsterdam, Istanbul, France, Russia and China. As an attraction for native readers, the editor also published stories with moral teachings, such as stories from the life history of Prophet Muhammad, his companions and members of his family. The journal was a literary magazine of sound quality, but this did not help to boost its sales. The literary form of Malay it used in fact became a liability to its continued circulation, for the Javanese and the Sundanese found it difficult to comprehend. Moreover, its subscription rate of fl.14,- per annum was too high for subscribers. Thus it was again for lack of readership that a vernacular periodical had to cease publication and by the middle of 1857 the name of the Bintang Oetara was no longer heard of. Even though its contents were enlightening and entertaining, and would have had an appeal among Malay-speaking readers.

23. But even the type of Malay used was still in the style of Abdullah Munshi, and not "low" as was used by the Soerat Kabar Bahasa Melaijoe.

About a year after the demise of the Bintang Oetara, Lange & Company, the bookshop proprietors at Batavia who had been acting as agent for the sale of the journal, launched their own Malay-language newspaper entitled Soerat Chabar Betawi [Batavian Newspaper]. Apparently the setback suffered by E.H. Fuhri with the Soerat Kabar Bahasa Melaijoe had not deterred Lange & Company from making another attempt at founding a Malay-language newspaper. The Soerat Chabar Betawi's first regular number appeared on 3 April 1858. Like the Soerat Kabar Bahasa Melaijoe it was also a weekly paper which appeared on every Saturday. The paper was printed both in Latin and Arabic script with every page divided into rumi and jawi columns displaying the same news or advertisements. It had six pages and used Low Malay. The paper printed news of appointments, promotions and retirement of civil servants and published notices of auctions, leases as well as government information or decrees intended for public consumption. Other forms of news included news of events in and around Batavia and other parts of Java, notices of the opening and closing of post offices, the arrival and departure of ships and news of creditors' claims on the property of deceased debtors. As was spelt out by Mr. Lange himself, the Soerat Chabar Betawi was aimed at disseminating news to all people in Batavia, Java and the Outer Islands. Judging from its contents, the Soerat Chabar Betawi was more like a commercial organ with advertisements and news concerning trade dominating its pages.²⁴ Nevertheless it did provide entertaining stories from the Arabian Nights as an inducement for lovers of hikayats or stories to become subscribers of the paper.

But the life span of the Soerat Chabar Betawi was also brief.

24. Examples of such advertisements were: Javanese and Malay language tuition given by a certain Mas Achmad of Gang Mataram; a Malay dictionary recently published by Lange & Co., the market prices of coffee, rice, sugar, cooking oil and rattan. See Soerat Chabar Betawi, No. 1, 3 April, 1858.

In spite of its attempt to put up a commerce-orientated image so as to attract the business and trading community of Batavia to read and subscribe to the paper, it failed to draw sufficient subscribers to support its existence. Moreover, like the other papers, its subscription rate of fl.16,- per annum was beyond the means of the lower priyayi and school teachers who could be potential readers of the paper. The Soerat Chabar Betawi must have ceased publication in 1858 itself, for no mention of its existence was made by the press following that year.

The period between 1855 and 1860 marked the first phase of the history of the vernacular press in Indonesia. It had been a period of experimentation for publishers who were keen to find a vernacular press, and the testing ground had been in the cities of Surakarta, Surabaya and Batavia. The period had seen the emergence of three weekly newspapers and two periodicals. Although the circulation of these papers and periodicals was only for a brief duration and their continued existence was marred by a sheer lack of subscribers, the venture made by the pioneer publishers of the vernacular press had nevertheless shown signs of possible improvement and the prospect of the vernacular press making a home in the provincial cities could not be ruled out if education became more widespread among the indigenous people of the Indies. The growth of schools and teachers' normal schools in the decade that followed did in fact contribute towards nurturing the growth of the vernacular press in the Indies.

The Growth of the Vernacular Press Between 1860 and 1873

The period between 1863 and 1871²⁵ witnessed a decisive turn in the education policy of the government of the Netherlands East Indies. By 1863 the question of native education had been taken up by Liberals such as Thorbecke and Fransen van de Putte, who called for greater efforts on the part of the Governor General to "strive after conditions that will create a general opportunity for the native population to receive education".²⁶ The Government announcement that after 1864 the higher posts in the civil service would be thrown open to Eurasins and natives also encouraged the Javanese priyayi to strive for Western-type education. Dutch schools, which had been closed to native children in 1848 had also begun to accept native pupils. The year 1864 was also important in the sense that the limit of fl.25,000,- as expenditure on indigenous education was removed. The number of native schools increased and an inspector of native education was appointed. With effect from 1867 the Department of Education, Public Worship and Industry was to take over the central administration of education. In Java, the period between 1849 and 1871 saw the establishment of 77 government schools.²⁷ These were Regency Kabupaten schools; apart from these there were another 72 districts of community

25. In 1871 the Fundamental Education Decree was issued by the Government at Batavia which among other things stipulated that teachers' colleges were to be built not in Java alone, but "in various parts of the Netherlands East-Indies". It also laid out the principle that "education at the schools for Indonesians shall be given in the vernacular". Further, the decree maintained that cost of government education should be fully charged to the public funds. All these stipulations were aimed at regulating the school system in detail. In short, it meant that greater attention was focussed on native education.

26. H. Kroeskamp, op.cit., p.238.

27. ibid, p.331.

schools which were financed entirely by the village communities. Other types of schools were the mission schools and private-owned schools. The government schools were largely found in Semarang, Surabaya, Surakarta and Batavia.²⁸ By 1871, the regency, community, missionary and private schools had about 4,850, 3,100, 350 and 100 pupils respectively, thus approximately 8,4000 in all.²⁹ For a densely-populated island like Java, this figure was infinitely small.

The Outer Islands fared no better. In 1860, Java established 41 schools while the Outer Islands set up 17 schools.³⁰ By the end of 1871 the number of pupils outside Java was just over 1,000.³¹ The question of shortage of teachers was partly the reason for the sluggish growth of schools. Up to 1871 only Surakarta and Bandung had teachers' colleges in Java. Sumatra first saw its teachers' college in 1856 which was set up at Fort de Kock. The Tapanuli region then had its teachers' college at Tanahbatu in 1862.³² Tondano had its teachers' college established in 1873 and Amboina's teachers' college was built in 1874. In 1875 two more teachers' colleges emerged, at Probolinggo in Java and at Banjarmasin. Makassar saw its first teachers' college only in 1876 and it was not till 1879 that Sumatra had another teachers' college built, this time at Padang Sidempuan.

The opening of the telegraph in 1856 and the introduction of the

28. Semarang, Surabaya and Batavia acquired their government schools rather late: Batavia in 1872, Semarang in 1856 and Surabaya in 1869, ibid, p.332.

29. ibid, p.332.

30. 'Het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië' in Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië, Third Series, 2nd year, Part 1, 1868, p.260.

31. H. Kroeskamp, op.cit., p.348.

32. The school was discontinued in 1864. H. Kroeskamp, op.cit., p.364.

modern postal service³³ in 1862 followed by the opening of the first railways in 1867 indirectly facilitated the development of the press as well. The postal service made it much easier and faster for publishers to deliver their papers to the subscribers as well as to receive news and contributions from correspondents. The telegraphic service facilitated editors in getting news and reports from governmental sources and other newspaper editors in a much quicker manner. All these, coupled with the growth of indigenous schools in Java and the Outer Islands, opened the second phase of the vernacular press history in the Indies.

On 1 August 1860, the weekly Selompret Melajoe /Malay Trumpet³⁴ made its maiden appearance in the city of Semarang. The paper, which appeared on Fridays, was produced by G.C.T. van Dorp & Co., a bookshop proprietor, stationer and printer, who was also the publisher of the Dutch paper, Semarangsch Courant. Semarang, a busy trading port for Central Java, in a region supporting a population of over one and half million people in 1860,³⁵ was also the capital of the residency of Semarang. The city, with its multi-racial population consisting of Indonesians, Europeans, Chinese and Arabs, was one of three great commercial centres of Java, ranking with Batavia and Surabaya. Together with these two cities and Padang in Sumatra, Semarang

33. Provisory regulations for the postal service came into operation on June 18, 1808. The mail coach service was used for overland postal communications in Java. Further developments came when postage stamps came to be introduced in 1864 and more post offices erected in the major cities under the direction of postmasters. See Arnold Wright and Oliver T. Breakspear, Twentieth Century Impressions of Netherlands India, Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Company, Ltd., London, 1909, p.200.
34. The paper's masthead in the early years was spelt Selompret Melajoe. Later on, from 20 January 1866 the spelling was corrected to 'Melajoe'. Although in the beginning the paper appeared on Fridays, later in 1865 it was out on every Saturday. Selompret Melajoe, No.3, 20 January, 1866.
35. Widjojo Nitisastra, op.cit., p.5

also became important in the newspaper world in the Indies.³⁶

Calling itself "soerat kabar bahasa Melajoe rendah", the Selompret Melajoe was produced with the promise of support from the mercantile community, particularly among the European and Chinese businessmen in Semarang. Unlike the pioneer newspapers, the Selompret Melajoe gave more prominence to advertisements³⁷ and its subscription rate was relatively inexpensive.³⁸ In order that its circulation was not restricted to the Malay-speaking readers only, the paper also had a page printed solely in the Javanese language. Its allocation of space for announcements of the appointment and retirement of both civil and military officials as well as providing names of officials taking leave or returning to Holland was certainly intended to court those in the Binnenlandsch Bestuur /Colonial Civil Service/, the Military and the priyayi ranks to become subscribers of the Selompret Melajoe. In its early years of existence the paper was extremely cautious in printing news or articles for fear that it might transgress the printing press regulation. The publisher, G.C.T. van Dorp, himself undertook to bear responsibility for material printed in the Selompret Melajoe and the

- 36. Between 1860 and 1900, there were seven Malay-language newspapers founded in the city of Semarang.
- 37. The advertisement rate was 50 cents for every 5 words with extra charges for stamp duty. But if the advertisements were to be included in the Semarangsche Courant as well, the advertisers would have to pay only 75 cents for every five words.
- 38. The subscription rate was fl.4,- per six months for all residents in Semarang. For those subscribers living outside the residency, the rate was fl.5,- and for readers outside Java the subscription rate was fl.7,50-per half year.
The Selompret Melajoe's agents were: Gabriel Gimberg & Co. at Surabaya, H.M. van Dorp & Co. at Batavia, P.W. Hornung at Rembang, J. Lapre at Banyumas and M. Blok & Co. at Ceribon.

name of the editor was not disclosed.³⁹ But beginning from 14 July 1866 in its twenty-eighth edition, the editor was made to assume responsibility of the paper's contents, thus indicating that the publisher had finally found a permanent editor for the paper.

Just over a year after the emergence of the Selompret Melajoe in Semarang, the city of Surabaya saw the birth of its second Malay paper. The Gimberg Brothers & Co., who had been acting as the distributing agents for the Selompret Melajoe in East Java, launched the proof copies of the Bintang Timor /Eastern Star/ in late 1861. The regular edition commenced on 10 May 1862. Like the Selompret Melajoe, the Bintang Timor was also aimed at serving the business community for the city and the regions in East Java, but the paper's circulation soon spread to other parts of Java as well as to places as far as Sumatra and Makassar.⁴⁰ It also used the simple form of the Malay language but unlike the Selompret Melajoe, only Malay was used. Fortunately for the two papers, in their early age they faced no competition in their cities of birth. It was not until 1882 that Semarang saw the emergence of another vernacular newspaper and for the Bintang Timor a rival paper emerged only in 1881. Freed from rival competitors, both the Selompret Melajoe and the Bintang Timor managed to prosper and both papers became very popular until the early eighties when other papers began to emerge in many places in Java and Sumatra.

The Bintang Timor, under the editorship of L. Magniez and O.Th. Schutz who succeeded him in 1868 appeared to be more interested in highlighting issues affecting the orang kecil /common people/. Reports

39. All letters to the editor were addressed to G.C.T. van Dorp.

40. Its distributing agents were: Morel at Semarang and Lange & Co. at Batavia. Around 1868, van Zadelhoff & Fabritius acted as agent at Padang and Sutherland at Makassar.

about poverty, exploitation of villagers by the Lurah /village heads/ and the soaring price of rice were often printed in the paper. However, due to an increase in the cost of printing, the Bintang Timor was forced to raise its subscription rate in 1868 to fl.15,- per year for subscribers in Surabaya and fl.17,- for readers outside the regions of Surabaya and Java.⁴¹ Appearing on every Wednesday and Saturday, the paper had four pages⁴² containing news of events in and around Surabaya, the Indies and Singapore.⁴³ Its overseas news /from Europe, China and other lands/ was categorized under the feature column named "News from the Mail" /kabar dari mail/.⁴⁴ It also reprinted extracts from the Dutch paper, the Javasche Courant, and news obtained from the government concerning civil servants such as the appointment and promotion of new officials. Other feature columns included letters to the editor, a time table for the closing of the post office and news relating to trade and commerce.

By 1869, having achieved some stability and consolidation of its position, the Bintang Timor advertised the post of correspondents in its pages. Readers from the various parts of Java were invited to send news and articles and in return they were promised free subscriptions to the

41. Compare the price of the Selompret Melajoe, which was fl.10,- per year but which was produced weekly.
42. In 1868 the folio size of the Bintang Timor was 29.5 cm. x 44.5 cm.
43. The price of market commodities in Singapore such as gambir, opium, spices, cotton and thread were published for the benefit of traders.
44. But news and articles concerning these countries were sensational such as the article taken from the Detroit Free Press (most probably extracted via one of the Dutch papers) concerning incestuous marriage between a brother and a sister. Bintang Timor, No. 25, March, 1869.

newspaper so long as they continued to submit news regularly.⁴⁵ They were allowed to use pseudonyms but their full names had to be attached and signed.

The emergence of the Selompret Melajoe and the Bintang Timor must have encouraged van Zadelhoff and Fabritius, a bookshop proprietor and a printer respectively at Padang, to found their own Malay newspaper. On 7 December 1864, they released the proof copies of the first vernacular paper in Sumatra, which they also named Bintang Timor. The paper's regular issues began on 4 January 1865 and it had four pages. In the editorial of its trial edition, the publisher stated that

they had long desired to produce a newspaper in the region of Sumatra, a newspaper using the Malay language that could be useful as a newspaper should be...⁴⁶

and asserted that hitherto news was reported only in the Dutch press which the native readers could not read, and thus it was only proper that a Malay-language paper be published.

The Bintang Timor appeared on every Wednesday evening, before the closing of the mail. Its contents were made up of news of events in Padang, and elsewhere in the Indies as well as overseas. Apart from that there was news which would interest the government officials, such as announcement of promotion and transfer or vacation of officials and reports of the Governor-General's Resolutions. Announcements regarding

45. Bintang Timor, No. 68, 25 August, 1869.

The vernacular press in this period did not employ full-time correspondents.

The Bintang Timor also offered free copies of the paper to readers who would find out the price of market commodities and foodstuff in Surabaya to be published in the paper.

See Selompret Melajoe, No. 29, 23 July, 1870.

46. Bintang Timor, Proof copy, 7 December, 1864.

the arrival and departures of ships and appointment and promotion of government officials were also published. News and notices concerning trade and commerce would serve to attract the Indonesian, Chinese and Arab merchants in Padang to become subscribers of the Bintang Timor.⁴⁷

To draw the interest of readers the Bintang Timor also provided a column for short stories which were published in series and extracted from the Arabian Nights. Other literary forms included the syair and the pantun.

However, the Bintang Timor of Padang survived only for a short duration, vanishing after June 1865.⁴⁸ Its subscription rate of five guilders per half year, slightly higher than the Selompret Melajoe, must have been too expensive for readers, and it is unlikely its readership exceeded 400 subscribers.⁴⁹ The inability of the publisher to distribute the paper efficiently and the fact that the name of the editor was never disclosed probably contributed to its short life for sheer lack of subscribers. Readers in Padang had to go to van Zadelhoff & Fabritius's firm at two o'clock on Wednesday afternoon in order to

- 47. Notices of auctions, sale of lotteries and price of market commodities were published.
- 48. The last copy traced was dated 14 June 1865, No. 24.
- 49. This was the average circulation figure of the Selompret Melajoe in the 1860's. It appears that even after existing for more than two decades, both the Selompret Melajoe and the Surabaya Bintang Timor only managed to achieve the circulation figure of 800 for each issue. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 66, 3 June, 1897. See also Bintang Soerabaja, No. 71, 27 March, 1890.

collect the Bintang Timor personally,⁵⁰

While van Zadelhoff & Fabritius were producing the Bintang Timor in Padang, the second Javanese-language paper emerged in Surakarta the kraton-city that had seen the birth of the Bromartani, the first vernacular paper in the Indies. This newspaper which was named Djoeroemartani [News Proclaimer] first appeared in trial editions in 1864 and then as a regular weekly paper starting from 5 January 1865 from the press of De-Groot Kolff & Co. at Surakarta. It was edited by F.W. Winter⁵¹ the assistant teacher in the teachers' college at Surakarta. Like its predecessor, the Bromartani, the Djoeroemartani also served to educate and disseminate general knowledge to the pupils of Surakarta. In 1867 the paper's publishing rights fell into the hands of Jaspers & Co. who produced the Djoeroemartani only for two years for in 1869 P.F. Voorneman took over the publication. Like the Bromartani, the Djoeroemartani also printed literary articles in the kromo Javanese form, especially in the Javanese tembang of which the editor was an expert. Its Javanese medium however meant that its circle of readership was restricted to the Javanese-speaking world but since Surakarta was the centre of Javanese intellectual activities then (because of the presence of the teachers' college and the Mangkunegaran school) the paper thrived and prospered, and in fact enjoyed a monopolistic position in the Javanese press world.

50. Bintang Timor, No. 1, 4 January, 1865.

Subscribers outside Padang did not have to pay for postage but it is doubtful if there were many subscribers from areas outside the city-port.

51. F.W. Winter, who belonged to the family of C.F. Winter Sr., was also an expert in the Javanese language. As an assistant teacher at the teachers' college he had introduced the tembang to students, i.e. the common way of reading Javanese by reciting in a singing tone to specific tembang melodies. Later, in 1868 C.F. Winter Jr. became editor and was succeeded by F.L. Winter in 1869. Selompret Melajoe, No. 45, 6 November, 1869.

Batavia, the capital and seat of the government of the Dutch East Indies administration, had not seen the emergence of a new vernacular paper since the cessation of the Soerat Chabar Betawi in 1858. It was not until 1867 that another Malay-language newspaper came to fill the vacuum.

In 1867 the missionary press of the English chapel at Depok, Batavia, was the most prolific in producing biblical literature for Indonesians, written in Malay as well as Javanese. The church, which also had a seminary, became a centre for learning, research and discussion on matters pertaining to evangelical work and programming. In his search for greater efficiency in method for the dissemination of the teachings of Christ, John Muhleisen Arnold, the clergyman attached to the seminary, struck a brilliant idea by thinking of the press as a useful and effective means of missionary propaganda. Realizing that a newspaper would be able to reach a wider circle of audience and its message might even be passed on to the others, Arnold approached the printer, Ogilvie & Co. at Batavia, to produce and print the Biang-Lala /Rainbow/, for which missionary weekly he himself would serve as editor. The name of the paper was adopted from the title of an Indies periodical published by the firm, Lange & Co. at Batavia, in the Dutch language in 1852.⁵² When it first appeared on 11 September 1867 -- initially every Wednesday -- the Biang-Lala had four pages and its subscription rate was fl.1.12,- per annum.⁵³ Like the other vernacular

52. The Biang-Lala was a Dutch literary journal consisting of stories, reports on travels, Javanese legends, poetry and various articles of educational merit. The journal was edited by W.L. Rittter and L.J.A. Tollens.
53. Later on in 1869 the paper appeared on Thursdays and as from 1872 it appeared on every Saturday.

papers, the Biang-Lala provided local as well as overseas news⁵⁴ but articles pertaining to Christianity and stories portraying good moral behaviour were given prominence and became a regular feature for the Biang-Lala.

The success of the Biang-Lala aroused the interest of others in publishing Malay-language newspapers. In 1868, less than a year after the Biang-Lala came into the vernacular press scene, the Mataharie /Sun/ arose from the press of Bruining and Wijt at Batavia. The paper was edited by Henry Tolson and its appearance at Batavia was not very welcome to the other papers, especially by the Biang-Lala which feared that the new paper might threaten its existence.

Meanwhile, in late 1868, a second missionary paper⁵⁵ was being published, this time in the Minahassa. The Minahassa had witnessed the rise of mission schools as early as 1817-1818 when the missionary Joseph Carel Kam founded schools in five coastal places namely at Menado, Tanawangko, Amurang, Kema and Likupang.⁵⁶ The number of schools increased when the Netherlands Missionary Society established its schools in the upland of the Minahassa. By 1850 there were no fewer than 80 schools with over 10,000 pupils. Of the districts in the Minahassa, Tanawangko,

- 54. Local news came from Ceribon, Semarang, Banjarmasin, Biliton, Celebes, Banka, Timor and other places whereas overseas news which were extracted from the Dutch press were about events in Europe, America, New Zealand, Japan and China. Other features included news of appointment of Goverment priyayi, notices of auctions, readers' letters and advertisements. The advertisement rate was 50 cents per 5 words excluding stamp duty charges. These advertisements which were usually printed twice in successive editions, contributed to the paper's viability.
- 55. It was actually more like a periodical. Although it called itself "kertas chabar Minahassa" /Minahassa newspaper/, it did not report much news but contained articles largely orientated towards Christian teachings.
- 56. The schools actually dated back to the time of the East India Company. See H. Kroeskamp, op.cit., pp.111-112.

Amurang and Tondano emerged as the nerve centres of the missionary activities and for the propagation of education. A teachers' college was set up in 1854 by Nicholaas Graafland.⁵⁷ Then in 1865 a school for the sons of native chiefs was set up also at Tanawangko.⁵⁸ Since the work of the missionaries had increased substantially, the training of assistant missionaries was urgently needed. Thus in 1868 a school for assistant missionaries was opened at Tomohon.⁵⁹ The expansion of education in the Minahassa had given rise to the need to acquire suitable reading materials for the pupils. Graafland himself had been busy trying to produce books in Malay but they were scarcely enough. To overcome this problem of shortage of reading materials he tried to collect materials which would educate the natives of the Minahassa regarding the virtues and vices of society based on Christian moral ethics. It was with this purpose in mind that Graafland hit upon the idea of founding a periodical which could not only fill the vacuum for reading materials for the schools but serve as a propagator of religious ideas and moral teachings for the indigenous people of the Minahassa.

As early as 1862 Graafland had already made preparations for publishing a monthly bulletin. He had heard of the existence of the Selompret Melajoe, Bintang Timor and other attempts to found the vernacular press in Java. So, realizing that the vernacular press could also be extended to the Minahassa so that the message of Christ could be fed to a larger circle of audience, he wrote to the Governor of the

57. Nicholas Graafland was sent out by the Netherlands Missionary Society to the Indies in 1849. The spread of education in the Minahassa in second half of the 19th century was largely the result of dedication and hard work of Graafland. For further details about his career, see ibid, especially chapters 4, 5 and 6.,

58. ibid, p.228.

59. ibid, p.233, S. Coolsma, De Zendingseeuw voor Nederlandsch-Indië, C.H.E. Breyer, Utrecht, 1901, p.577.

Missionary Society who shared his enthusiasm and quickly sent him a printing press. The missionary, Bettinck, trained in the operation of the press, was sent out to Tondano to establish the press, and some time in 1868, the paper, Tjehaja Siang [Glow of Daylight] was produced from the mission press at Tondamo.⁶⁰

The Tjehaja Siang was published monthly⁶¹ using the simple form of Malay but not as low as the Batavian Malay used by the Selompert Melajoe. Nor was it by any means pure Malay.⁶² It was edited by Graafland himself, assisted by correspondents and contributors who were largely made up of the assistant preachers or ex-students of the mission schools. The contents of the Tjehaja Siang were essentially religious and educational.⁶³ Essays about Christianity, proverbs,

- 60. Bettinck was also a teacher at the teachers' school in Tondano. According to Coolsma, the publication of the Tjehaja Siang was launched in 1867 but there is no evidence to support this. References made by other papers indicate that the paper was out in 1868 and began to appear regularly as from January 1869. See Coolsma, op.cit., p.582. Cf. Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, Vol.3, Part II, 1869, pp.386-389.
- 61. Later at the turn of the century it became a fortnightly paper. The subscription rate was fl.1.4,- per annum. Advertisement rate was fl.1.- per 10 words and each advertisement would be inserted twice. The paper had, in its infant stage, 4 pages but later increased to 6 and then 8.
- 62. Although the predominant language of the Minahassa was the Alfur language which consisted of several dialects, Malay was the language of the school, church and communication with strangers. It was the language employed by the chiefs and the Europeans. See G.K.N., "Een Maanblad voor de Minahassa" in Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, Vol.3, Part II, 1869, pp.386-389.
- 63. For example: about trees that gave shade to coffee plantations, about accidents of children caused by negligence of parents, about partial exemption from compulsory labour which had been granted recently to the population, about the harvesting of coffee and regarding how to extract sago from the sago palm and articles concerning hygiene.

puzzles, letter to the editor, some foreign news from seyeral parts of the world and articles relating to the histories of Babylon, Phoenicia and the Minahassa were published. Clearly it was the intention of the editor to enlighten his readers with articles of various sorts which would guide them in their social life as Chirstians. Religious articles were printed in a supplementary sheet /tambahans/ that accompanied the Tjehaja Siang. This was because the missionaries felt that such a supplement was needed for the majority of the Christian population of the Minahassa.⁶⁴

The Minahassa, an area of 90 square miles, had in 1869 111,000 inhabitants.⁶⁵ But even though education was relatively more widespread than in Java, nonetheless people in the villages were not acquainted with schools since education was restricted to the town areas. Thus the circulation of the Tjehaja Siang was very much restricted to areas where there were schools and missiomialy posts. In its early age the paper had only about 250 subscribers although Graafland had expected more.⁶⁶ But not all its readers were regular subscribers: some would read copies of the paper simply by borrowing from friends who subscribed. It was not uncommon then for periodicals or papers to be passed from hand to hand or their contents read or related to others by those who could read.⁶⁷ For many decades the Tjehaja Siang was the sole publication that circulated in the Minahassa. According to Graafland, as quoted by Kroeskamp, the periodical-paper "marked a new chapter in the history of

64. In the supplement were articles on meditations, reflections on biblical texts, pieces about the death and resurrections of Jesus Christ, and about heretic beliefs in ghosts and phantoms such as gurumi, suwunggi, pontianak, etc. There were also reprints of articles which had appeared in the Netherlands Missionary Society News.

65. G.K.N., "Een Maanblad voor de Minahassa"; op.cit., p.387.

66. H. Kroeskamp, op.cit., p.190.

67. ibid.

the development of the Minahassa,"⁶⁸ By 1871 its readership began to grow in strength which enabled it to be self-supporting, and it enjoyed a longer life than some other vernacular newspapers.

The development and characteristics of the Tjehaja Siang were shared by the Biang-Lala which also tried to propagate good moral behaviour among natives through the press. The main difference between the two publications was that the Biang-Lala was more like a newspaper, appearing weekly and giving much more space to news. In Batavia where the population was made up largely of Muslims, the editor of the Biang-Lala had to be more discreet in his essays and comments. Whereas the Tjehaja Siang could lash out at Muslims in any way the correspondents or editors liked, such as by printing derogatory stories about Islam and Muhammad, the Biang-Lala under J.M. Arnold was more diplomatic and sophisticated in comments about Muslims.⁶⁹ Arnold also published articles and news which would not totally alienate the non-Christian readers thus ensuring that the Biang-Lala would not be automatically rejected by the Muslim and Chinese readership even though the number of such subscribers was likely to be small. The paper also had the usual feature columns for announcing the Government's resolutions or decrees, appointment of priyayi, auctions and news about local events. However, the articles concerning Christianity and stories from the Bible were given priorities in the Biang-Lala. A time table for church services in Batavia was always available in the paper. With a view towards preserving the image of the Biang-Lala as a Christian paper, J.M. Arnold very often reminded readers not to send in news or reports about murder, thefts, law suits and defamatory articles because he only wanted to publish articles or

68. ibid.

69. He also refrained from criticizing Muslim religious leaders and he never criticized editors of the other papers although this was a common practice among editors of the vernacular press.

news which had religious content. But his correspondents made no pretence about their enthusiasm in downgrading the non-Christians particularly the Muslims.⁷⁰ It was not uncommon to find in the Biang-Lala articles condemning Islam as a backward religion as opposed to Christianity, the "religion of the king and government of Holland", which was progressive. The natives were often called upon to change their religion to Christianity and articles comparing the Koran and the Bible were also published. The usual contention of the Christians that Muhammad actually copied from the Christian, Jewish and Hindu religions was always emphasized. Many a time provocative articles which rediculed Islam and the Muslims appeared in the Biang-Lala but rarely would the Muslim readers reply to such articles. Even though Arnold made sure that the paper also publish news and articles that would interest the general readers, the items printed in the Biang-Lala, in most cases, had something to do with the Christian religion in one way or another. Even the readers' letters had something to do with the Bible. After all, the contributors of articles were mostly missionaries or Indonesian Christians who were studying at the Depok seminary.

Because of its missionary image the Biang-Lala could not have acquired a large number of subscribers. Its readers were possibly the assistant missionaries, teachers in the mission schools, missionaries in the missionary societies, some Chinese converts and Indonesian Christians as well as Eurasians. Its existence was in fact threatened in the beginning when the non-sectarian Mataharie emerged in mid-1868 at Batavia.⁷¹ The editor of the Mataharie would take every opportunity to

70. See for example, Biang-Lala, No.7, 18 February 1869, No.8, 25 February, 1869 and No.9, 4 March 1869.

71. According to an article entitled "Pungutan" [pickings], in the Bintang Timor, No. 49, 17 June 1868, the competition for subscribers between the Biang-Lala and the Mataharie was stiff and both papers were likely to suffer from extinction for sheer lack of subscribers.

snipe at the Biang-Lala and its editor. According to the editor of the Bintang Timor, the quarrel between the Biang-Lala and the Mataharie had emanated from a personal quarrel between the firm, Bruining & Wijt and John Muhleisen Arnold, editor of the Biang-Lala. Bruining & Wijt had approached Arnold and persistently offered to print and produce the Biang-Lala, but Arnold had refused the offer upon the advice of several friends. Because of this rebuff, Bruining & Wijt became angry and resolved to publish a rival newspaper to kill the Biang-Lala. Determined to bring about the collapse of the Biang-Lala, Bruining & Wijt tried to project their paper, the Mataharie, as heavily backed by the Batavian advertizers, by inserting all sorts of advertisements without actually charging any fees to the advertizers who, according to the editor of the Surabaya Bintang Timor, were not even consulted.⁷² But the campaign failed to drive the Biang-Lala from the press scene at Batavia; rather, it allied other papers with the missionary paper and its editor. Bruining & Wijt also tried to out-rival the Biang-Lala by publishing the Mataharie twice weekly, on every Tuesday and Friday. Its subscription rate of fl.4,- per three months was quite expensive, but its circulation seems to have extended to Singapore and other places outside Java.⁷³ Nevertheless, its stability was impaired due to its frequent change of

72. The Bintang Timor's editor, Magniez, also accused the editor of the Mataharie of being dishonest. He said the Mataharie's editor had been uncooperative and had stolen news from other newspapers without even bothering to investigate on his own whether the event reported was true. To this accusation, the editor of the Mataharie replied that the editor of the Bintang Timor was also taking news from other newspapers. See Bintang Timor, No. 76, 22 September 1869, No. 77, 23 September 1868 and No. 81, 7 October 1868.
73. This was indicated by the fl.7,- charge for a three-month subscription rate for subscribers in Singapore and outside Java. In the readers' letters' column, there was also indication that the Biang-Lala too was read by subscribers in Palembang. Biang-Lala, No. 36, 9 September 1869.

editors.⁷⁴ In the meantime, J.M. Arnold had stopped printing the Biang-Lala at the Ogilvie & Co. press. As from 1 April 1869 its printing was done by H.M. van Dorp, a notable bookshop proprietor and printer at Batavia whose address was given as Pintu Besar, Batavia. Beginning from that date the subscription rate of the paper was lowered to half (i.e. fl.6,- per annum)⁷⁵ The advertisement rates however, remained the same. Ogilvie & Co., having severed its connection with the Biang-Lala, founded a new Malay non-sectarian newspaper called Bintang Barat /Evening Star⁷⁶ The birth of this newspaper had certainly caused some stir in Batavia where there were already three Malay-language newspapers. But as from January 1870 J.M. Arnold had assumed full responsibility for the publication of the Biang-Lala by having its printing work done at the Mission Press at Parapattan, Batavia, which meant that H.M. van Dorp produced the paper for less than a year.

Once the paper was printed at the Parapattan Press, Arnold took a bold step to cut down the subscription rate of the Biang-Lala

74. J. Tolson served only for a brief period and was succeeded by J.S. Crawfurd who remained up to 31 December 1869. Under the next editor, Lo Tun Tay, the paper's popularity began to recede further. Lo Tun Tay appeared to be the first Chinese to hold the post of editor of a vernacular newspaper. Nothing else, however, is known about this gentleman. One could only speculate that he was a peranakan Chinese from Batavia since he was editing a Malay paper in Batavia. Selompret Melajoe, No. 53, 31 December, 1869.
75. That the subscription rate was lowered could mean that the paper received a subsidy from the missionaries. Biang-Lala, No. 13, 1 April, 1869.
76. Selompret Melajoe, No. 18, 1 May, 1869. The Bintang Barat could be said to have the same pattern of news and articles as the Bintang Timor.

to a mere fl.2,- per annum.⁷⁷ The business manager of the paper at Parapattan was a certain Incik Hassan, from whom the paper could be obtained post-free by readers. With every copy of the Biang-Lala a woodcut print was enclosed.⁷⁸ This print, which was normally a picture of scenery of different parts of the world such as China, Holland, England, or Russia, was given free to subscribers so as to induce them to continue subscribing to the paper. In this way other readers would also be attracted. These steps taken by Arnold had finally stabilised the position of the Biang-Lala and by 1870 the Mataharie was at last squeezed out of the vernacular press scene in Batavia. The appearance of the Bintang Barat therefore did not worry Arnold. As a Christian paper, the Biang-Lala continued to draw support from not only the Christian community but also editors of the popular papers like the Selompret Melajoe and the Bintang Timor. Its articles concerning religion and moral values were often extracted and reprinted by them. The man responsible for its long existence was of course Dr. John Muhleisen Arnold, whose patience and painstaking effort in disseminating the teaching of Christ had paid off handsomely. By April 1869, there was already a Malay school set up by the English chapel missionaries to cater for the education of Chinese, Malay /Batavian/ and Javanese children - both boys and girls. For those parents who could not afford

77. Biang-Lala, No. 47, 25 November, 1869.

This meant that the Biang-Lala had became the cheapest newspaper in the Indies. The editor of the Dutch-language, Insulinde, J.A. Uilkens, at Surabaya, said that the paper was subsidized by the Missionary Society. But Arnold denied it, saying that the financial assistance came from the Christians in local areas. Whatever may be the reason, the Biang-Lala was certainly subsidized by missionary funds. See Biang-Lala, No. 52, 30 December, 1869.

78. The Biang-Lala as a matter of fact had already been using woodcut illustrations since 1867, the first vernacular paper to have illustrations.

to pay fees, their children were exempted from paying,⁷⁹

The Bintang Barat appeared weekly, and was edited by J. Kieffer. With the cessation of the Mataharie in 1870 the Bintang Barat remained the only newspaper in Batavia that was non-parochial and which catered for readers of all races and religions. Its news was wide-ranging, providing information not only of local events but also from overseas. Like the Selompret Melajoe and the Bintang Timor, the Bintang Barat too extracted and obtained news from the Dutch press as well as religious articles from the Biang-Lala. Like the Semarang and Surabaya papers, the Bintang Barat also obtained cable news from the government.

Questions of native welfare and complaints raised by Chinese readers were often published by these three large Malay-language papers of Java. The editor of the Selompret Melajoe was known to be open-minded and liberal. He encouraged readers to debate and discuss issues such as the unpopular travel passes and the inefficiency and corruption of village heads. Judging from the readers' letters one could ascertain that the readership of these papers was by and large made up of Chinese peranakan and indigenous priyayi bearing titles such as Raden and Raden Mas. Because of the fear of being charged for sedition the editors of the Selompret Melajoe and the Bintang Timor would regularly remind correspondents and letter-writers not to fail to supply their full names and the names of people they were reporting about. But in the news published, names of persons were generally omitted; instead only their initials were used. Criticisms against the Binnenlandsch Bestuur officials were rarely made; the European officials in particular were considered 'above criticism' because the threat of punishment for persdelict /press offence/ was very real for people criticizing the officials of the government.

79. Biang-Lala, No. 16, 22 April, 1869.

Apart from this the editor usually asked for detailed proof or evidence of witnesses before allegations of corrupt practices or misuse of power by officials could be printed.⁸⁰ But native officials such as the Lurah and the Wedana were constantly the target of attacks by editors and correspondents.⁸¹ Readers were in fact encouraged to expose any abuse of authority by their chiefs in the vernacular press.⁸² As the Djoeroemartani and the Selompret Melajoe proved, hardships imposed on the orang kecil /little people/ by the native officials were indeed exposed by the papers. Trials of cases held in court were closely followed and reported in the Surabaya Bintang Timor and the Selompret Melajoe and for this a special column for legal cases was allocated.

The decade between 1860 and 1870 was indeed a period of consolidation for the vernacular press. Out of the five newspapers in

80. Bintang Timor, No. 12, 8 February, 1868.
81. The editors of the Bintang Timor and the Selompret Melajoe both concurred that officials such as the Wedana and the Lurah were duty-bound to serve the people. They also reminded the officials that any priyayi who abused their positions and power were liable to be imprisoned between 5 to 10 years. Bintang Timor, No. 12, 8 February, 1869.
82. The editor of the Bintang Timor was thankful that in Java at that time there were three Malay newspapers and one Javanese paper which he regarded as the guardian of the orang kecil's interest. He said, had there been no newspapers, the arbitrary actions of the native officials and their corruption would go unchecked and unnoticed. See ibid and Bintang Timor, No. 57, 16 July, 1968.

Java and one in the Minahassa,⁸³ the Bintang Timor and the Selompret Melajoe were the most lively and hence the most popular. News from both papers were extracted and often reprinted by the other papers. By this time the readership of the three major newspapers of Java consisted mainly of Chinese peranakan, native priyayi⁸⁴ and European Eurasian/ traders and officials. That the publishers and editors of the vernacular press were conscious that the interest of readers should always be maintained, especially the indigenous and peranakan groups, was evident from the articles and short stories printed regularly which always had something to do about China and Turkey or stories taken from the Malay and Indo-Persian hikayats and Chinese classics. The average circulation for a newspaper like the Bintang Timor or Selompret Melajoe was between 400 to 600. Some well-to-do readers, however, subscribed to more than one newspaper but this was not generally the case as the price of newspapers was expensive for the junior clerks, and school teachers whose pay ranged between 20 to 30 guilders a month.

By 1870, the Djoeroemartani too was already well established but its circulation was restricted to the literate Javanese of Surakarta and Yogyakarta. The Bintang Barat which was beginning to strengthen its position was fortunate in the sense that its rival at Batavia was only the Biang-Lala, which because of its religious image, would probably not appeal far beyond a Christian readership even though its subscription price was the lowest. Owing to the problems in distribution and circulation and the contents of a newspaper being provincial-orientated, the press of this period was generally provincially based and was usually in

83. Bintang Timor, Selompret Melajoe, Djoeroemartani, Bintang Barat and Biang-Lala in Java, the Tjehaja Siang in the Minahassa.

84. Priyayi included native officials serving in the inlandsch bestuur /native administration/ as well as the dokter djawas, teachers, magang /unsalaried officials/, clerks and interpreters.

the form of weeklies. The only paper that seemed to cut across the provincial-barrier was the Biang-Lala, which, as a missionary paper, was distributed to all parts of Java, bearing the message of salvation for Christians as well as new and potential converts of the religion.

Because of the problem of distribution, many subscribers complained that their papers were sometimes delayed or stopped at many places before they received them and at times were read by others first before the papers reached them.⁸⁵ The postal officials and despatchers themselves were blamed for inefficiency and thus causing delay in the delivery of papers. There was nothing much the publishers could do except to urge their subscribers to contact the post office clerks and lodge their complaints. Despite all these teething problems faced by the newspaper business, by 1870 the newspaper had become a social phenomenon at least among the native and Chinese intelligentsia and the use of the newspaper as an agent of intellectual development and social change would be felt in the decades to follow. The rise of the vernacular press in the Indies could not be excluded from the general development which was taking place in the outside world and the numerous changes that were affecting the colony.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 marked a turning point in the economic exploitation of the Indies. The shortening of the sea-route from Europe to the East opened the door for a greater flow of European-made goods to the Indies and likewise the export of the Indies' raw materials to the mother-country. In the preceding decade the laying of the foundation of economic exploitation of the Indies had given the Netherlands a large amount of net profit through capital investment. But with the opening of the Suez Canal Java became a gold mine for private

85. Selompret Melajoe, No. 25, 25 June, 1870.

entrepreneurs. Major products and plantations were placed in the hands of European investors and the new economic incentives encouraged emigration of European private citizens to the Indies to try their fortune.⁸⁶ Sugar was the chief spur of the capitalists but coffee and tobacco were other major products which brought affluence to the planters. Thus the decade following 1870 saw the emergence of a European land-owning class with an exclusive style of life while the economically viable urban centres became a focal point of European society, whose members not only manned the bureaucracy but also controlled the business houses in the cities.⁸⁷

Coupled with the opening of the Suez Canal was the introduction of the new Agrarian Policy in 1870. That 1870 was a very special date in the history of modern colonial Indonesia could be seen in the context of the rise of the Liberals in the Dutch Parliament over the Conservatives. The pressure exerted by these Liberals led to the Agrarian Act enactment. The new law gave a legal basis for the extension of European private enterprise and economic freedom.⁸⁸ The increasing role of European capital and enterprise in the plantation, mining and other industries could not but affect the growth of the vernacular press, whose initial start as an advertising-medium for European goods in the Indies was given further boost in the decades following 1870. As the economy began to progress, so did the press industry begin to expand. As was mentioned earlier, the chief press centres in Java were the principal port-cities

86. By 1872 there were 36,467 Europeans and the figure rose to 43,738 in 1882. The new economic expansion, however, had very little effect on native production. J.S. Furnivall, Netherlands India, Cambridge [reprint]. 1967, p.195.

87. Robert van Niel, The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite, The Hague, 1970, p.7.

88. The Agrarian law of 1870 made it possible for private European entrepreneurs to acquire land for plantations. They could rent native land for relatively short periods; out long-term leases up to seventy five years could be obtained from the Central Authority.

of Batavia, Semarang and Surabaya, with Surakarta and Yogykarta as the bases for the Javanese-language newspapers.

By 1870, Batavia city was a hive of commercial activities. The population was cosmopolitan, with Europeans, Chinese, Javanese, Sundanese and the Betawi community forming what Furnival termed the classic example of the plural society.⁸⁹ The residency of Batavia had by this time a population reaching almost two millions. Although the city had seen a rather slow growth of the vernacular press in the preceding decade, nevertheless after 1870 Batavia emerged to be a fertile ground for the expansion of the vernacular press due to its economic viability and heterogeneous population.

In 1872 there emerged a commerce-orientated newspaper from the press of H.M. van Dorp & Co. The Hindia-Nederland [Netherlands Indies], as the paper was called, exploited to the fullest the source of advertisements derived from the many business firms in the city, thus enabling it to compete confidently with the existing Bintang-Barat and Biang-Lala. The Hindia-Nederland rose quickly as a popular paper and was able to equal the popularity of the Selompret Melajoe of Semarang and the Bintang Timor of Surabaya. Its sales reached various parts of Java. Appearing twice weekly, the paper's subscription rate was fl.1.12,- per annum and its front page was dominated by advertisements.⁹⁰ Although it had only two pages, the paper's presence in Batavia began to affect the circulation of the Biang-Lala which appeared to have ceased publication temporarily⁹¹ and was only re-published on 13 July, 1872

89. See Furnivall, op.cit., pp.348-355.

90. The advertisement rate was 50 cents for every five words with extra charges for stamp-duty.

91. See Bintang Timor, No. 60, 27 July, 1872. It was said that when the Biang-Lala re-appeared, it was printed on better quality paper.

under a new editor, F.L. Anthing.⁹² By January 1, 1873 the missionary Biang-Lala changed to a new name - Bintang Djohar /Evening Star/. The paper also altered its format by having the last page printed in Dutch. Its subscription rate was raised again to fl.2,20 for half year's subscription. Another glaring change was that it now had to include more advertisements in its pages.⁹³ All these changes indicate that the paper had to adopt a new image as its life was now threatened. Its failure to win over the Malay-speaking readers compelled the editor to depend on the Dutch readers by having a page printed in that language. F.L. Anthing served only for about a year for he was later succeeded by a certain A. Robertson, possibly another missionary. But the contents of the Biang-Lala continued to be "articles of religion and news from many places".⁹⁴

The emergence of a new paper in Batavia and the adoption of a new masthead title by the Biang-Lala were not the only changes taking place in the vernacular press scene in the Indies around this period. In 1871, the Chatelin Press at Padang, Sumatra, launched the specimen

- 92. F.L. Anthing was Deputy President of the Council of Justice but while serving in the legal profession he was also an active member of the Society for Home and Foreign Missions /Genootschap voor In-en Uitwendige Zending/ and did a lot of work in recruiting native Indonesians for carrying out evangelistic work. His missionary work among the Sundanese was notable. At the time when he became editor of the Biang-Lala he was fifty two years old. See Th. Muller Kruger, Sedjarah Geredja Di Indonesia, Badan Penerbit Kristen, Jakarta, 1969, pp.194, 204. See also K.S. Latourette, op.cit., p.283.
- 93. Tan Eng Ho, a Chinese, was responsible for advertisements. Bintang Timor, No. 60, 27 July 1872.
- 94. ibid.

copy of the Bintang Parnama /Radiant Star/⁹⁵ But the paper apparently did not survive very long. Like its predecessor, the Bintang Timor, this second Padang newspaper also failed to capture the interest of the Sumatra's West Coast literates. Padang seemed just not ready yet for supporting a vernacular paper. In the same year when the Bintang Parnama made its maiden appearance, the Javanese Djoeroemartani of Surakarta also changed its name to Bromartani, thus reviving the name of the first vernacular paper in Indonesia. The paper was still printed and published by P.F. Voorneman and was circulated primarily among the Javanese intellectuals of Surakarta.

Although the post-1870 period could be regarded as a period of expansion for the native press, nevertheless the economic foundation of the press was still shaky and sale of newspapers was competitive and unstable. It was difficult for publishers to recruit readers to subscribe regularly. Various means of procuring readers' interest were tried, namely the publication of hikayats, Chinese stories of ancient times and Malay pantuns and syairs in order to provide light entertaining reading to readers. The Selompret Melajoe even tried to provide a glossary of the difficult Malay words used in the hikayats in order that Javanese readers and those who were not too familiar with Malay literary terms could read the stories with full comprehension. This also helped the peranakan Chinese readers to familiarise themselves with the Malay language. Even poetry in 'Low" Malay was published. However, the

95. The specimen number was issued first on August 28, 1871. The paper was to appear regularly commencing from January 1872. But no mention of its existence in 1872 was ever made by other newspapers. It was possible that the publisher was quite disheartened by the lack of response from potential subscribers and abandoned the idea of continuing publication. But it was also possible that the paper did appear in 1872 for a brief period. The subscription rate of the paper as reported by the Bintang Timor of Surabaya was f1.10,- per annum. It also appeared on every Thursday. The paper's chief editor was Mr. Chatelin himself. See Bintang Timor, No. 73, 13 September, 1871. See also Selompret Melajoe, No. 37, 16 September, 1871.

question of subscribers remained a problem for all the publishers.

Many subscribers neglected to pay their subscription for as long as two years. This loss in subscription returns was generally the main cause for the short life of newspaper. At times the editor and publisher even had to issue threats that the names of subscribers who failed to pay their debts would be published together with their ranks and addresses.⁹⁶

However, following the issuing of the Fundamental Education Decree in 1871 when more indigenous schools were set up and the question of education began to win the notice of the priyayi, the image of the newspaper as a source of knowledge and an intellectual pastime began to take hold, especially among those priyayi who had a thirst for knowledge. Through propaganda waged by the press about the importance of education and learning, priyayi associations or clubs began to emerge for the first time in 1872 with a special motive of instilling the habit of reading among priyayi gentlemen. The priyayi in the residency of Tegal, for example, had started such a club by requesting each priyayi to contribute fifty cents to the treasurer of the club in order to buy story-books and to subscribe to the Malay and Javanese newspapers. The club enabled members to borrow books by taking turns and to read newspapers. Once a year the books were auctioned and the money obtained was used to purchase

96. Both the Selompret Melajoe and the Bintang Timor regarded this as the only means of checking subscribers from failing to pay their subscription dues. Some of the subscribers who were late in settling their subscription dues were Regents and Wedana. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 40, 7 October 1871 and Bintang Timor, No. 65, 14 August, 1872.

new reading materials.⁹⁷ Indeed, this primitive form of library became a feature of most priyayi clubs and associations in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It was in these reading-clubs or what the priyayi then called leesgezelschap that the habit of reading and following the events reported in the press was cultivated.

Conclusion

By the early 1870's the vernacular press had already established a strong foothold in the principal cities of Java and the Outer Islands. While the early years witnessed the emergence of enlightened newspapers and periodicals, edited by Dutchmen and Eurasians having linguistic and literary inclinations, the press that developed in the sixties and seventies appeared to be more commercially-inclined, and missionary-oriented. The development of the press during the period also shows that its growth and expansion were more rapidly taking place in the coastal cities where the readership was multi-racial and the environment was urban and cosmopolitan. It was also in the port cities that Low Malay developed and became the medium of the vernacular press, even though Javanese continued to function as the language of newspapers in the cities of the vorstenlanden /central Javanese principalities⁷.

97. Selompret Melajoe, No. 8, 22 February 1873, quoting report from Bromartani.

The idea to found the reading club came from the Controleur, C.M. Ketting Olivier, who spoke to the Regent of Tegal about it; the Regent himself was an avid reader of books and thus supported the idea. It is interesting to note that the Regent himself told the Controleur to announce his intention formally to the priyayi so that it would appear that the call for establishing a reading club was a perintah halus /gentle command/ from the Regent and that the priyayi in Tegal would regard it as almost compulsory for them to become members. The result was that Ketting Olivier managed to get sixty members categorised into three raking status, the first having to pay fl.1,50-, the second fl.1,- and the lowest ranking priyayi paying only fifty cents.

See Bintang Timor, No. 36, 7 May 1873.

It seems clear that the period of the 1870's and after was to chart a new development in the history of the vernacular press. Its growing importance was marked not only by an increase in the number of publishers and editors but also by the interest shown by readers of different groups towards the press. Its future development then would depend not only on the efforts of the Dutch publishers and Eurasian editors but also on the participation of the peranakan Chinese and Indonesians. However, it was the Eurasian editors who first showed the way to run a newspaper and to utilise it as an agent for social change. The following chapter will examine the role of the Eurasians in the development of the vernacular press.

CHAPTER III

THE SECOND STAGE: THE
INVOLVEMENT OF THE EURASIANS

The last quarter of the nineteenth century marked a new era in the history of the vernacular press. The period saw the birth of competition, which extended at times to intermittent polemics between editors and among publishers of the press industry; it also witnessed new themes in the vernacular press which reflected the changes which were beginning to take place in Indies colonial society. The sudden upsurge of interest shown by the publishers and editors was itself a new phenomenon in the development of the vernacular press. In the last two decades of the past century there were announcements almost every year about the emergence or planned launching of a newspaper in the major cities of Java and, to a lesser extent, in the Outer Islands. Those decades also witnessed an increasing number of native Indonesians and peranakan Chinese entering the field of journalism, either as correspondents or editors. Judging from the readers' letters to the editors and the issues they deliberated in the pages of the press, the Netherlands East Indies was, in the last quarter of the past century, in the throes of socio-economic changes, with different social groups grappling to come to terms with the transformation.

For the European printers, editors and publishers, the printed press was just another form of economic pursuit laid before them by the expanding Dutch capitalist economy, the cornerstone of the free enterprise system upheld by the Liberals in the Netherlands. For these Europeans, be they full blood /totok/ or Eurasians, the gamble in the expanding printing industry was something worthwhile to put their stake on, because the vernacular press could not be separated from the motives of trade. Since its inception, the vernacular newspaper had distinctly

identified itself as soerat kabar dan advertentie or "news and advertisement paper". It was therefore characteristic of the newspapers of the last century to devote at least half or, sometimes, as much as two thirds of their pages to advertisements. The kinds of advertisements being printed also suggest that the newspapers of the period were aimed at those people who could afford luxuries although the ordinary man in the street and the small traders and artisans were not entirely forgotten.¹ Indeed, the success of a vernacular newspaper during the whole of the nineteenth century was very much determined by the ability of editors and publishers to sustain the continuous support in the form of regular placements of advertisements by the big merchants and well-known business houses. The primal interest of newspapers in trade and commerce was clearly demonstrated by energetic editors who would strive to encourage correspondents to survey the daily market prices of consumer goods in the cities and then have them printed in the newspapers.² For the vernacular press, the advertisements were also meant for the perusal of businessmen and trading agencies in Europe who were potential investors

1. The advertisements were varied. Apart from the advertisement of merchandise such as perfumery, stationery, liquors, cigars, jewellery, haberdashery, drapery, housewares, watches and clocks, medicinal pills, jamu / traditional Indonesian herbal tonics /, furniture and the musical instruments, there were also advertisements of employment opportunities, time tables for the arrival and departure of ships and mail, tendering contracts for building houses, public auctions and obituaries. The advertizers were generally European businessmen and Chinese shop-keepers. The cost of advertising was an average of five cents per word. Considering that a Wedana's clerk's average pay was only about fl. 20,- a month, the cost of advertising could hardly be considered cheap. Furthermore, advertizers were also required to pay stamp duty / zegeel / which ranged between thirty and forty cents for an advertisement of less than fifty words, and sixty cents for up to a hundred words. The stamp duty was only waived by the government beginning from January 1, 1886. Bintang Timor, No. 3, 5 January 1886.
2. The editor of the Bintang Timor would even offer a free subscription to the paper to anybody who could submit regularly the price list of consumer goods and foodstuff in the Surabaya market. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 29, 23 July 1870.

in the Indies. For this purpose, the major newspapers in the Indies joined together to appoint an agent to represent the vernacular press in Europe. The duty of the appointed agent was to recruit subscribers among the mercantile community by distributing copies of the vernacular newspapers and drawing their attention to the lure of trade with the Dutch East Indies. The agent was also responsible for establishing contacts with individuals and trading firms in European capitals who were likely to be interested.³ It was presumably because of the interest in the promotion of trade between Europe and the Indies that induced some Dutch firms to publish Malay-language newspapers in Holland in the early 1890s.⁴ However, while trade and profit-making were important elements in the newspaper industry, the dissemination of news among the small literate community was also a principal aim of editors and publishers. As had been pointed out earlier, even the missionaries found the vernacular press a useful and convenient medium in the propagation of Calvinist Christianity among the natives and Chinese peranakan. In this regard, the Bintang Djohar had indeed played an important role as a missionary weekly.

3. The Bintang Timor, Hindia-Nederland, Selómpret Melajoe and Bintang Barat had the same agent in Europe. He was E. Elsbach whose address was given as Rue Milton 8 (and later Rue Oddener 107), Paris. He was said to have had contacts with fifty major manufacturers and firms in Europe, in 1884. On the other hand, the Tjahaja Moelia had G. Gimberg who was stationed at the Hague. Tjahaja Moelia, No. 2, 3 July 1883.
4. The first attempt was made by Holdert & Co., of Amsterdam when it launched the specimen issues of the India Nederland in October 1890. The paper, however, did not survive very long; but in 1893, the printers Pijtersen and Nieuwenhuizen produced the fortnightly, Pewarta Bumi / the Globe's Reporter at Amsterdam and edited by a retired Indies official, Strikwerda. This paper lasted until 1911 and was essentially an advertisement paper. Both the short-lived India Nederland, and the Pewarta Boemi were circulated in the Indies.

It was not until four years after the emergence of the Bintang Djohar in 1873, that a new newspaper was launched, this time in Padang, a thriving commercial port in the west coast of Sumatra. On Tuesday, 20 March 1877, Arnold Snackey, a former Malay-language translator became the third man to have attempted to produce a Malay newspaper in Sumatra when he published the weekly, Bentara Melajoe /Malay Herald⁷. Being a resident of Padang himself, and possibly taking into account the teachers' college at Fort de Kock (which he thought could provide a substantial number of subscribers), Snackey had the paper printed in one of the printing firms in the city.⁵ The paper had four pages but only a quarter of a page was given to advertisements.⁶ But like its two predecessors at Padang, the Bintang Timor of Sumatra and the Bintang Parnama, the Bentara Melajoe failed to find a market. By 11 December 1877 Arnold Snackey was compelled to announce that the publication of the weekly would cease temporarily because, according to him, he was ill and even his typesetter and helpers were down with fever.⁷ He promised that the publication would be resumed in due course. But the Bentara Melajoe never did make a comeback. According to an observation made by J. Klein, the editor of the Hindia-Nederland, the Malay language of the Bentara Melajoe was too 'high', thus accounting for its failure to attract subscribers in Java. He also felt that had the paper been printed in the Jawi /Arabic⁷ characters, there was a probability that

5. The paper was printed at the press of H.J. Klitsch & Co. But as from 13 November 1877 its printing was done by the Chatelin & Co. Press, also at Padang.
6. The subscription rate for the Bentara Melajoe was fl.12,50 per year. The cost of advertisement was at eight cents per word. Charges would be reduced to half if the advertisements were to appear more than once. Bentara Melajoe, No. 1, 20 March 1877.
7. Bentara Melajoe, No. 38, 11 December 1877.

it might have lasted longer (Klein was obviously thinking of the Minangkabau Malays who would most likely have been attracted by the Arabic characters if used).⁸ While the Jawi form of the Malay language was not popular with the people in Java even though many Muslim children were taught to read the Koran, it was familiar with many Minangkabau. It would therefore be unwise for a publisher to print his newspaper in the Jawi script if the paper was meant to reach readers of all races in Java, especially when it was fully recognized that the peranakan Chinese were an important source of readership. Even when Snackey published the Bentara Melajoe in Rumi he was obviously having this consideration in mind.

In spite of the general preference for the Rumi form, however, not long after the exit of the Bentara Melajoe, a Malay newspaper did emerge in the Jawi script.⁹ Curiously though, it was launched in Batavia. Using the masthead, Wazir India / Indies' Porter the paper was released on 15 August 1878 as its first regular number by the publisher and printer, W. Bruining & Co. the book trader at Batavia.¹⁰ It was edited by a certain Abdul Chatab, whose nationality is not known.¹¹ The emer-

8. Indeed, the paper was originally intended to be in Jawi but somehow or other Snackey changed his mind, perhaps thinking of readers in Java. Snackey in fact claimed that the Bentara Melajoe was read by people in as far as Sukabumi, Meester Cornelis and Batavia. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 20, 31 July 1877.
9. There were, however, two columns printed in the Romanised script, perhaps with a view to attract non-Jawi readers to become subscribers.
10. Its specimen edition was circulated on 26 June 1878, almost two months ahead. See Hindia-Nederland, 10 July 1878. The Wazir India appeared on every Thursday. Its subscription rate was at fl.3,- for three months or fl.5,- for six months. The cost for advertisement was thirty cents for five words which could be reduced if the advertisement was placed more than once in the paper. It had four pages and was also sold in Singapore.
11. He could have been either a Sumatran or an Arab peranakan. The type of Malay used by the editor was "high Malay", interpolated by the frequent use of Arabic phrases.

gence of the paper was very much welcome to the peranakan Arab community and Indonesians who were able to read Jawi. According to a reader, the appearance of the Wazir India was timely and the natives and the Arabs were proud that a Jawi newspaper in the Indies was at last a reality. Strangely enough, there was also a call to regard the paper as an "Islamic newspaper" merely on account of the Arabic characters used. Readers were reminded by a subscriber that the paper should be kept in a clean place because it was using the script of the Koran!¹² The editor encouraged readers to discuss issues pertaining to Islam in the Wazir India. Articles on the Ka'abah, Mecca and the Prophet Muhammad and instructions on fasting and ways of determining the idulfitri (the Muslim festive day following the mont-long fast) were published. While other newspapers had time and again raised the question of non-haji who liked to wear the attire of haji who had made the pilgrimage and such practice had been condemned as illegal by the Eurasian editors and non-Muslim readers alike, the editor of the Wazir India was bold enough to repudiate this when asked by a reader.¹³ He said that it was illegal for some of a different race to wear the costume of another in a manner that would look as though he was "disguising" himself; but for a Muslim to wear the traditional attire of a haji was not wrong even if he had not been to Mecca.¹⁴

12. Wazir India No. 3, 16 January 1879. It seemed that the editor himself entertained this sort of idea by claiming that the Wazir India was a "Muslim paper, while the Selompret Melajoe was that of another religion". See Wazir India No. 6, 19 September 1878.
13. There were some haji who were not happy when other Muslims who had not made the pilgrimage started to wear the sorban or turban. However, this could be due to the ignorance of such haji; there is no law in Islam which forbids Muslims from wearing the sorban, which on the contrary would reflect one's piety if worn.
14. See Wazir India No. 15, 21 November 1878. The confusion about the stipulation of Article 2 of the Staatsblad No. 111 of 1872 had often led to the arrest of Indonesians and Chinese by local policemen who, in their over zealous attitude, failed to distinguish between "disguise" and ordinary practice of wearing clothings.

The conscious effort of the editor to project the image of the Wazir India as a Muslim newspaper was perhaps motivated by a desire to rally Muslim readers who could read Jawi to support it. It was also aiming at a specifically santri and Arab audience. Its readership included subscribers from Sumatra's West coast. Whether W. Bruining, the publisher, knew of the editor's inclination is hard to determine. Not many copies of the paper have survived. However, by early 1879 Abdul Chatab, the editor, seemed to have been replaced by someone else after he had landed himself into trouble when he was sued by an Arab for defamation. That it used the Jawi characters probably saved it from being closely scrutinized by the authorities. The paper, nevertheless, did not survive very long. By the end of 1879 its existence was no longer mentioned by any of the vernacular newspapers.

While most of the major cities in Java had witnessed the rise and demise of vernacular newspapers, Yogyakarta, the traditional seat of Javanese culture and heritage had not had the opportunity of seeing the birth of a local paper although the neighbouring city of Surakarta had already seen the birth of two Javanese weeklies. However, on 5 July 1879 there appeared from the press of H. Buning a weekly, the third Javanese-language newspaper to be published within a period of twenty years since the birth of the Bromartani in 1856. The new paper, called Darmowarsito, was edited by W. Halkema and had the Sultan as its patron.¹⁵ But, as was the common problem faced by most newspapers of the period, lack of readership prevented its long survival. Its price of fl.12,- a year was not in the realistic range of the potential readers, namely the teachers and clerks. In spite of using the Javanese language, having

15. Appearing on every Saturday, the paper's subscription rate was fl.6,- for six months.

the support of the keraton and having an editor like Halkema, a former teacher, ambtenaar [government official] and writer of considerable repute, the paper failed to exist for longer than a year. On 3 July 1880 the Bintang Timor reported that the Darmowarsito had ceased publication because it couldn't sell.¹⁶

Despite these setbacks the decade that followed nevertheless promised a new era for the vernacular press. The introduction of new technology in communications enabled the printed press to benefit from some of the facilities made available. In 1880 cables could be sent to Europe and the popularity in procuring news by telegraph had induced many of the popular newspapers to affiliate themselves with the Telegraphic Dienst van de Nederlandsche Dagblad Pers [Telegraphic Service of the Netherlands Indies Daily Press.¹⁷] Through this body, the vernacular newspapers were able to obtain news from Reuter. Another asset for the press was the extensive use of the telephone which was marked by the foundation of the first telephone company in 1883.¹⁸ The expansion of the railways¹⁹ in the eighties also boosted the development

16. Bintang Timor, No. 53, 3 July 1880; Raden Poerwa Soewignja, Inhoud-sopgave der Couranten, H.M. van Dorp & Co., Batavia, 1911, p. 66.
17. There were some newspapers that did not become members. This could be due to either the publishers couldn't afford it financially, or the publisher could get telegraphic news by extracting them from the Dutch press. The Pembrita-Bahroe, for example, was published by Thieme & Co. which also produced the Soerabajasche Handelsblad and because of that telegraphic news were extracted by the Pembrita-Bahroe from the Dutch paper. See Bintang Timor, No. 70, 23 March 1885 and Bintang Timor, No. 71, 26 March 1885.
18. The Nederland Indische Telefoon Maatschappij was officially opened on 22 March 1883. Albrecht's Almanak Prijaji, Vol. 1, 1898, Batavia, 1897, p. 240.
19. Since distribution of newspapers was, to a certain extent, hampered by lack of transportation links between cities, the introduction of the railway system in Java and Sumatra proved to be an asset to publishers. The first train in the state railway system on Java ran from Surabaya to Pasuruan in 1878; from then on every year saw an extension of the railway service in various parts of Java. Medan saw its first railway service in 1887, while Padang's first railway, which ran from Pulo through Ayer, Padang and Padang Panjang, was introduced in 1891. See Ibid., pp. 230-263.

of the vernacular press, so much so that even in spite of the sagging economic conditions prevailing in the Indies during the period of the eighties, there was a rush among printers and publishers to try their luck in the printed press enterprise.

The printing press business was not the only livelihood editors and publishers depended on. They also dealt in stationery, book trade, retail goods and organizing and selling lotteries.²⁰ Some editors translated books from Dutch into Low Malay. Others tried to supplement their income by offering language tuitions.²¹

Before 1886 all the publishers were either Dutchmen or Eurasians. Although Eurasians were generally recruited as editors, on account of their proficiency in the Malay language, nevertheless a few non-European names did emerge on the editorial boards of some newspapers. In 1867 Mas Markus Garito, a Christian evangelist at the Parapattan English chapel, was the sub-editor of the Biang-Lala.²² Lo Tun Tay, a peranakan Chinese became the first non-European to assume the post of editor when he edited the Batavia-based Mataharie in 1869. In 1874 /Raden Mas/ Soerono, a graduate of the teachers' training college at Surakarta, served the Bromartani for a short while. However, it was possible that

20. H. Buning, a printer and book dealer at Yogyakarta sold lottery tickets costing fl.20,50 each. So did the firm of W. Bruining & Co., which published the Pembrita Betawi. H.M. van Dorp of Batavia sold herbal tonics and Gebroeders Gimberg & Co., the publisher of the Bintang Timor also sold pills as well as guns, ammunition, swords and daggers, furniture, jewellery and even toys for children.
21. The editor of the Bintang Timor in 1883, W. Halkema, even advertised that he was willing to teach Dutch, Malay, and Javanese to those who wanted to learn the languages. He also undertook to do translation work. Another editor, F.C.E. Bousquet sold tobacco in 1887.
22. The ethnic group of the two others named as sitting on the editorial board of the Biang-Lala, Stephanus Sandiman and Goestaaaf Oerak, could not be ascertained.

he only assisted F.L. Winter in the editor's job because his duties as a teacher at the teacher's college would have kept him fully occupied.²³

Other than the above names, no other Indonesians or peranakan Chinese emerged as editors or sub-editors of the vernacular newspapers or periodicals until towards the last decade of the nineteenth century. Only correspondents and contributors of articles were made up of Indonesians and peranakan Chinese. Indeed, since the emergence of the Bromartani in 1855 the Eurasians, with the exception of a few Dutch missionaries, became increasingly involved in the running of the vernacular press both as editors and publishers. As editors their position remained unchallenged until the printing press and newspaper business began to draw Chinese participation beginning from 1886. Even so, the Eurasian editors continued to enjoy a dominant position in the field of vernacular journalism right into the first decade of the twentieth century when more Indonesians and peranakan Chinese came forward to sit on the editorial boards of newspapers and periodicals of their own. Since the role of the Eurasian editors was quite important in the development of the vernacular press, it is therefore necessary to look at their activities in regard to the press during the period of the eighties, when their role seemed to be most pronounced.

The Eurasians and Newspaper Development

The Eurasian community, like the peranakan Chinese and Arabs, were local-born. They were, as defined by one of them, "Olanda yang

23. Selompret Melajoe, No. 14, 4 April 1874, Soerono was sent to the Netherlands to continue his studies but he fell seriously ill while in that country and returned to Java in 1875. However, this much-praised intelligent Javanese died on the journey back. Selompret Melajoe, No. 20, 12 March 1881. See also H. Kroeskamp, op.cit., pp. 319 and 356, f. 56.

terperanak di Hindia" / Dutchmen born in the Indies /²⁴ or Olanda peranakan / half-caste Dutchmen /.²⁵ They were children of marriages between full-blooded or pure European males and native women; or, on the other hand, they could be the offspring of European men and native women whom the former had taken as mistresses or kept-women, better known as nyai. These Eurasians or "Indos" were generally referred to as Sinyos.²⁶ Colonial law classified the Eurasians as European but there were also many who, through circumstances, were absorbed into the general Indonesian population. In the nineteenth century the Eurasians constituted more than half of the "European" group.²⁷ But they were often regarded as inferior to the totok / Dutch immigrants /. Their Eurasian culture which composed of mixed European and Indonesian elements became an object of ridicule. Not all Eurasians received quality education and a large number of them were pushed into the ranks of the paupers, some

24. Bintang Timor, No. 53, 5 March 1887. This definition was provided by the editor, A. Bois d'Enghien.

25. See Bintang Barat, No. 44, 23 February 1891.

26. The word originated from the Portuguese, senor. It had been asserted by some writers that the sinyos were "acknowledged Eurasians born of high status European fathers". Pauline Dublin Milone, "Queen City of the East: the metamorphosis of a colonial capital", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1966, p. 166. This, however, is not entirely correct. In the nineteenth century vernacular press, the term seemed to be applied to any Eurasian. If it was meant to be used in the derogatory sense or as an insult, the term nyo was used. See for example the verbal war between P.C. Halkema of the Pembrita-Bahroe and A.M. Voorneman of the Batara-Indra (both being Eurasians) when they traded insults with each other. See Bintang Timor, No. 48, 28 February 1887.

27. J.M. van der Kroef, Indonesia in the Modern World, Part 1, Masa Baru, Bandung, 1954, p. 275.

living on the edge of the native village.²⁸ Nevertheless, Eurasians born of high status European fathers often occupied the top stratum of colonial society. Many attained a measure of wealth and respectability as estate owners and entrepreneurs.²⁹ Others in the middle layer of the Eurasian society occupied positions in the civil service, army and private firms. Although Eurasians were generally treated with deference by the native populace they were nevertheless discriminated by totok and their existence was described as "a continuous struggle for equal rights in government positions with those born in Holland".³⁰ They were, after 1838, barred from holding the very highest posts in the government.³¹ The Dutch import-export and Western enterprises generally discriminated against them. With the expansion of the vernacular press industry, however, Dutch publishers and printers began to see the potentiality of the Eurasians as editors of the vernacular newspapers. They were perceived as having the right qualifications because of their knowledge of Low Malay or Javanese and their alleged familiarity with the Indonesians and other Foreign Orientals. Since most of the Eurasians recruited as editors were former officials or people with some educational background, it was thought that they could be more responsible in their work. In the last quarter of the past century Eurasians such as Halkema³²

28. Ibid., p. 279.

29. Loc. cit.

30. Ibid.

31. Pauline Dublin Milone, "Queen City of the East: the metamorphosis of a colonial capital", Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1966, p. 153.

32. There were three Halkemas who became prominent journalists. Two were known to be brothers, and it is possible that the third Halkema might also be related to the other two. The eldest was W. Halkema, who was born probably around 1830 or earlier, for in 1850 he was already running a priyayi school at Banyumas (see his own writing about it in Bintang Timor No. 297, 23 December 1884). He had also served the government as an Assistant Resident at Sambas before taking up journalism as a career (see Bintang Timor, 13 April 1887); in 1879 he was editor of the Javanese-language daily, Darmowarsito.

J. Kieffer,³³ G.R. Lucardie,³⁴ A.M. Voorneman³⁵ A. Bois d'Enghien,³⁶

Then following the demise of the paper, in late 1883 he joined the Bintang Timor as an editor until 1885. Following that, he spent the rest of his time writing articles for newspapers. He was a polyglot and claimed to be able to teach English, French and German, besides Dutch, Malay and Javanese. He also had the experience of editing the Dutch-language periodical, Mataram (see Bintang Timor, No. 215, 19 September 1883 and Bintang Timor, No. 125, 30 May 1885).

His younger brother, P.C. Halkema was the editor and publisher of the Pembrita-Bahroe which appeared in 1881. In 1889 he left the Pembrita-Bahroe to work with the Dutch paper De Locomotief as proof reader, but returned to the Pembrita-Bahroe in 1893. (See Bintang Timor, 10 October 1885, Bintang Timor, No. 42, 20 February 1886, Bintang Soerabaja, No. 253, 5 November 1889 and Bintang Barat, No. 85, 15 April 1893).

The third, J.J.P. Halkema, was editor of the Selompret Melajoe in 1897 until the early years of this century.

- 33. J. Kieffer was a Eurasian born in 1835. He became editor after resigning from government service. He was editor of the Hindia-Nederland before taking up the post of editor and publisher for the Pembrita Betawi in 1884 and editor for Bintang Barat in 1888. Later in 1893 he published and edited the Bintang Betawi until his death in 1904. See Hindia-Nederland, No. 1, 2 January 1878, Bintang Timor, No. 260, 10 November 1884 and Pembrita Betawi, No. 39, 18 February 1904.
- 34. Lucardie was a retired Assistant Resident at Kendal, when he became editor of the Selompret Melajoe on 17 May 1882, taking over from the Dutch Calvinist minister, Hoezoo. He left the Selompret Melajoe on ground of ill-health by the end of 1886.
- 35. A.M. Voorneman, also a Eurasian, was the editor of the Bintang Timor in early July 1882 when the paper was converted to a daily. Later after leaving the Bintang Timor he became editor of the Batara Indra which had two editions, Dutch as well as Malay. He served the Batara Indra from 1 April 1885 until its demise in December 1888.
- 36. Very little is known about this anti-Muslim Eurasian editor. His writings in the Bintang Timor, where he had three times served as editor intermittently (April 1881 - May 1882, August 1882 - June 1883 and June 1885 - December 1886), were zealously missionary in content, yet he was not an evangelist himself. He was also the editor of the Tjahaja Moelia when it was launched in Surabaya in July 1883. Its demise in 1884 made Bois d'Enghien return to the Bintang Timor as editor. Probably because of his strong views there arose disagreement between him and the new owner of the paper when in late 1886 the printing press of the Bintang Timor fell into the hands of Tjoa Tjoan Lok, a peranakan Chinese businessman at Surabaya. Consequently Bois d'Enghien was forced to leave the paper. His name never again appeared as editor of any vernacular paper following that. See Bintang Timor, No. 20, 2 April 1881, Tjahaja India, No. 37, 15 May 1882, Tjahaja Moelia, No. 2, 3 July 1883 and Bintang Timor, No. 125, 30 May 1885.

Wiggers³⁷ and Winter³⁸ were only some of the prominent personalities who were involved in the development of the vernacular press in Indonesia. They were not only newspapermen but in many cases were also writers of Low Malay novelettes, lyric poetry (which the contributors to the nineteenth century press called sjair) and feuilletons which became an attraction for subscribers of newspapers in the last century.³⁹ The contributions of the Eurasian editors as story writers and authors were certainly important in the development of the Indies form of Malay

- 37. There were two famous Wiggers, E.F. Wiggers, the father, was the editor and co-founder of the Bintang Barat in 1883. In 1888 he was joined on the editorial board by J. Kieffer. After serving the Bintang Barat for ten years, E.F. Wiggers left to join the Bintang Betawi which was owned by Kieffer in 1893. But Wiggers served the paper only for about three years and by 1896 his name was no longer on the editorial board of the Bintang Betawi. His son, Ferdinand Wiggers, appeared to be more successful as a journalist and author of several novelettes using Low Malay. Until his death in 1912 he had served as editor for a number of newspapers and periodicals. An ex-Controleur, his journalistic career began when he became editor of the Pembrita Betawi on 31 October 1898. He then served the Warna Sari, a Javanese periodical, in 1901 and in the following year became editor for both the Bandera Wolanda and the Pengadilan. He was also editor of Hoekoem Hindia in 1898 which in 1903 changed to Taman Sari and he continued to serve the paper until his death on 20 February 1912. A prolific writer, and experienced journalist, Wiggers certainly was an outstanding Eurasian. He was made President of the Malay Journalists' Association in 1906.
- 38. The children and grandson of the great philologist C.F. Winter, who was editor of the first vernacular newspaper in the Indies, the Bromartani, became famous editors and authors of several books in Javanese and Malay and newspapers in the nineteenth century. Following the steps of their famous father, C.F. Winter Jr. and F.W. Winter became editors of the Javanese-language Djoeroemartani in 1867 and 1869 consecutively. Another brother, Gustaaf Winter, who first edited the Poespitamantjawarna of 1855, became assistant editor of the Bintang Soerabaja in 1887 and 1888 and then was editor of the Pembrita-Bahroe in 1889. Perhaps, the more famous was the grandson of C.F. Winter Sr., F.L. Winter who in his career first became editor of Djawi Kando in 1891 and then editor of Poespitamantjawarna (when the monthly periodical was re-published) in 1892. Three years later he published the Retnodhoemilah at Yog-yakarta and continued to serve the Javanese paper until 1900.
- 39. On the literary writings of this period see Pramoedya Ananta Toer's article, "Sastra Novel Assimilatif" in Bintang Timor, No. 299, 24 November 1963. See also C.W. Watson, "Some Preliminary Remarks on the Antecedents of Modern Indonesian Literature", BKI, Deel 127, 4e aflevering, 1971.

language which was soon to develop into modern bahasa Indonesia.⁴⁰

The Eurasians only became actively involved in the vernacular press industry towards the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Although prior to 1875 many Eurasians had appeared as editors of newspapers, nevertheless it was only in the later years, particularly in the 1880s that Eurasians began to publish their own newspapers. By 1875, the Indies had already seen thirteen newspapers and two periodicals launched in the cities of Batavia, Surakarta, Semarang, Surabaya, Padang and Tondano. But of these, only six newspapers remained in circulation in 1875: the Selompret Melajoe (Semarang), Bintang Timor (Surabaya), Bromartani (formerly Djoeroemartani, Surakarta), Bintang Djohar (new name for the Biang-Lala, Batavia), Bintang Barat (Batavia). All, except for the Selompret Melajoe and the Bintang Djohar, had Eurasian editors. It is significant to note that all the existing papers were in the major cities where trade and industry flourished. However, it was in the last two decades of the nineteenth century that the vernacular press showed greater resilience to survive. Almost every year, without a break,⁴¹ at least one new newspaper or periodical appeared in the major cities of Java and the Outer Islands. The first five years of the 1880s saw the emergence of the Pembrita-Bahroe /New Reporter/ at Surabaya (1881),⁴² Tjahaja India /Light of the Indies/ at Semarang

40. See Pramoedya Ananta Toer, "Basa Pra-Indonesia Dalam Sastra Assimilatif", Bintang Timor, No. 39, 15 December 1963 and No. 4, 5 January 1964.
41. It was only in 1880 and 1892 that there was an absence of any new newspaper or periodical coming from the printers.
42. The Pembrita-Bahroe was published by J.A. Uilkens, editor and Director of the Soerabaiasch Handelsblad and printed at Thieme & Co., press. It first appeared on 2 April 1881 and was a twice-weekly paper, until it became a daily in 1882. Its subscription rate was fl.10,- for a period of six months. The editor was P.C. Halkema who was later to assume ownership of the paper. See advertisement in Bintang Timor, 19 March 1881. See also Bintang Timor, No. 27, 6 April 1881, Pembrita-Bahroe, No. 139, 14 October 1882 and Bintang Timor, 10 October 1885.

(1882),⁴³ Matahari / Sun at Makassar (1882),⁴⁴ Tjahaja Moelia / Sublime Light at Surabaya (1883)⁴⁵ and Dini Hari / Dawn at Batavia (1884).⁴⁶

In 1885, following the demise of the Dini Hari, Batavia was again to see the appearance of a new newspaper called Pembrita Betawi / Batavian Reporter,⁴⁷ while Surabaya saw the rise of the Batara-Indra,⁴⁸ a namesake of the Dutch-language daily which was later changed to Jupiter on 2 February 1887. Both the Batara-Indras were published by the firm van Duren & Co. Last, but not least, on 31 October 1885, Vogel van der Heyden & Co. of Surakarta, (which used to produce the Javanese-language Djoeroemartani and later took over the Bromartani from Jonas Portier &

- 43. The Tjahaja India, a twice-weekly paper, first appeared on 5 January 1882. It had 8 pages one of which was in the Javanese script and language. It was published by A. Bisschop and edited by F.C.E. Bousquet and had illustrations in its Thursday editions. The subscription rate was fl.4,50 for three months.
- 44. Published by W. Eekhout, the paper first appeared on 28 October 1882. It was a weekly but due to lack of subscribers it was forced to cease publication in May 1883 after less than a year's circulation. Bintang Timor, No. 121, 28 May 1883.
- 45. The Tjahaja Moelia first appeared on 2 July 1883 from the press of Gebroeders Donker & Co. at Surabaya. It was edited by A. Bois d' Enghien. In spite of being a daily, with a subscription rate of fl.1.10,- for six months, the paper was squeezed out of circulation in 1884. See Tjahaja Moelia, No. 2, 3 July 1883 and Bintang Timor, 18 May 1885.
- 46. The Dini Hari was published twice weekly by G. Kolff & Co. Its first issue was dated 2 September 1884 and the editor was Arnold Snackey. Its subscription rate was fl.1.5,- for three months. But it couldn't sell and was forced to stop circulating towards the end of November 1884. See Bintang Timor, No. 272, 24 November 1884.
- 47. The paper made its regular appearance starting from 24 December 1884. This daily paper was edited by J. Kieffer who was also manager which implied that he was co-publisher with W. Bruining & Co. The subscription rate for the paper was fl.1.2,- for one month. See Bintang Timor, No. 260, 10 November 1884 and Tio Ie Soei, Lie Kimhok 1853- 1912 L.D. "Good Luck", Bandung, n.d., pp. 53-54.
- 48. The daily Batara Indra was edited by A.M. Voorneman who was also the editor of the Dutch language version. After the circulation of its trial editions in March 1885, the paper began to appear regularly as from 1 April. The cost of subscription was fl., 15,- per year.

Co.), launched the specimen copies of the Sinar-Terang /Bright Ray/.⁴⁹

The unabated enthusiasm in founding newspapers was certainly remarkable especially in a society which had an insignificant group of indigenous literates. Yet for the Eurasians and the European printers, founding a newspaper was a worthwhile gamble in business. Many editors tended to become partners in a printing firm in order to start a newspaper. Some editors founded their own companies and sold shares to the public as a way of encouraging public participation in founding newspapers. In such cases, the editors normally assumed the post of administrateurs or managers since more than likely they were the principal shareholders.⁵⁰ The monthly pay of an editor in the last century was not too lucrative; towards the end of the nineteenth century it was only about fl.1.50,- a month. He earned about the same as a senior copyist in the Resident's office though for a pensioner or an ex-government official the editor's post was perhaps more exciting and possibly more prestigious too, considering the popularity of his name.⁵¹ In the context of the

49. The Sinar-Terang was the first Malay newspaper ever to be published in Surakarta. According to the Bintang Timor of 2 November 1885 the paper would appear on every Saturday. Its subscription rate was fl.1.3,75 for six months for residents in Solo and fl.1.4,- for subscribers outside Surakarta. It was scheduled to appear regularly as from January 1886 but there was never any mention of its existence in the newspapers of that year.
50. There were two types of limited companies normally formed for partnership in business: a) commanditaire vennootschap /limited partnership/ and b) naamlooze vennootschap /limited liability company/; and there were also two types of partnerships: a) the commanditaire vennoot which was a limited partner and b) the beherend vennoot or managing partner. Usually the role of the latter was preferred by editors who sold shares to the public.
51. J. Kieffer, the editor of the Pembrita Betawi earned fl.1.50,- a month. Bintang Betawi, No. 7, 10 January 1901. The pay of a copyist /jurutulis/ was between fl.1.30,- and fl.1.50,- while the pay of a dokter Jawa in 1881 was also about fl.1.50,- per month. See Bintang Barat, No. 72, 29 March 1892 and Bintang Barat, No. 54, 8 March 1892. See also Hindia-Nederland, No. 2, 8 January 1881. Incidentally, the value of the Dutch gulden in the Indies in British currency was fl.1.12,10 to a pound sterling. Almanak Melajoe 1896, Batavia-Solo, 1895.

period we are discussing, the Eurasian was also, probably, the most suitable man for the editorial job in the vernacular newspaper since his social and cultural background (having both European as well as indigenous cultural traits) would be an asset in his profession as he would then be able to cope up with both the need to uphold European cultural supremacy in his newspaper as well as maintain considerable rapport with his Asian readers.⁵² For decades the post of the editor had become so jealously guarded that it tended to be the monopoly of Eurasians or of those Europeans who were considered proficient in either Malay or Javanese.⁵³ Furthermore, the post appeared to have been vested in the hands of Eurasians who were retired government officials.

In the nineteenth century, for an editor of a vernacular newspaper to have sub-editors or even news boys was a luxury. Usually the editor did everything himself, from proof reading to collecting advertisements. He would also have to depend on the agility and linguistic creativity of his type setter to produce a good and satisfying job. He even had to rely on his unpaid correspondents for local news and would readily welcome letters and articles or literary contributions in the form of lyric poetry for publication; but he had to be extra careful in his choice of what was considered fit or safe for printing and what was not. His discretion was important as an unauthentic report or an article which was a defamatory in character could land him into serious trouble

52. As a Eurasian he was culturally, quite well-adjusted to the local scene which certainly was a big help in his capacity as an editor of a vernacular newspaper.

53. When Sie Hian Ling, a peranakan Chinese was appointed editor of the Tamboor Melajoe, some Olanda /Eurasians⁷ expressed regret that the publisher had not taken a Eurasian to be the editor of that paper. See Bintang Soerabaja, No. 53, 3 March 1888.

with the Press Laws of 1856.

The Search for Markets

Competition between newspapers were often intense. It should be borne in mind that the average number of subscribers for a popular daily during this period was anywhere between 600 and 800⁵⁴ while the number of potential readers in a particular city was limited. The life span of a newspaper very much depended on its circle of readership. It was conscious policy of all publishers to advertise their papers widely by making announcements in the more popular newspapers. Free copies of specimen or trial editions were circulated to all friendly editorw who would then, after going through the contents of the new papers, help to advertise on behalf of the publishers. Sample editions were also sent out to potential subscribers to test the reaction of the reading literati. A good response would be indicated by requests to be enlisted as subscribers. The sample edition were usually circulated about a month or two or sometimes three months prior to the release of the regular numbers.⁵⁵ If, however, the response was not that encouraging even after the sample copies had been distributed gratis, a pub-

- 54. The Pembrita-Bahroe's claim of having 2,000 subscribers is hard to believe. The Selompret Melajoe, even though not a daily, was nonetheless a popular paper and yet its circulation was modestly put as around eight hundred copies for each appearance. The circulation of the daily Bintang Timor was also around eight hundred copies per day in 1890. Even the Dutch-language daily, Het Nieuws van den Dag published at Batavia had only about a thousand copies in circulation in 1901. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 66, 3 June 1897; Bintang Timor, No. 71, 27 March 1890 and E.F.E. Douwes Dekker, "The Press" in Arnold Wright and Oliver T. Breakspear (eds.), Twentieth Century Impressions of Netherlands India, Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Company, Ltd., London, 1909, p. 265.
- 55. There were also publishers launching the trial editions of their papers a few days or a week before the emergence of the regular editions. In this case the publishers were determined to publish the papers regularly and were not trying to test the market but to advertise their forthcoming newspapers. There were also cases where no trial editions were circulated at all but this was rare.

lisher might abandon the idea of publishing the paper entirely.⁵⁶ To entice readers to become subscribers, some publishers even went to the extent of offering free gifts to prospective subscribers on condition that they pay in advance the subscription fees.⁵⁷ The search for potential subscribers would also induce some unscrupulous publishers to try to persuade the government to circulate their newspapers or periodicals in schools.⁵⁸ This clamour for subscribers was so intense among publishers because newspapers were not sold by vendors. Neither were they sold in single copies in the last century. Subscribers could either collect their copies from the agents appointed by publishers in the smaller towns and districts, or, if they stayed within the vicinity of the city in which the paper was published, they could collect their copies at about three o'clock in the afternoon, the normal hour when the newspaper would have just been released from the press.⁵⁹

56. The India-Nederland, a news and advertisement paper published by Holdert & Co. at Amsterdam was released as trial editions in October 1890 but lack of response from readers in Java had caused the publisher to abandon the idea.
57. The publisher of the Tjahaja Moelia offered free copies of the Malay-translated version of Jules Verne's Around the World in Eighty Days to readers who would enlist as subscribers within the first three months of the paper's existence in 1883. See Bintang Timor, No. 167, 21 July 1883. J. Kieffer, the founder of the Pembrita Betawi offered a free raffle ticket to each reader who would take a year's subscription of the daily. The lottery was to be drawn at the end of 1884 and winners would be entitled to attractive prizes. Bintang Timor, No. 260, 10 November 1884. The Gebroeders Gimberg & Co., owner of the Bintang Timor also promised new subscribers that they would be given presents if they registered themselves before the year's end. Bintang Timor, No. 281, 4 December 1884.
58. J.A. Uilkens, owner of the daily Pembrita-Bahroe wrote to the government seeking permission for the circulation of the paper in native schools in 1881. Uilken's request was, not surprisingly, rejected by the government on the grounds that the paper's contents were unfit for the consumption of school children. Bintang Timor, No. 62, 6 August 1881. Early this century, however, H.C.C. Clockener Brousson the owner and Chief Editor of the Bintang Hindia applied successfully to have the periodical circulated in schools and teachers' colleges as well as among priyayi and the military personnel in the Indies. See Chapter V for discussion on the Bintang Hindia.
59. Bintang Barat, No. 273, 29 November 1893.

The competitive nature of the newspaper trade led time and again to competition between editors. These squabbles, usually motivated by jealousy and the fear of being superceded in the market by rival newspapers, quite often erupted into an incessant "press war" especially in the eighties when there was a trend to have more than one newspaper in one city. A glaring example of press rivalry was the feud between P.C. Halkema, editor of the Pembrita-Bahroe and A.M. Voorneman of the Batara-Indra which had emerged at Surabaya on 1 April 1885, exactly four years after the Pembrita-Bahroe. In addition, Surabaya already had the Bintang Timor, which was one of the oldest surviving newspapers in the Indies up to this period. For a city which depended on its reading community from among the government priyayi, Chinese businessmen, peranakan Arabs and the teachers and pupils of the Mojowarno school⁶⁰ as its source of newspaper buyers, Surabaya would certainly find it difficult to maintain the running of three dailies. After all, two years before the advent of the Batara-Indra, another Surabaya daily, the Tjahaja Moelia, had failed to capture the market and was squeezed out of circulation in 1884 after barely a year's existence.⁶¹

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60. This missionary school was set up at Mojowarno (a division of Mojokerto) which had been established by E. Jellesma from the Netherlands Evangelical Society in 1851 for the creation of a native Christian village. The editor of the Selompret Melajoe, W. Hoezoo had also spent some time at Mojowarno, preaching and teaching. In 1868 the school was reported to have 202 pupils, 107 of whom were Christian children and 95 were Muslims. See S. Coolsma, De Zendings-eeuw voor Nederlandsch Oost-Indie, Utrecht, 1901, pp. 233-234; see also The Moslem World, Vol. 15, 1915.
61. The Tjahaja Moelia first appeared as specimen editions in June 1883 and appeared regularly as from 2 July 1883 from the press of Gebroeders Donker & Co. at Surabaya. It was edited by Bois d'Enghien. In spite of its being a daily, it couldn't make a profit and sometime in 1884 it was forced to cease publication. See Tjahaja Moelia, No. 2, 3 July 1883.

In a situation where the market was competitive, the emergence of the Batara-Indra on 1 April 1885 was therefore perceived by P.C. Halkema, the new owner of the Pembrita-Bahroe, as a rival that could threaten the paper's existence.⁶² The situation was further aggravated by the arrogance of the editor and co-owner of the Batara-Indra who boasted that only his paper received telegraphic news and that the number of subscribers had risen to one thousand.⁶³ As though to belittle the Pembrita-Bahroe and the Bintang Timor, A.M. Voorneman, the paper's editor also emphasized that translations of government regulations, which could lure the interest of the priyayi, were available in the Batara-Indra.⁶⁴ With the intention to undercut each other's popularity, the editors of both the Pembrita-Bahroe and the Batara-Indra lowered the subscription rates for their papers and reduced significantly the cost of advertisement.⁶⁵

62. The ownership of the paper seemed to have been transferred to P.C. Halkema by 1885 or earlier. In late 1882 J.A. Uilkens, the first owner, was reported to be making plans to go to the Netherlands on a vacation for about one and a half to two years. It was possible that during his absence P.C. Halkema could have been entrusted to manage the Pembrita-Bahroe. Presumably, this led to Halkema buying Uilken's share thus rendering him ownership of the paper. Bintang Timor, No. 119, 23 September 1882.
63. To counter the Batara-Indra's claim, the Pembrita-Bahroe asserted that it had 2,000 subscribers, an exaggerated figure. It is hard to imagine that the paper had such a number of subscribers considering the competition it had to face with the more-established Bintang Timor. See advertisement in Bintang Timor, No. 10, 13 January 1887 and Bintang Timor, No. 15, 19 January 1887.
64. Bintang Timor, No. 10, 13 January 1887.
65. The subscription rate for the Pembrita-Bahroe was originally fl.20,- per year and its advertisement cost was ten cents per word. But when the Batara-Indra emerged with a subscription rate of fl.15,- per year, the Pembrita-Bahroe followed suit. The cost for advertisement was also lowered to seventy five cents for ten words, in keeping with what the Batara-Indra was charging. See Bintang Timor, 31 March 1885, Bintang Timor, No. 71, 26 March 1885 and Bintang Timor, No. 236, 12 October 1885.

It appeared that the editor of the Batara-Indra was someone not much liked among the Eurasian editors.⁶⁶ The editor of the Hindia-Nederland, J. Klein, was disgruntled when Voorneman questioned his competency in the Malay language. Voorneman remarked that the former had given a poor translation of the news he extracted from the Dutch press. Klein retorted by saying that it was the shoddy way of spelling Malay words which reflected Voorneman's incompetency in the language.⁶⁷ The ability of editors of the Malay press in using the Malay language had always been a subject of discussion from time to time by readers and fellow-editors.⁶⁸ Criticisms were mainly centred on poor Malay translations from the Dutch language, the spelling of Malay words and the use of the so-called 'high' Malay by editors (who might even be well-versed in it) which was frowned upon by most readers of the Malay newspapers.

New newspapers had a better chance of success if they used Low Malay.⁶⁹ High Malay was viewed as being too superfluous with Arabic words which, according to a Chinese reader, was terlaloe djelek / ex-

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- 66. In 1885 A. Bois d'Enghien accused the editor of the Batara-Indra of not loving his own race and of trying to degrade "Dutchmen" when he himself was "Dutch" / Eurasian /. Bois d'Enghien, the editor of the Bintang Timor was incensed over the way Voorneman had insulted two Eurasians who had accused the Batara-Indra of not sticking to the fee it fixed for the subscription of the paper. Bois d'Enghien said that to condemn fellow Eurasians was disgraceful and unthinkable. See Bintang Timor, No. 139, 17 June 1885 and No. 141, 19 June 1885.
 - 67. Klein accused Voorneman of not adhering to the grammatical structures as demonstrated by A.F. von der Wall in his translation of Robinson Crusoe into Malay. See Hindia-Nederland, No. 60, 29 July 1885 and Hindia-Nederland, No. 61, 1 August 1885.
 - 68. In 1879 the editor of the Hindia-Nederland had lashed back at the editor of the Selompret Melajoe for having criticised the former's translation of the advertisement of a certain medicine. He cautioned the editor of the Selompret Melajoe not to criticise him openly as this might give bad impression to his readers. See Hindia-Nederland, No. 72, 13 September 1879 and Hindia-Nederland, No. 36, 6 May 1885.
 - 69. See Bintang Timor, No. 27, 6 April 1881 and Bintang Timor, No. 254, 2 November 1885.

tremely obnoxious⁷⁰. A newspaper which attempted to use the High Malay was certainly looking for trouble as the following opinion might illustrate:

... If the Bintang Barat uses the Menang Kerbau / Minangkabau / language, I am fully certain that readers in Java will have stomach ache and will hurl away the paper because no reader is yet able to master the language. I think it would be better if Bintang Barat sticks to using the Batavian Malay / bahasa Melajoe Betawi / because in this language there are elements of all languages spoken throughout the Indies ...⁷¹

Indeed, the type of Malay that would be the most practical to use was the bazaar Malay which could both suit the taste of and be comprehensible for readers of all races, namely the peranakan Chinese, Arabs, Eurasians and Indonesians of various dialect groups. It was therefore shrewd for the editors of the nineteenth century vernacular press and perhaps a blessing for some whose ability to write good Malay was questionable, to subscribe to the use of the most common and accepted form of Malay, variously known as Melajoe rendah / Low Malay /, bahasa kaoem / the community language /, Melajoe sedang / moderate Malay / and Melajoe Betawi / Batavian Malay / but all meaning the simple form of Malay that did not pay much attention to grammatical rules. The only consideration was to make readers understand and hence to make the papers sell.⁷²

Press Offences

Competition was not the only worry that pre-occupied the mind

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70. Bintang Timor, No. 82, 13 October 1880, quoting an article in Bintang Barat entitled "Bahasa Melajoe Tinggi".
71. What was meant by the writer was that the language was influenced by the vocabulary and structures of other languages. Ibid. See also Tjahaja India, No. 31, 19 April 1883.
72. When J.R. Klein first assumed his post as editor for the Hindia-Nederland, he categorically stated that a simple form of Malay would be used. Hindia-Nederland, No. 10, 2 February 1878. Klein also pointed out that the collapse of the Bentara Melajoe was due to its High Malay. Hindia-Nederland, 10 July 1878.

of an editor or publisher. A more serious problem was that of falling into the traps of the Press Act of 1856. Interestingly enough, the period preceding 1880 had not, with the exception of the case of the editor of the Wazir India, seen widespread prosecution of editors of vernacular newspapers that transgressed the Press Regulations of the Indies, though the same did not hold true for the Dutch press nonetheless.⁷³ The scarcity of cases in which an editor of a vernacular paper was prosecuted could perhaps be attributed to the weak position of the native press in general and to editors being more cautious in printing articles, the authenticity of which was doubtful. Another reason was

73. The period of the seventies had witnessed many an editor of the Dutch press in the Indies being prosecuted for press offences. The common accusation was defaming people through their newspapers. Although they might not have been the authors of such articles nonetheless they were responsible to the law for any material printed in their papers and their refusal to disclose the names of writers of libellous articles usually landed them in goal or caused them to be fined by the Court. In 1871 both the editors of Semarangsche Courant and the Java Bode at Batavia were called to face the Raad van Justitie / Council of Justice / to answer charges of libel. The former who was accused of libelling the Resident of Japara was given a verdict of guilty. Mr. Winckel, the said editor, was again called to face the Court when he was accused in 1873 of criticising the government's policy on Aceh. He had in his writing in the Semarangsche Courant been sarcastic about Mr. James Loudon, the Governor-General who, he said, "was not prepared for his great task" in handling the Aceh question. As a result of this writing, Winckel was deported to the Netherlands. In 1874, H.B. van Daalen, the editor of the Java Bode was imprisoned for a year because of his criticism of the government's conduct of the Aceh issue also. In 1876, Chatelin, the editor of the Sumatra Courant was sentenced to four months goal for press offence. He had already been fined fl.1,000,- in 1873 for reprinting a circular of the General-Secretary dated 4 November 1866 in his paper. In 1879 van Daalen was again convicted for pers-delict and was imposed a fine of fl.20,- as well as imprisoned for two months. See Bintang Timor, No. 37, 10 May 1871, Bintang Timor, No. 83, 18 October 1871, Selompret Melajoe, No. 42, 18 October 1873, Selompret Melajoe, No. 43, 25 October 1873, Bintang Timor, No. 73, 12 September 1874, Selompret Melajoe, No. 39, 30 September 1876 and Bintang Timor, No. 18, 5 March 1879. See also Anon, "Uit de Geschiedenis der Indische Pers" a cutting from an unidentified newspaper located by the writer at the library of the Press Institute, Amsterdam in 1973. Hereinafter referred to as "Uit de Geschiedenis der Indische Pers".

the belated rise of awareness among the non-European readers about the right to sue for libel with the slightest excuse on grounds of defamation or slander as was so commonly done in the eighties. Another factor for a near absence of persdelicten / offences against the press laws ⁷ prior to this period was possibly because the office of the General Secretary to the Government of the Indies which was responsible for doing censorship work had taken a rather condescending attitude towards the native press so that it was possible that the officials concerned might not have gone through the pages of the newspapers in as great detail as they should have. The fact that the vernacular press used three typefaces, namely Roman, Javanese and Jawi, made thorough scrutiny by the General Secretary's office difficult. Above all, the contents of the vernacular newspapers were rarely controversial.

However, in late 1878 the editor of the Wazir India was caught transgressing the press laws when he was sued by an Arab reader who accused the editor, Abdul Chatab, of having maliciously slandered him in an article which appeared in the Wazir India of 24 October 1878.⁷⁴ In 1883 the editor of the Bintang Timor, A. Bois d'Enghien was fined by the Court fl.10,- after being found guilty of defaming a shopkeeper by the name of Benselin Leclerq, a lacquer dealer. Bois d'Enghien was accused of libelling Leclerq by describing him as "rude and utterly unreliable in his book-keeping and therefore customers should be forewarned not to patronise his shop".⁷⁵ The same fate befell the editor of the Selompret Melajoe who was found guilty of slandering and defaming the good name of a Wedana in an article published in the paper dated 4

74. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 39, 17 May 1879 and Bintang Timor, No. 43, 31 May 1879.

75. Bintang Timor, No. 89, 18 April 1883.

January 1883. The editor, a former Assistant Resident, was imprisoned for one month and fined fl.10,-.⁷⁶

Up to 1900 there were numerous other cases of a similar nature which involved editors of both the Dutch press and the vernacular newspapers. Those editors of the native press who had had the experience of being asked to face the Court pertaining to press offences were Arnold Snackey of the Bentara Melajoe (1882),⁷⁷ A.M. Voorneman of the Batara-Indra (who was accused of libelling the Regent of Sidoarjo in 1885),⁷⁸ F.C.E. Bousquet of Bintang Timor (1887),⁷⁹ P.C. Halkema of the Pembrita-Bahroe (1890),⁸⁰ and Datoe Soetan Maharadja of the Palita Ketjil of Padang (1893).⁸¹ Datoe Soetan Maharadja's offence was taken very seriously by the government. He was accused of writing the articles, "Miseries and Providence of the Common Folk" and "Thoughts of the Achenese" which the government construed as attacks on it.⁸² In the majority of cases, however, editors of the vernacular press who ran afoul of the press laws did so in regard to libel and not politics. As

- 76. G.R. Lucardie, who became editor of the Selompret Melajoe on 17 May 1882, was a former Assistant Resident at Kendal. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 38, 13 May 1882 and Bintang Timor, No. 33, 26 April, 1882.
- 77. Hindia-Nederland, No. 40, 30 May 1882.
- 78. Bintang Timor, No. 23, 28 January 1886.
- 79. Bintang Timor, No. 100, 2 May 1887.
- 80. Bintang Soerabaia, No. 269, 21 November 1890.
- 81. Bintang Barat, No. 122, 1 June 1893.
- 82. The seriousness of the nature of the offence could be ascertained by the verdict given by the High Court at Padang which sentenced the editor to a month's imprisonment plus a fine of fl.100,-. This necessitated Datoek Soetan Maharadja to go to Betawi and make an appeal to the Supreme Court of Justice to seek leniency. The result was, unfortunately, not reported. See Bintang Barat, No. 122, 1 June 1893 and Bintang Barat, No. 130, 10 June 1893.

in most cases of defamation, editors found guilty were either fined or goaled or given both punishments. The Press Regulations of 1856 Article 74 provided the following punishment for offences on defamation /smaad/ and slander /laster/ against native chiefs, government officials and local leaders:

Whosoever causes insult, defamation or slander to an official or public administrator ... will be punished by imprisonment for the duration ranging from one month to a year and a fine of the sum ranging from fl.10,- to fl.500,-, both or singularly.⁸³

The transgressions committed by the vernacular press on the Press Regulation of the Indies could nonetheless be considered minor if compared to the offences of and the verdicts imposed on the Dutch-language press. Besides the severe treatment of having an editor banished away from the Indies for his writings, there were also occasions when printing houses were closed and newspapers banned by the government as a result of offences committed by certain publishers of the Dutch papers. A case in point was the closure of the printing press of Jonas Portier & Co. which published and printed De Vorstenlanden at Surakarta. Through a decree issued by the Governor-General on 3 July 1879, the printing press was ordered closed and the paper banned. Apparently the authorities had been angered by the tone of De Vorstenlanden for quite some time and were much disturbed by the paper's criticisms of the government.⁸⁴ Two editors of the paper had in fact been prosecuted in the past for press offences. In the opinion of J.R. Klein, the editor of the Hindia-Nederland, the closure of a printing house and the banning of a news-

83. Staatsblad 1856, No. 74, Clause 25.

84. Hindia-Nederland, No. 55, 16 July 1879.

paper was a very severe punishment, for never before had a newspaper been banned and a printing press ordered to close down.⁸⁵

About the same period, the newspapermen in the Indies were again shocked when J.W. Cohen Stuart of the Locomotief at Semarang was arrested. He was accused of writing a seditious article which was highly critical of the Governor-General in the paper's edition of 8 January 1879. Stewart received six months imprisonment for that.⁸⁶ Banishment was another form of punishment for persdelicten. J.W.H. Halkema of Yog-yakarta was forbidden by the government in January 1881 from residing in the royal city and the territories bordering it because of his article in the Locomotief which purportedly had libelled the Sultan.⁸⁷ Another editor, J.A. Halkema of the Bataviatische Handelsblad was summoned by the Governor-General on 28 September 1882 and sternly warned that if the Bataviatische Handeslbad persisted in printing "unwarranted articles" of incompatible tone with the government's wishes, the government would not hesitate to deport Mr. Haakman from the Indies.⁸⁸ As a result of this warning Haakman resorted to writing to the Tweede Kamer informing

85. Ibid. According to one of the provisions of the Press Act of 1856, the Governor-General could order the closure of a printing house. Following the closure by the government, the firm Jonas Portier & Co. had to sell the printing press since the publisher and printer were no longer allowed to continue their professions. Since Jonas Portier also published the Bromartani, the Javanese paper was then sold to Vogel van der Heyden who became the new owner and printer.

86. See "Uit de Geschiedenis der Indische Pers".

87. Ibid.

88. Hindia-Nederland, No. 78, 30 September 1882. It appeared that the Governor General had been very troubled over the articles on Aceh which had appeared in the Bataviatische Handelsblad, which allegedly had implied, among other things, that the Netherlands was short of finance and arms to keep the war going. "Uit de Geschiedenis der Indische Pers".

Dutch parliamentarians of the harassing threat levelled against him.⁸⁹

The numerous cases of press offences in the 1870's and eighties strongly indicate the government's distrust of the Dutch-language press, and hence its close surveillance of it. To the government, the European community (which included the Eurasians) was the only one that counted politically; whereas it did not think of the native press as having a political role or potential and therefore, contrary to what we might expect, allowed it more leeway.

Nonetheless, sentences imposed by the closure of some printing presses would unfortunately affect the vernacular newspapers especially if the papers were published by the same firm or printed in the same printing house. For example, when the press of H.M. van Dorp & Co. was ordered to suspend its printing work pending trial in the court pertaining to the case of the Java Bode which had been accused of transgressing the press laws, the Hindia-Nederland which was also printed at the same printing press was also interrupted in its publication temporarily.⁹⁰ The same fate was shared by the Selompret Melajoe, published by the firm G.C.T. van Dorp, the publisher and printer of the Dutch-language, Indische Vaderland. In October 1885 the government banned the paper Indische Vaderland on the grounds that it had contravened the Press Regulation of 1856. Its printing press was also ordered to be closed

89. This however, was not the only occasion when Mr. Haakman had a "rub in" with the authorities. Earlier, in February 1882, he had been summoned to court to answer charges of defaming the character of a member of the Supreme Court. He was found guilty and was fined, after an unsuccessful appeal, a sum of fl.300,- failing which he would have to serve a one and a half month's term in prison.

On Mr. Haakman's tussle with the government authorities see Bintang Timor, No. 200, 30 December 1882, Hindia-Nederland, No. 12, 11 February 1883 and Hindia-Nederland, No. 13, 15 February 1883.

90. Bintang Timor, No. 238, 14 October 1885.

down until further decision was made by the court. As a result of this order, the Selompret Melajoe failed to appear in Semarang from 8 October until 17 October 1885.⁹¹ The Selompret Melajoe's appearance on Saturday, 17 October 1885 was nonetheless made possible by having it printed at the Locomotief's printing press owned by Dr. Jhr. van Alpen, the publisher of the Dutch paper. It was also by the intervention of J.M. van Vleuten, the Resident of Semarang, who wrote to the government seeking permission for the continuance of the publication of the Selompret Melajoe, that the paper was allowed to resume publication while waiting for a final verdict from the court of justice.⁹²

The severity of punishment levied on editors and publishers of the Dutch press was certainly a by-product of the government's sensitivity to criticisms heaped by the press on its policies especially pertaining to the war in Aceh. The fear of allowing such criticisms to appear in the printed form (although not in the native press) which in turn would be read not only by people in the Indies but also more importantly by policy makers and politicians in the home country, prompted the authorities to closely scrutinise the contents of the press. This scrutiny was more easily carried out with the Dutch-language press. But with cases of press offences being too often uncovered by the government in regard to the Dutch press in the seventies, it then dawned upon the General Secretary to also oversee the contents of the vernacular press more carefully. Thus a directive was issued to the Director of Justice

91. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 119, 17 October 1885 and Bintang Timor, No. 243, 20 October 1885.

92. Permission was granted for the Selompret Melajoe to resume publication on 15 October 1885. See Ibid.

to enquire whether officials of the judiciary kept track of what appeared in the Malay press.⁹³ This aroused the indignation of the Eurasian editors of the vernacular press who reacted typically:

Does this mean that the government wants to find fault with the [native] press? If the press is to please the government all the time, then it would have to print lies. Truth will not prevail if bad things were to be stated good. Is this what the government wants?⁹⁴

The sporadic occurrences of press offences in the seventies and the eighties characterised the two decades, a period marked by growing social discontent and restlessness and a government intolerance to press criticisms. But there was less worry about the vernacular press as a medium for anti-government criticisms. The arrests of Dutch editors were enough to bring about self-imposed circumspection among editors of the vernacular press who made closer scrutinies of letters and articles received from readers and correspondents. When W. Halkema took over the editorship of the Bintang Timor on 22 September 1883, he was quick to remind readers and correspondents that articles should not be prejudicial to a person's good name and should not "cause trouble in the country or contravene that law of the land". He also said that materials submitted to the press must be signed with the full names of the authors, failing which they would not be printed.⁹⁵ F.C. E. Bousquet, who became editor of the Bintang Timor [later Bintang Soerabaia] in 1887 also cautioned contributors to note that the press

93. Bintang Timor, No. 134, 11 October 1882.

94. Ibid. The reaction came from the editor of the Bintang Timor.

95. Bintang Timor, No. 218, 22 September 1883.

regulations forbade the printing of unsubstantiated allegations of cheating, thefts, or corruption of officials and defamatory writings which could be construed as slanderous. He reminded correspondents of his paper that before printing news of crimes they should ensure that there were witnesses who could prove them if a legal suit was instituted.⁹⁶ However, if an editor was in fact sued by a plaintiff for libel, there had never been a case where the editor would divulge the writer's name to the authorities in order to avoid prosecution. Usually the nineteenth century editors of the press in the Indies would go to goal and thus live up to their journalistic code of ethics.⁹⁷ This seemed to be true also among the editors of vernacular papers.

Subscription Problems

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century and even during the early years of the twentieth century, the most common problem faced by publishers, apart from the difficulty in recruiting subscribers, was the apathetic attitude of some readers who failed to pay up their subscription dues in time or who had obstinately refused to settle their debt which could be outstanding for as long as two or three years, even after repeated appeals from the editor or publisher. Subscribers were required to pay their subscription fees in advance, but since getting subscribers was hard and very competitive, publishers and editors usually

96. Bintang Soerabaia, No. 201, 5 September 1887.

97. The 1856 Press Laws clearly stipulated in its Clause 11 that responsibility of material printed "rests in the hands of the editor, printer, publisher and seller ... the printer also bears the onus of responsibility where the author's name is not disclosed". See "Pers Reglement" in Djawi Kando, No. 88, 30 July 1907.

made exceptions to the rule. Nor surprisingly, given their relatively low income and the high cost of the newspapers, most of the indifferent subscribers were priyayi though there were also a few Chinese names.⁹⁸ When appeals and pleas by a publisher or editor remained unheeded, there was no alternative but to display the names of the culprits in the newspapers, such as:

Mas Mangkoe di Wirio of Deli quick, pay up your debt with the BINTANG BARAT totalling fl.36,-, Nio Liang Eng of Bandoeng, totalling fl.40,-.

and

Abdulrachman galar Mangkoe Motradja of Kota Baroe Paijacoembo, fl.22,50 OGILVIE & CO.⁹⁹

In 1883 G.C.T. van Dorp, the publisher of the Selompret Melajoe complained that it was extremely difficult to make readers settle their debts. In February 1883 the Selompret Melajoe had eight hundred readers who owed between fl.8,- to fl.16,- each since 1882.¹⁰⁰ Since to extract money from such readers was quite a problem, some publishers would issue threats while others tried to persuade the debtors to settle their debts by the promise of presents.¹⁰¹ The anxiety faced by publishers over unpaid subscription dues could be quite distressing, and many a newspaper's life was extinguished on account of financial losses suffered. One contributing factor may have been the fact that the decades of the seventies and the eighties were also characterised by a period of econo-

98. Among the names published by the Selompret Melajoe were priyayi with the titles of Raden and Ngabehi. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 40, 7 October 1871.

99. Some readers were in debt of as much as five years of subscription dues. The Hindia-Nederland also threatened to publish names of such readers if they did not settle their fees in time; so did the Bintang Timor.

100. Selompret Melajoe, No. 23, 22 February 1883.

101. Gebroeders Gimberg & Co. promised to give presents not only to new subscribers but also to those who would settle their dues in time. Bintang Timor, No. 281, 4 December 1884.

mic depression throughout the Indies. However, although the native population endured great economic difficulties, with the drop in coffee and sugar prices in 1884 threatening the breakdown of the economic system,¹⁰² the vernacular press seemed to show signs of resilience. The reason for this could perhaps be attributed to the rise of an awareness among the literate community of the importance of the newspaper, after a period of three decades since its introduction in the vernacular languages. The expansion of schools and the growing number of literates in Indies colonial society had also contributed to this phenomenon. On top of that, improved communication systems in the Indies had also facilitated news travel and certainly generated interest in disseminating news through the press. Thus, one can notice that although quite a number of newspapers had only a brief existence in the eighties, the demise of one was quickly replaced by another and the trend continued right up to the closing of the nineteenth century.

Between 1875 and 1890 there were seventeen newspapers and one periodical published, including one that was published in Amsterdam. Of these, however, only seven newspapers survived by the end of 1890. Like the situation in 1875, newspapers that appeared, with the exception of a few, found it difficult to last longer than the average two years. Of the pre-1875 newspapers and periodicals only the Selompret Melajoe, Bintang Timor, Bintang Barat and the new Bromartani were still in circulation in December 1890. The economic depression of the eighties had, it appears, been responsible for the high mortality rate of the vernacular

102. Between 1877 and 1883 the price of coffee in the would market fell from fl.60,-, to fl.30,-35 per pikul and so did sugar which had a disastrous fall as a result of cultivators in Europe turning to beet sugar. The appearances of disease for coffee in 1878 and sugar in 1882 had also contributed to the decline in harvest. See Furnivall, Netherlands India, Cambridge [reprint], 1967, p. 196.

newspapers. The crisis of 1884 did not leave the owners of printing houses unscathed either. The sudden fall in the prices of coffee and sugar had threatened general bankruptcy of banks and big concerns. In 1886, the publisher of the Bintang Timor, Gebroeders Gimberg & Co.,¹⁰³ was compelled to declare bankruptcy.¹⁰⁴ Its fate was symbolic for it marked a new era for the development of the vernacular press. The period of economic crisis had loosened the monopolistic hold of the Eurasians on the press industry. The year 1886 marked the entry of the Chinese in the newspaper business world.

103. The firm also published the Dutch-language Indische Opmerker. It had been established since 1859 under the name of Gimberg Bros. & Co. See J.A. van der Chijs, "Proeve eener Ned. Indische Bibliographie (1659-1870)", Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Part I, Vol. 39, W. Bruining & Co., Batavia, 1880, p. 67.
104. The printing firm was threatened with bankruptcy early in 1886. The Bintang Timor of 9 April 1886 announced that A. Johannes, the Manager of the firm warned subscribers who had not settled their fees to do so immediately failing which legal measures would be taken as the firm was already bankrupt [soedah djatoeh].

CHAPTER IV

THE CHINESE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
VERNACULAR PRESS

The participation of the peranakan Chinese in the Malay press began in 1869 when Lo Tun Tay assumed the post of editor for the twice-weekly newspaper, Mataharie which had appeared from the Bruining Wijt printing press at Batavia.¹ Hitherto Chinese interest in journalism had been confined to writing letters, contributing news and articles to the editors of the Eurasian-run newspapers, or performing the work of type-setters. But the growth and development of the vernacular press in the nineteenth century would not have been possible without the support of the peranakan Chinese who formed a substantial group of subscribers. The character of the nineteenth century vernacular press as advertisement-papers had drawn significant interest among Chinese businessmen and shopkeepers and so it was prudent on the part of the publishers to ensure that information pertaining to commerce and retail trade affecting the Chinese traders was printed in the newspapers. For the Chinese who had had some form of schooling, be it through the mission schools, private Chinese schools or even private tuition, Low Malay in its Rumi form was the simplest, most convenient and effective form of written communication in the Indies, though there were also among them who were literate in local vernaculars such as Javanese, Sundanese and Batak.²

In 1885 there were reportedly 221,959 Chinese in Java and Madura

1. See Chapter 2.

2. In 1902, Tjhie Sian Ling of Surakarta edited the Taman Pewarta which, besides using Malay, also had two pages in the Javanese script. In 1903 Tjoa Tjoe Kwan was reported to have edited the Darmo Kondo at Surakarta, and in Tapanuli, Lim Soen Hin became editor of the Binsar Sinondang Batak, using the Batak script, in 1905.

making up about 1.64% of about twenty three million people, the total population of Java.³ Very few of them worked as coolies or field labourers while most, including even the poor, were in a trade of some sort as Forbes noted:

Many of the Chinese / in Batavia / possess large and elegantly fitted-up shops, filled with European, Chinese and Japanese stores. Their workmanship is generally quite equal to European, and in every case they can far undersell their Western rivals. Numbers of a poorer class go about as peddlars, carrying all sorts of wares, from silk dress to a linen button, from a China service to a thimble.⁴

Indeed, the Chinese held the retail trade of Java from the days of the Culture system right up to the early decades of this century. Not only were they shopkeepers, but also proprietors of pawn houses, salt stores and owners of plantations, slaughter houses, ware houses as well as managing opium farms and running auctions.⁵ The peddlars not only sold their wares in the markets but quite often made long journeys, deep into native villages. But their gifted talent in business, coupled with their shrewd and wily art of dealing with their customers had brought them a mixed feeling of distrust and hostility from the native population who,

3. The number of Chinese in the Outer Islands for 1885 was 159,793 (about 3.15%), while the total figure for the whole of the Dutch East Indies was 381,752 or 2.12% of the total population. Department van Economische Zaken, Volkstelling 1930, Vol. 7, Weltevreden, 1935, p. 48. Also useful for the study of Chinese population in the Indies is the work of Ong Eng Die, Chineezien in Nederlandsch-Indië: Socio-grafie van een indonesische begolkingsgroep, Van Gorcum, Assen, 1943.
4. See Anna Forbes, Insulinde, William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1887, p. 15.
5. On Chinese entrepreneurship and opium farming in the nineteenth century. see James R. Rush, "Opium Farms in Nineteenth Century Java, 1860-1910", Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1977, Chapter 2.

more often than not, proved vulnerable in any business dealing with the Chinese.⁶

Major Chinese Grievances

The sentiments against Chinese which first found expression in the vernacular press in the seventies continued to be echoed in the more popular newspapers in Batavia, Semarang and Surabaya until the closing years of the nineteenth century. However, the Chinese themselves were not so much resentful of the native criticisms towards them as they were disappointed with some of the measures taken by the Dutch government pertaining to the Chinese community in the Indies in general. To start with, they were particularly unhappy over the wijkenstelsel /residential zoning system⁷, the regulation which restricted their domicile to what was called Chinese quarters.⁷ They complained that they had no freedom of access to the native villages in Java⁸ and impediments to their movement were instituted by the travel pass system introduced on 21 July 1863 by the government resolution of Staatsblad No. 83 of that year.⁹ When the introduction of the property tax and income tax became

6. See Bintang Timor No. 47, 14 June 1873. See also Bintang Barat No. 51, 28 June, 1873.

7. See Staatsblad 1866 No. 57 and Staatsblad 1871 No. 145. On this issue which was raised by the native and the Chinese, see Bintang Timor, No. 47, 14 June 1872 and Bintang Timor, No. 58, 23 July, 1873.

8. See Bintang Timor, No. 58, 23 July 1873.

9. The travel pass system /passenstelsel/ required a Chinese to obtain new visas for every four days spent away from home. The pass was required even for short trips. Because of this travel restriction Chinese peddlars suffered heavy financial losses. See Lea E. Williams, Overseas Chinese Nationalism: The Genesis of the Pan-Chinese Movement in Indonesia, The Free Press, Glencoe, p. 60. See also J.E. Albrecht, Soerat Ketrangan Dari Pada Hal Kaadaan Bangsa Tjina Di Negri Hindia Olanda, Albrecht & Rusche, Batavia, 1890, p. 8. On Chinese irritation over the system, see Tjahaja India, No. 20, 12 March 1883.

imminent in 1878, the Chinese community in Batavia were quick to lodge their complaint with the Government, which nonetheless implemented the taxes.¹⁰ Their great grievance was that in criminal matters they were judged by the Landraad / Native Court which they considered inferior and the Politierol or police docket which they considered to be arbitrary.¹¹ They also resented over the fact that native members were sitting on the board that determined matters relating to rights of inheritance of Chinese. They demanded that Chinese officials be appointed instead.¹² Their complaints could well be illustrated by a letter which appeared in the Hindia-Nederland of 8th and 12th January 1881 which pointed out their "unhappiness" over Dutch policies towards their community in general:

We the Chinese who live in the Dutch East Indies are like orang menoempang / people lodging with others / ... because of that we cannot do as we please like the natives; / even / a Chinese head-man must first seek permission from the government to ascertain whether it is possible for him to reside

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10. The above taxes were introduced in January 1879. See F. Wiggers, Albrecht's Almanak Prijaji Dari Taon 1899, Djilid 1, Albrecht & Co., Batavia, 1898, p. 232. On the complaint, see Wazir India No. 16, 28 November, 1878.
 11. See Victor Purcell, The Chinese in Southeast Asia, (second edition), Oxford University Press, London, pp. 436-437. See also Lea E. Williams, op.cit., p. 60.
 12. See Hindia-Nederland, No. 55, 9 July 1884 and Tjahaja Moelia, 23 June 1884. Regarding matters of marriage, divorce and rights of inheritance, the Chinese were subject to the same laws laid for the native population. The Court of Chancery (Weeskamer) was, after the closure of the Court of Property (Boedelkamer) in 1885, entrusted with the duty of dispensing matters of inheritance for Chinese, natives and other people "equated with the native population". In that court, besides the European officials, were also found native and Chinese members. See J.E. Albrecht, op.cit., pp. 16, 24-28.
 13. Orang Menumpang literally means "people who stay as guests for a temporary period of time in someone's house". It is the custom for the orang menumpang to regard himself as staying on the generosity of the host and that hospitality is not to be taken advantage of by doing things which the host will not be happy with.

in a particular place to earn a living.¹⁴ When a Chinese requests permission to get married he is required to pay a fee¹⁵ ... and when he dies / his family will have to pay for the burial site. Prior to that a sum of f1.50,- has to be paid to the government for keeping the corpse in the house during mourning; and all because we are orang menoempang. We are to abide with the government in order to gain its trust. The government has given us responsibility for the fire brigade¹⁶ and at times it requires us to repair the dikes when they are damaged by flood.¹⁷

In 1878 we received an order forbidding the building of atap / thatch-roofed / houses in the Chinese kampung / village /, which we think is good and will please the insurance people ... / however / the new Resident has ordered the setting up of an atap building in the kampung to function as a market ... and it will be looked after by four Chinese taking daily shifts. If we compare the order of 1878 and the present one in 1880 we can't avoid noticing the contradiction because while one asks for abandonment the other calls for installation.

Now we have reached an agreement and with money raised we have bought some hundred pieces of tiles / and / steel grills for the roofing

14. The writer was referring to the requirement of law stipulated by Staatsblad 1871, No. 145 which also made it compulsory for any "alien" to apply for permission from the Assistant Resident of a particular residency if he wanted to stay outside the 'quarters' allocated for people of his race. This law, however, did not apply to foreigners in Riau, and the residency of East Sumatra where the Dutch needed coolies to work in the plantations. Even in Java when the Chinese were needed to run government farms or act as government functionaries, the law requiring them to stay in specific Chinese quarters or kampung was relaxed. See J.E. Albrecht, op.cit., pp. 6-7.
15. The money was not only paid for getting a marriage license but also a separate sum was paid if the bride and the groom wanted to wear their wedding suits and bridal gowns and an elaborate ceremony was to be performed for which permission would first have to be sought. The money taken by the government, however, was used to finance the upkeep of the Chinese hospital at Batavia. Ibid., p. 57.
16. As was the case with other residents of the Dutch East Indies, the Chinese were required to serve in the fire brigade which was known by its Malay term, pekerjaan pompa. Another public work which was obligatory for both natives and aliens alike was the jaga gardu, meaning to take up the night-watch at the guardo or guard house.
17. Minding the dikes was also obligatory for all natives and aliens alike.

of the market building, in the anticipation that we shall be exempted from the duty of guarding the building.

The government wants to have the Chinese kampung equipped with lanterns and each Chinese household is required to defray the cost / of lighting /; there are some who pay ten cents, and others who contribute twenty cents, which if added up will amount to about fl.40,- a month.

As we have mentioned earlier, over time the hardship has become more unbearable. In the Elkitab / Holy Book / it is stated that in times of hardship people will turn to God. But if we ponder over the burden a poor man must bear like performing his duty in the fire brigade, working at the dikes, paying the taxes, defraying the cost of lighting lanterns and guarding the market house, even if he were to be exempted from paying the wedding and funeral fees, he would not, in his impoverished condition, think of God's commandments; instead, he would become a bangsat / scoundrel / or a thief ...¹⁸

The general complaint of the Chinese in times of economic hardship was the imposition of new taxes which not only burdened the community but also others, especially the native population, in general. However, interestingly enough, it was the Chinese element of the population who dared to voice its opinion about the issue in the press.

The Press and Chinese Socio-Cultural Consciousness

The newspaper not only served as a forum for them to air their views and try their hand at syair writing in Low Malay, but it was also utilised as a medium for some of them to trade insults in their own personal quarrels even with members of their own community. Some of their criticisms levelled against fellow-Chinese were, nevertheless,

18. This letter to the editor was written by a Chinese from Kupang. It was published first in the Hindia-Nederland and was later picked up by the Bintang Timor of 22 January 1881.

constructive in nature.

Through the vernacular press the Chinese were able to debate issues concerned with their community. In the nineteenth century, it seems some form of cultural consciousness was propagandized by the peranakan Chinese readers in the Malay press. The men wanted their ladies to wear Chinese traditional dress as in China.¹⁹ There was also some form of esprit de corps being implanted among them through the formation of temple associations which did not confine their activities within the enclaves of temple rituals and funerals but also extended their activities to giving financial assistance to poor or needy Chinese in the areas where the associations were based. Chinese socio-religious associations had been founded in Java even in the early sixties. In 1863 the Hok Kian Tik Soe was set up in Surabaya as a kind of cultural and co-operative organization.²⁰ By 1871 it had successfully accumulated funds totalling a reported sum of sixty thousand guilders, certainly no small sum for a local association.²¹ It was stated that the interest derived from the savings would be utilised for burial expenditure of members. It also had all the necessary facilities for a funeral, including coffins. Perhaps the one most important association formed by

19. This movement, however, met with some criticism. A reader wrote to the Bintang Timor expressing his disgust over the "naive and stupid" articles written by people of his own race / Chinese / on the type of dress a Chinese lady should wear. He said it would be better if the Chinese think more of the education for Chinese children. He also proposed that a body be set up to run a Chinese educational institution where the culture, languages and customs of that community could be taught together with instructions in reading and writing in the Dutch alphabet / meaning the Romanised Malay language /. See Bintang Timor, No. 92, 17 November 1877.
20. See Bintang Timor, No. 92, 22 Nov. 1871. This association aimed at "encouraging Chinese nyonya [ladies] to wear traditional Chinese dress", besides professing to extend aid to needy Chinese. Bintang Timor, No. 36, 5 May 1869.
21. Bintang Timor, No. 92, 22 November 1871.

the wealthy Chinese at Batavia was the Societeit Betawie, which was actually a club founded in 1875²² along the model of the two most famous Dutch clubs, the Harmonie and the Concordia,²³ both situated in that city. The Societeit Betawie, which had its own constitution, restricted its membership to people of the Chinese race and its aims were stated to be mainly, "boeat meramekan persatoean orang baik-baik" (to promote an association for the gentlemen class). Article 30 of the constitution stipulated that newspapers and books in the Malay language should be made available to club members.²⁴ The period of the 1880s saw the growth of many small clubs popularly known as "roemah bola"²⁵ in other towns as well. More Chinese temple associations which in fact could also be said to function as cooperative and mutual assistance organizations were also emerging during this decade. The Gouw Tjie Tek Thong and the Lie Thong Hok at Batavia and the Thjin Tjek Kong Soe at Surabaya are typical of the temple associations which strived "to promote the welfare and religious customs of members such as by holding

22. The Societeit Betawie was initiated in its formation by some wealthy Chinese in Batavia who wanted to found a club which could participate in cultural activities and that would "give rejoice and promote understanding among Chinese". See Selompret Melajoe, No. 20, 15 May 1875.
23. Both the Harmonie, a fine club built during the time of Stamford Raffles during the British interregnum, and the Concordia, a military club, served to promote social intercourse among the upper class European community in Batavia. Both clubs provided weekly concerts and "all the rank and fashion of Batavia meet on two or three evenings in a week to listen to good music and display their fine clothes. M. McMillan, A Journey to Java, Holden & Hardingham, Adelphi, London, 1914, p. 281.
24. Selompret Melajoe, No. 42, 16 October 1875.
25. The name roemah bola was derived from billiard balls, since most of these clubs had billiard tables for the recreation of members. The presence of the bola [balls] billiard was soon to be associated with a club house, just as the phrase roemah makan [literally eating house] was used to signify a hotel in the nineteenth century.

/religious feasts in temples".²⁶ That these associations were financially viable was evident from their monetary savings and property ownership. The Thjin Tiek Kong Soe, for example, owned estates with a total estimated taxable value of not less than fl.168,000. Some of these estates produced rice and sugar.²⁷

The organizational capabilities of the Chinese were not only evident from the founding of associations but also in the founding of private schools. Lack of government provision for Chinese education caused the Chinese to initiate the setting up of such schools. In 1874 Baba Souw Siouw Tjong and Baba Tan Tjen Po had set up schools at Mauk and Batu Tjeper near Tangerang to enable the village children in their estates to go to school.²⁸ Chinese interest in education had always been strongly felt and lively polemics regarding the issue once in a while did surface in the pages of the vernacular newspapers.²⁹ By 1899 there were 217 schools existing in Java and Madura, with about 4,452 pupils.³⁰ In the Outer Islands the number of schools for that same year was 152, including sixty three in Banka-Belitong and fifty four in West Kalimantan.³¹ Some of these schools were quite modern

- 26. Bintang Timor, No. 102, 4 May 1887.
- 27. Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch Indie 1887, part 1, Landsdrukkerij, Batavia, 1886, p. 262.
- 28. Bintang Timor, No. 38, 13 May 1874 and Bintang Timor, No. 43, 29 May 1875.
- 29. See for example Bintang Timor, No. 92, 17 November 1877. Apart from schools the Chinese were also aware of the need for the founding of Chinese orphanages where orphans could also be imparted with some form of education. When the Societeit Betawie came into being, a few readers of the Bintang Timor commented that it would have been better if an orphanage had been set up instead of a club. There was also a remark which pointed out that most of the associations that had been set up were catering for the rich Chinese only. It would have been more meaningful, if a house for the poor was also established. See Bintang Timor, No. 66, 18 August 1875 and Bintang Timor, No. 69, 28 August 1875.
- 30. Department voor Uniezaken en Overzeas Biksdeelen, Koloniaal Verslag, van 1900, I, Nederlandsch (Oost-) Indie, Appendix P., Table IV.
- 31. Ibid.

in the curriculum. For example, the Anglo-Chinese school set up at Kampung Cina, Batavia in 1892, had teachers who were proficient in the English language. Besides Chinese dialects, the school also taught its pupils Reading, English Composition, Geography, Algebra, History, English songs and the English grammar. The teachers, who were peranakan and fluent in the Chinese dialects as well, came from Singapore.³² Chinese cultural consciousness found greater impetus when the vernacular press business began to draw an exceptional interest among some of the Chinese businessmen in the cities of Batavia, Semarang and Surabaya.

The Rise of the Chinese-owned Press

As had been pointed out in the last chapter, the period of economic malaise following the economic crisis of 1884 as a result of the drop in sugar and coffee prices in the world market had ironically given impetus to a few Chinese businessmen to try their luck in the printing press business. As was pointed out earlier too, the financial disaster that hit many a plantation owner had not spared one of the biggest printing companies in the Indies - the Geboeders Gimberg & Co. press.³³ On 6th April 1886, the Bintang Timor, the Malay newspaper which the company published and printed, announced that Geboeders Gimberg & Company was in a poor financial state of affairs. For a firm which was regarded as one of the largest in the Dutch East Indies and since its establishment in 1860 had within ten years been able to produce as many as thirty nine printed works,³⁴ the news shocked many people in Surabaya.

32. Bintang Barat, No. 274, 30 November 1892 and Bintang Barat, No. 277, 3 December 1892.

33. We have not been able to obtain information to ascertain whether the printing firm had had shares in the coffee and sugar plantations which could have been a contributory factor to its own financial crisis.

34. Mr. J.A. van der Chijs, "Proeve eener Ned. Indische Bibliographie (1659-1870)", Verhandelingen van het Bataviasch Genootschap van Wetenschappen, Deel XXXVII, Batavia, 1875, p. 259.

Even the fate of the Bintang Timor, one of the oldest major Malay news-papers to have survived for almost twenty four years, was in the balance. The ever-present problem of outstanding debts on subscription fees among stubborn readers also exacerbated the already difficult situation.³⁵ The crisis came when A. Johannes, the business manager of the firm made the announcement that the Gebroeders Gimber & Co. was now bankrupt.³⁶ He warned that subscribers of the Bintang Timor who had not settled their debts to do so quickly, failing which court action would be taken against them.³⁷ Finally, by December 1886 the Bintang Timor published a large advertisement announcing the following:

The Gebroeders Gimberg & Company, and its printing presses will be duly auctioned in public on Friday 24th December 1886 at ten o'clock with the assistance of the Auction Office at Surabaya. The Weekskamer / Court of Chancery / will dispose of the entire shop and the printing presses which / also / include the following: an assortment of articles in the shop, a cylinder-press using steam power, a paper straight-edge, a lithographic press, etc.

Everything will be like as it originally was on that day of sale and the buyer will have the right to continue using the name of the firm,

AND

the right to publish the Indische Opmerker³⁸ and the Malay newspaper Bintang Timor ...³⁹

- 35. This was admitted by Kruseman, the Manager of the company. Bintang Timor, No. 223, 30 September 1886.
- 36. The words used were soedah djatoeh / bankrupt /. See Bintang Timor, No. 83, 9 April 1886.
- 37. Ibid.
- 38. This was a missionary paper. Following the takeover of the company by the Chinese, the paper's publication was terminated.
- 39. Bintang Timor, No. 292, 20 December 1886.

On the day the auction was held, a Surabaya Chinese emerged as the successful bidder to secure ownership of the printing firm and, perhaps of more importance, the right to publish the Bintang Timor, all at the price of fl.24,600.⁴⁰ Nothing much is known about the purchaser, except that he went by the name Baba Tjoa Tjoan Lok. He nevertheless had been able to purchase the European-owned firm through the support of his relatives, Tjoa Sien Hie⁴¹ and Tjoa Tjoan King, who both became his guarantors.⁴² The sale of the Gebroeders Gimberg press was symbolically significant for the Chinese publishing community. It marked the beginning of Chinese participation in newspaper publication and the ushering of a new era of development in the vernacular press business. No longer were the Eurasians and the Europeans the sole owners of newspapers.

In late 1885, at Buitenzorg another peranakan Chinese had also come to secure ownership of a printing press. Lie Kim Hok, who was then about thirty three years of age, had purchased the press from the widow of the late D.J. van der Linden, who was a Calvinist missionary and editor of the Bintang Djohar. Lie Kim Hok had bought the press at the cost of one thousand guilders and with the help of some friends was able to commence printing books for schools and office requirements.⁴³

- 40. Bintang Timor, No. 296, 24 December 1886.
- 41. Tjoa Sien Hie was a Lieutenant of the Chinese at Surabaya, who had held the post since 1869. See Regeeringsalmanak, 1882, pt. 1, p. 135.
- 42. Bintang Timor, No. 292, 20 December 1886. Nothing is known about Tjoa Tjoan King.
- 43. Tio Ie Soei, Lie Kimhok 1853-1912, L.D. "Good Luck", Bandung, n.d. /1958/, p. 49. Tio did not specifically mention the exact date of the purchase but since, according to him, van der Linden died on 5 August 1885 and the offer of selling the press was only made towards the end of that year and the fact that the Pembrita Betawi was printed by the Lie Kim Hok press beginning from 1 September 1886, it was likely that Lie Kim Hok formally came to acquire the printing press either towards the very end of 1885 or early 1886. When Lie Kim Hok came to own the printing press the amount of guarantee money he had to forward to the government was fl.200,- which showed that

Lie Kim Hok was an educated peranakan. Born in around 1853, he began his schooling at the age of ten at the Albers /mission school in Cianjur and later, between 1866 and 1869, he attended a private Chinese school before joining the mission school at Buitenzorg which was opened in 1869 by the missionary S. Coolsma.⁴⁴ In 1873 when Coolsma moved to Semarang, the school was taken over by D.J. van der Linden, the missionary who befriended Lie Kim Hok. Lie in turn proved to be a most loyal pupil and friend. In school Lie Kim Hok had the opportunity of receiving instruction in both the Sundanese language and Malay. His association with van der Linden, who owned a printing press which published De Opwekker and the Bintang Djohar had not only exposed him to the religion of Christianity but also to the art and skill of printing. As a matter of fact, even while his mentor was alive he had had some of his works published and printed at the missionary press of van der Linden.⁴⁵ Under the guidance of van der Linden Lie Kim Hok also became an assistant teacher at the mission /zending school at Buitenzorg, while at the same time conducting his own day school which he operated near his house for the benefit of the local Chinese children.

the press only conducted a small business such as printing books and materials for schools and offices. See Regeeringsalmanak, 1887, pt. I. p. 320.

44. Tio Ie Sie, op.cit., pp. 18 and 35-37. Unless otherwise stated, references to Lie Kim Hok had largely been drawn from Tio's work, which we think is quite reliable.
45. See Ibid., pp. 84-86. See also Catalogus der Koloniale Bibliotheek van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië en het Indisch Genootschap, Martinus Nijhoff, 's-Gravenhage, 1908, p. 297.

Lie Kim Hok's interest in the printing trade however led him to leave the teaching profession soon after he took over ownership of van der Linden's press. Then an offer from W. Meulenhoff, the editor of the Pembrita Betawi, for him to buy a share in that publication induced him to move to Batavia together with his printing press, then called Drukkerij Lie Kim Hok & Co. Thus on 1 September 1886, the Pembrita Betawi, which had undergone successive changes in editorship and ownership, came to be printed at the Lie Kim Hok & Co. Press.⁴⁶ But it appeared that Lie did not own the press for long, for towards the end of 1887 the company was dissolved and the printing press was sold to the European company Albrecht & Co. which continued to publish the Pembrita Betawi. In fact even as early as June 1887 Lie Kim Hok and Meulenhoff had given up their shares of ownership of the paper to Karseboom & Co. who nevertheless continued to use the Lie Kim Hok press until its sale to Albrecht & Co. Karseboom & Co. in the meantime, had a new newspaper to be published. On 2nd January 1888 the Chabar Hindia Olanda appeared from the press of Karseboom & Co. with J.J. Gouijn as editor.⁴⁷

Following the sale of his printing press, Liek Kim Hok's involvement in the newspaper profession seemed to have ceased until in January

46. Within less than two years the Pembrita Betawi had had J. Kieffer as editor and W. Meulenhoff who succeeded him in 1885. At first the paper was published and printed by W. Bruining in 1884 and then taken over successively by Meulenhoff (1885), Albrecht & Co. in 1888, to be followed by Albrecht & Rusche until its demise at the end of 1916.
47. J.J. Gouijn was a Eurasian who, before taking up journalism as a career, was a commies / custom house officer / cum-auctioneer and officer extraordinary of the civil registration at Batavia. He was also agent for the property court and sequestration at Tangerang. Gouijn served the Chabar Hindia Olanda, which changed to Hindia Olanda in the second half of 1888, from its early inception until 1891. The Hindia Olanda ceased to appear after 1897. See Regeeringsalmanak, 1882, pt. 2, pp. 104 and 125. See also Bintang Barat, No. 2, 3 January 1888 and Regeeringsalmanak, 1891 pt. 1, p. 293.

1898 when he again emerged but this time as a correspondent for the weekly periodical Pengadilan which was published and printed at the press of De Vries & Facricus, Bandung and edited by G. Francis.⁴⁸ But his most important contribution to the Chinese community in the Indies was in promoting the idea of forming a pan-Chinese organization in the Dutch East Indies which in 1900 culminated in the birth of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan.⁴⁹ Apart from that, he was also a well-known writer. Writing in Low Malay language, Lie Kim Hok had over the years produced, translated and co-authored no less than twenty five books which ranged from narrative poems /syair/, novellettes, and stories translated from Chinese and European popular classics to some bold attempts at linguistic studies such as his work on the grammar of the Batavian Malay /Melajoe Betawie/ and a syntactical work concerning Malay words which he titled Kitab Darihal Perkataan-perkataan Melajoe. Indeed, it is perhaps as a writer of Low Malay literature that Lie Kim Hok most deserves to be remembered for his works left an indelible mark on the historical development of the modern Indonesian language and literature.

The entry of Lie Kim Hok into the printing press business and his brief encounter with newspaper publication as well as the successful takeover of the Gebroeders Gimberg & Co. by Tjoa Tjoan Lok were certainly important events. However, they were by no means the only Chinese who had acquired printing presses during this period. The period of economic hardship that swept the island of Java in the early 1880s had

48. Not to be confused with the periodical of the same name that was quoted by the Bintang Timor of 18 May 1887. The Bandung Pengadilan first appeared on 13 November 1897 and ceased publication after 16 April 1898. See Pengadilan, No. 1, 13 November 1897 and Selompert Melajoe, No. 48, 23 April 1898.
49. For a list of his works, see Tio Ie Soei, op.cit., pp. 84-86.

pushed some Chinese businessmen to look for other avenues in the pursuit of their commercial ventures. In that year of 1884, three other Chinese had already come into possession of printing presses, though they never undertook to publish newspapers probably because their presses were small and unsuitable for newspaper printing and qualified Chinese editors were hard to come by. Competition with the Eurasian-dominated Malay press was also difficult. Nevertheless, Oeij Tjai Hin, Goan Hong & Co. and Yap Goan Ho, all of Batavia, had indulged in the business of publishing Chinese legendary stories which had been translated into Low Malay.⁵⁰ Two years later, Tjoe Toei IJang of Batavia also became the owner of a similar type of printing press with an equal amount of security money paid to the government as part of the requirement of the Printing Press Regulation of 1856.⁵¹

Although Tjoa Tjoan Lok was not the first Chinese to own a printing press in the Indies he, nevertheless, was the first to inherit a widely-known newspaper with a long history. That he was able to purchase a European-owned printing press company must have been looked upon grudgingly by many a Dutchman. As a matter of fact the government had found it necessary to raise the security money of fl.400,- to fl.5,000,-

50. Their enterprise was soon to be followed by others. In 1886 an Arab peranakan, a certain Said Oesman bin Abdullah bin Akil became a publisher and printer of "books and materials for schools and offices and the like" with a guarantee fee of fl.200.

51. Regeeringsalmanak, 1889, pt. I, p. 298 (bijlage).

which, considering the amount paid by the other printers, was certainly by far the largest amount of guarantee or security money extracted from a printer.⁵²

Nonetheless, the Bintang Timor under its new owner could be said to have emerged as the forerunner of Chinese-orientated newspapers in the Dutch East Indies. It was also the first to start the trend towards producing so-called "organs" (even though initially only in an unofficial capacity), which became a predominant characteristic in the early decades of this century. Up to now, with the exception of the Christian missionary papers and periodicals, the vernacular press in general had been catering for all the racial groups in the Indies, though the interest of the European caste would undoubtedly remain above everything else. Polemical opinions and petty squabbles which crept into the columns of the readers' letters reflected a more or less genuine effort on the part of the editors to allow readers to utilise the newspapers as a non-parochial or non communal media. But this was soon to change. Commencing from January 1887, one could clearly notice the transformation that the Bintang Timor was undergoing. From then on, about seventy five percent of news and articles that appeared in the paper had something connected with the Chinese. As a matter of fact, the incumbent editor in 1886, A. Bois d'enghien had by the end of December that year (after Tjoa Tjoan Lok made the purchase) tendered his resignation, "because of some disagreement with the new owner".⁵³ The new man who replaced him

52. See Regeeringsalmanak, 1887, pt. I, p. 321 (appendix), and Regeerings-almanak, 1889, pt. I, p. 299 (appendix). Since the Printing Press Regulations stipulated that the Governor General was empowered to increase or decrease the security money from the minimum sum of fl. 200,- to a maximum of fl. 5,000 it is quite clear here that Tjoa Tjoan Lok was imposed with the maximum amount which he had to deposit with the government as guarantee.

53. See Bintang Timor, No. 1, 3 January 1887.

as editor was also a Eurasian by the name of F.C.E. Bousquet, Bousquet, a former official at the Semarang Raad van Justitie who held the post of registrar extraordinary, was a qualified lawyer, being a holder of the title meester in de rechten.⁵⁴ Under him the paper had undergone a change in name. On 15 July 1887 the paper appeared under the mast-head of Bintang Soerabaia and it had also been converted into a daily.⁵⁵ As though to further emphasize its new image as a Chinese newspaper, the publisher had the Bintang Soerabaia printed on special coloured papers on Chinese festive days. For example its No. 198 edition which appeared on 1 September 1887 was printed on yellow pages while on other festive occasions the colours could be maroon, green, blue and others.⁵⁶ This boosted its sale among the Chinese so much so that even the Pembrita Betawi found it prudent to follow suit so that it too had a special issue printed in pink to mark the Chinese new year festival.⁵⁷

About a year after Tjoa Tjoan Lok's purchase of the Bintang Timor, there appeared at Semarang a thrice-weekly paper called the Tamboor Melayoe, under the editorship of a Chinese soedagar / merchant⁷ by the name of Sie Hian Ling.⁵⁸ He was assisted by Sie Keng Han. The paper was published by Sie Hian Ling together with Gebroeders Jansz. Despite its use of the masthead, Tamboor Melayoe it was in fact a Chinese

54. See Regeeringsalmanak, 1882, pt. 2, pp. 42 and 575.

55. According to the editor, readers had expressed disapproval of the old name. See Bintang Soerabaia, No. 160, 15 July 1887.

56. The reason given was that since the majority of readers were Chinese it was only proper that on days of festive occasions for that community the paper should have special colourful editions.

57. See Pembrita Betawi, No. 34, 11 February 1896.

58. Sie Hian Ling was also a Chinese-language interpreter and a lieutenant of the Chinese attached to the Raad van Justitie at Semarang. Bintang Hindia, No. 15, / n.d. / 1905.

newspaper.⁵⁹ News extracts were mostly from overseas Chinese newspapers with some from European papers.⁶⁰ But the newspapers which started with only about a hundred subscribers was doomed to failure and it stopped in the second half of 1889.⁶¹ Meanwhile, Yap Goan Ho, who initially joined in the printing business by only printing books and materials for schools and offices, had by 1888 started a newspaper of his own at Batavia. The Sinar Terang,⁶² which commenced its regular daily appearance on 25 June 1888, had W. Meulenhoff as its first editor.⁶³ With the exception of one agent at Serang, all the other distributors of the Sinar Terang were Chinese who were located at Bogor, Bandung, Cianjur, Suka-bumi, Garut, Cirebon, Semarang, Demak, Surabaya, Tegal and Padang.⁶⁴ Five years later, another peranakan by the name of Oeij Tjai Hin who was a publisher and owner of a printing press himself, became editor of the daily Bintang Barat following the departure of J. Kieffer and E.F. Wiggers

59. Since Semarang had already had the Selompret / trumpet / Melajoe, it might have occurred to Sie Hian Ling's mind to have the drum / tambur / accompanying the trumpet. The Tamboor Melayoe first appeared on January 1888 as specimen issue... and made its regular appearance starting from 7 April 1888. Its subscription rate was fl.1,- per month. See Bintang Soerabaia, No. 34, 10 February 1888.
60. There were a lot of news extracted from Chinese newspapers concerning China and Japan in which both were reported to be preparing for war. Although local news were also published they often concerned the Chinese community in particular.
61. Bintang Soerabaia, No. 275, 30 November 1888.
62. Not to be confused with the weekly Sinar Terang which was published at Surakarta by Vogel van der Heijden & Co. Its specimen edition appeared on 31 October 1885. But there was no evidence of it having continued to exist after 1886. The Sinar Terang which appeared in 1888 survived up to 1898.
63. W. Meulenhoff was a Eurasian who, before taking up journalism as a career, was a government official holding the rank of commies / custom-house officer / in the Department of Public Works. Before he joined the Sinar Terang he was editor for the Pembrita Betawi. See Regeeringsalmanak, 1882, pt. 2, p. 327 and Sinar Terang, No. 8, 3 July 1888.
64. Sinar Terang, No. 1, 25 June 1888.

who left to found the Bintang Bettawi.⁶⁵ Not surprisingly, under Oeij Tjai Hin the Bintang Barat produced more articles which would suit the taste of the Chinese readers and as a result more of them would come to contribute articles to the paper which touched on issues of Chinese interest. It was also during the term of Oeij Tjai Hin that Ogilvie & Co., the publisher and printer off the Bintang Barat, initiated the founding of a Sunday paper, the first ever in the vernacular language. The Courant Doeminggaoe, as it was called, was also edited by Oeij Tjai Hin and made its maiden appearance on 28 January 1894.⁶⁶ But the company was soon to relinquish ownership of both papers when its printing press was sold to H. Prange & Co.. on 23 April 1894. Under the new management both papers seemed not to be making good business. By 1900 both the Bintang Barat and its Sunday edition, the Courant Doeminggaoe were forced to cease publication.. Oeij Tjai Hin thus left journalism to return to his printing shop and devote his attention to printing story books, an area which his colleagues , fellow-printers Yap Goan Ho and Tjoe Toei IJang, had found to be relatively rewarding.⁶⁷

Yap Goan Ho, however, had made a second attempt to produce a

65. Bintang Barat, No. 224, 3 October 1893.

66. This was the specimen edition. Its regular issue commenced on 4 February 1894. The paper, however, did not print any news but instead published a number of Chinese legendary tales, Javanese and Middle Eastern stories, reports of the Sino-Japanese War and articles of general interest: and advertisements.

67. See p. above. Tjoe Toei IJang was especially active in printing novelettes written by Chinese and Eurasian writers in Low Malay language in the 1890s. Yap Goan Ho, while also doing the same thing continued to print reading materials for schools. For an insight into the type of works done by the printers of this period, see G.P. Rouffaer & W.C. Muller (eds.), Catalogus der Koloniale Bibliotheek van KIVTLV, 1908.

newspaper when in 1894 he launched the specimen editions of the Chabar Berdagang which was more of an advertisement paper for commerce. But the said paper never succeeded for, failing to get encouraging response from subscribers, the venture was soon abandoned.⁶⁸ In 1898 the Sinar Terang which Yap had started ten years earlier had also ceased to exist. In 1892 Yap had tried to set up another printing shop at Semarang but nothing was heard of its activities following its inception.⁶⁹ Another paper which appeared at the dawn of the twentieth century at Semarang was the Bintang Semarang which appeared from the firm, N.V. Semarang Courant under the editorship of Sie Hian Ling, the former editor of the defunct Tamboor Melayoe.⁷⁰

The Chinese-owned press also developed in Sumatra. The agent of the Batavia-based Sinar Terang at Padang was a peranakan by the name of Lie Bian Goan. The interest that this gentleman had in the newspaper was soon to lure him to the field of journalism and newspaper publication. In June 1894 Lie Bian Goan became a publisher as well as a newspaperman when he launched the Pertja Barat, a twice-weekly paper which he edited together with Dja Endar Moeda.⁷¹ In 1894, there were already two other

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- 68. No copy of this paper could be traced. Information about its short existence was derived from the Regeeringsalmanak of 1895, pt. 1, p. 292.
 - 69. The size of the printing house and its business anticipated must have been quite substantial, considering the amount of security money Yap Goan Ho had to deposit with the government which was fl. 500,-, a rather large sum. See Regeeringsalmanak, 1893, pt. 1, p. 284.
 - 70. Calling itself "soerat kabar dan advertentie", the Bintang Semarang / Semarang Star / had distributing agents who were all Chinese. Bintang Semarang, No. 67, 7' June 1904.
 - 71. The date for the emergence of the Pertja Barat has always been most perplexing to many writers of Indonesian press history. Adi Negoro in his Falsafah Ratu Dunia, Balai Pustaka, Jakarta, 1951 (second edition), has wrongly suggested, as in many instances with regard to the early press elsewhere in his book, the year 1890 as the date when the Pertja Barat first appeared. On the other hand, Mohammad Said in his work, Sejarah Pers di Sumatra Utara, Percetakan Waspada, Medan, 1976, has been misled by the erroneous claim of the Pertja Barat of 1911 (available at the Museum Pusat, Jakarta) that in that year the paper was in its nineteenth year thus giving rise to Mohammad

Malay-language newspapers circulating in Padang, namely the Palita Ketjil⁷² and the Sinar Menang-Kabau.⁷³ Padang had never proven to be a fertile breeding ground for the vernacular press since the inception of the short-lived Bintang Timor in 1864. That Lie Bian Goan had undertaken to publish the Pertja Barat in 1894, knowing fully well that there were already two newspapers (one of which was even a daily) to compete with, was certainly a bold step on his part. Lie Bian Goan was, however, fortunate in having a very qualified Batak who was proficient both in Malay as well as Dutch, not to mention his own Batak language, to sit on the editorial board. Indeed, Dja Endar Moeda who hailed from Padang Bolak had been trained as a teacher in the kweekschool / teachers' college at Padang Sidempuan.⁷⁴ But competition for subscribers was stiff. In 1895 the Palita Ketjil was compelled to change its name to Warta Berita in order to get a new image. By about 1897 Baharoedin's paper, the Sinar

Said to suggest that it first appeared in 1892. However, the earliest surviving copy of the Pertja Barat at the Press Institute, Amsterdam which dated 11 October 1895 (in which beneath the masthead is an indication that it was in its second year) clearly shows that it first emerged in 1894, and most probably in around June or July of that year because on 31 July 1894 the Bintang Barat paid compliments to its editor and the paper itself.

- 72. The Palita Ketjil / Little lamp /, a twice-weekly paper, appeared on 1 March 1886 from the press of R. Edwards van Muijen. Its first editor was H.A. Mess who, before joining the Palita Ketjil, was an assistant editor for the Sumatra Courant. Regeeringsalmanak, 1882, pt. 1, p. 183.
- 73. The Sinar Menang-Kabau / Minangkabau / was a daily published and edited by a certain Baharoedin. It probably appeared in 1893. No existing copies of this paper, however, could be located in any of the libraries in Indonesia, the Netherlands or Britain. We are not even sure if it was published by the editor. The only source of information we have about its existence is the Regeeringsalmanak of 1894, pt. 1 (appendix), pp. 261 and 269.
- 74. Born in 1861, Dja Endar Moeda became an assistant teacher in 1884 at Air Bangis. Some time later he was made head teacher at Batahan, Natal. He had started writing to newspapers in as early as 1893. His interest in journalism was not confined to being the editor of the Pertja Barat alone. As will be discussed in other parts of this thesis, Dja Endar Moeda was also an active contributor for the periodical for the pedagogical journal Soeloeh Pengadjar and founder as well as editor for the Insulinde and the Tapian na oeli early this century. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 90, 20 April 1897 and Bintang Hindia, No. 15, 25 July 1903. See also Taman Sari, No. 182, 12 August 1904.

Menang-Kabau, was also facing difficulties and finally ceased publication.⁷⁵

The Pertja Barat was thus left with only one rival -- Palita Ketjil, which in 1897 was edited by Soetan Bahoedin, the man who took over from Datoek Soetan Maharadja. It was during this time that Lie Bian Goan departed from the Pertja Barat, leaving Dja Endar Moeda to manage the editorial job. With that, Lie Bian Goan's interest in the business also waned. By 1898 it was reported in the Selompret Melajoe that the Pertja Barat had been taken over by L.N.A.H. Chatelin Sr., the producer of the Sumatra Courant.⁷⁶ Two years later, however, it was sold to L.J.W. Stritzko who published and printed it. Throughout these years, Dja Endar Moeda continued to remain as its editor.

The withdrawal of Lie Bian Goan from the vernacular press business did not mean the end of Chinese journalistic activities in Padang or anywhere else in Sumatra for in 1898 the Tjahaja Sumatra had made its appearance in Padang under the editorship of Lim Soen Hin.⁷⁷ Although the publisher was mentioned as Winkelmaatschappij voorheen P. Baumer & Co., nevertheless a Chinese by the name of Tan Giok Lan was stated as

75. The exact date of its closure cannot be known. One can only speculate that the paper stopped appearing in late 1897 or 1898 for the Regeeringsalmanak, which usually listed journals published the previous year, made no mention of its existence in the 1899 volume.

76. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 46, 18 April 1898 and Regeeringsalmanak, 1899, pt. I, p. 196. (appendix).

77. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 63, 26 May 1898 and Regeeringsalmanak, 1899, Pt. I, (appendix), p. 196.

Lim Soen Hin was a Baba peranakan who came from Padang Sidempuan, Tapanuli and was the contemporary of Dja Endar Moeda. After serving the Tjahaja Sumatra he became involved in various other papers. In 1905 he was editor for the Sinar-Sumatra while at the same time assisting Immanuel to edit the Batak-language weekly, Binsar Sinondang Batak. He was then reported to have edited the short-lived Bintang Sumatra followed by Bintang Tionghoa and lastly he was with the Sinar-Sumatra which he served from 1905 to 1912. He died on 3 September 1917 at Sibolga. See Jubileum Number Sinar-Sumatra 1905-1929, Padang, 1929, p. 15.

the administrateur or business manager which could mean that he was a partner in the venture.⁷⁸

While the Sumatran peramakan Chinese were making strides in the printing press business, a Chinese in Ambon had also shown an interest in the field. Towards the end of 1897, Baba Ong Kie Hong had managed to become editor and manager of the missionary-inclined periodical, Penghentar which was founded in 1894 by the assistant ministers of the Church at Ambon and printed at the Ambonsche Drukkerij.⁷⁹ By early 1898 the Selompret Melajoe made the announcement that Ong Kie Hong had purchased the printing press, thus becoming its new owner.⁸⁰ In 1899 K.D. Que, a Chinese in Menado who had acquired the legal status of a European (his previous name was Kwee), had set up a printing press which was named Menadosche Drukkerij.⁸¹

The trend in founding newspapers and setting up printing presses had thus gained momentum among the Chinese by the end of the century. This trend continued in the very early years of this century, particularly in Java where Chinese newspapers mushroomed not only in the commercial port cities but also in the smaller towns such as Buitenzorg (Bogor) and Sukabumi. This phenomenon coincided with the launching of the Ethical Policy but more significant was its relationship with the rise of Chinese

78. The company which had a printing press was owned by K. Baumer.
79. The Penghentar was a fortnightly missionary periodical which first appeared on 4 October 1894. It was the continuation of a previous journal called Penaboer / disseminator. While copies of the Penghentar could still be found, not a single issue of the Penaboer had, unfortunately, been traceable. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 109, 11 September 1897 and Penghentar, No. 1, 4 October 1894 and Penghentar, No. 28, 16 November 1895.
80. Selompret Melajoe, No. 14, 3 February 1898.
81. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 24, 25 February 1899. K.D. Que's brother, Que Kien Bok, was also a partner in the firm.

socio-economic consciousness that found its manifestation in the formation of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan in 1900.

The Emergence of a Pan-Chinese Movement

The phenomenal rise of the peranakan Chinese press which began in the late eighties and gained momentum steadily in the nineties could perhaps be explained by some of the changes instituted by the Dutch which, to a large extent, affected the Chinese community. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, there had emerged a re-orientation of colonial thinking among some Dutch ethicists who, seeing that the liberal policies since 1870 had failed to generate improvements in the welfare of the indigenous population, advocated positive measures to bring about changes that would help to alleviate native poverty. One of these proposals called for the reduction of native taxes, abolition of the monopolistic revenue farm system and instituting changes in the administrative system by granting more autonomy in local government and also the introduction of projects aimed at improving native agriculture.⁸² One of the proponents of the ethical ideas was Pieter Brooshoof, a journalist himself who in his Memorie of 1888 called for remedial action on behalf of the natives. The ethical ideas soon found support among the leaders of the Neo-Calvinist and Catholic parties who condemned the Liberal policies as unjust and unchristian.⁸³ The issue was finally raised by van Deventer who reminded the Dutch government of the Netherlands' debt of honour to the Indies colony and her people. Even before

82. James R. Rush, op.cit., p. 259.

83. Chr. L.M. Penders (ed.), Indonesia: Selected Documents on Colonialism, Queensland Press, Queensland, 1977, p. 61.

the Ethical Policy was formally endorsed, some enthusiastic ethicists were already eager to see changes taking place. The closing years of the nineteenth century had also ended the revenue farm system for the Chinese. The success of an experiment in the takeover of opium farms by the government in Madura in 1894 and in East Java in 1896 had led to the announcement being made in 1898 that Chinese monopoly in revenue farming was no longer allowed.⁸⁴ Coupled with this the Chinese were deprived of the monopoly of pawn houses and licensed abattoirs. With the taking away of opium farms from the Chinese the Dutch government also saw it fit to tighten the regulations of the passenstelsel and the wijkenstelsel both in 1897 and 1900 respectively.

The collapse of the revenue farm system was a severe blow to Chinese economic activities in the hinterland of Java for through the farms they had had access to native villages and were able to exploit the lucrative rice trade at the same time and also to act as middlemen for the European traders in the urban centres and the indigenous population in the rural areas in the transaction of commodities. Through the farm system they had also been able to relax the strict application of the hated pass system. The bitterness that resulted from these deprivations was further exacerbated by the long-standing question of taxes which were viewed by the Chinese as excessive and were not giving the Chinese community reciprocal return from the Dutch in terms of taking care of their welfare such as schools financed by the government for Chinese children.

84. Lea E. Williams, op.cit., p. 26. See also James R. Rush, op.cit., chapter 2.

Moreover, in the eyes of their European critics the Chinese were viewed as exploiters of the natives. In 1896 it seemed that the Dutch press was advocating a crusade against the Chinese in the Indies.⁸⁵ Thus, with outstanding grievances that the Chinese had felt for almost three decades in the last century, it was of little surprise that the year 1900 became very significant in that it marked the birth of Chinese nationalism in Java, directed not so much against the native population but primarily towards the Dutch colonial government. This consciousness as a minority group in a colonial society was positively expressed in the peranakan Chinese press of the early years of this century which claimed to be the voice or "organs" of the pan-Chinese movement, the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan.

The Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan was formed on 17 March 1900 by a group of Chinese businessmen and journalists. According to Nio Joe Lan,⁸⁶ the founding fathers of the organization were: Phoa Keng Hek,⁸⁷ Khouw Kim An,⁸⁸ Khouw Lam Tjiang,⁸⁹ Tan Kim San,⁹⁰ Lie Kim Hok, and Lie Hin Liam. The inception of the movement could be traced back to the events taking place in China in the late eighteen nineties, following the

85. Lea E. Williams, op.cit., p. 41.

86. See Nio Joe Lan, Riwayat 40 Taon dari Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan - Batavia (1900-1939), Batavia, 1940, pp. 5-6.

87. Phoa Keng Hek who was the first President of the T.H.H.K. was born in 1857 at Bogor. His father was a Kapitein of the Chinese. Leo Suryadinata, Prominent Indonesian Chinese in the Twentieth Century: a preliminary survey, Ohio University Center for International Studies Southeast Asia Program, Athens, Ohio, 1972, p. 29.

88. A leading businessman, Khouw Kim An was a son-in-law of Phoa Keng Hek. Born on 5 June 1876, he was educated in a Hokkien school but was able to read and speak Dutch. He became the Director of the T.H.H.K. in 1900. See ibid., p. 11.

89. Khouw Lam Tjiang became the First Treasurer of the organization. No information about his background is available.

90. Tan Kim San, who held the post of First Secretary, was born in 1873 at Batavia. He received his education in a Hokkien school in Batavia and later in an English school in Singapore.

defeat of China by the Japanese as a result of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, which the Chinese in the Indies had followed with a keen interest.⁹¹ The shame and humiliation suffered by the Chinese following that defeat had moved the nationalist Kang Yu Wei to propose reforms to the Emperor Kuang Hsu in 1898 which aimed at modernizing China along Western lines especially in the fields of government, education and law. One of the arguments of Kang Yu Wei was that the defeat of China was because of her outmoded systems while abandoning traditional ways as taught by the sage, Confucius. However, following the usurpation of power by the Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi and the detention of the emperor by her followers after introducing the hundred days of reforms as proposed by Kang Yu Wei, China was again embroiled in the Boxer uprising which eventually precipitated a series of aggressions by the European powers. The events in China and the threat posed by her enemies had not gone unnoticed by the overseas Chinese. The idea of modernization as proposed by Kang Yu Wei and the idea of returning to the teachings and ideals of Confucianism had also found favourable support among the overseas Chinese who as alien residents abroad felt that their fate was tied to their ancestral homeland. The defeat experienced by China and the humiliation she received, was especially felt by the Indies Chinese who as a minority group also felt that the colonial government had made them feel very insecure as alien residents. Thus the need to project their identity as Chinese was urgently felt and there was no better way than to advocate a return to Confucianism while at the same time striving to achieve progress through emulating the West.

91. The news of the war had been reported by most of the papers of that period especially by the Bintang Barat and the Pembrita Betawi.

The year 1898 had seen the appearance of a Confucianist revival in Singapore which was geared towards spreading Confucian ideas among overseas Chinese in the archipelago. Singapore, for the Indies Chinese, had often been viewed as a window to the outside world. And thus when it was learnt that Singapore had become the base of the Confucianist movement which the nationalist reformers of China had also advocated, the peranakan Chinese community in the Indies also became interested to learn more about the movement. In 1897 the journalist Lie Kim Hok had already introduced the teachings of Confucius in the Indies through a book he published at Batavia entitled, Hikajat Konghoetjoe [the story of Confucius].⁹²

Named Kong Kauw Hwe or Confucian religious society, this Singapore-based association was founded by Dr. Lim Boon Keng, a physician, and Song Ong Siang, lawyer.⁹³ In 1899, about a year after its formation, IJoe Tjai Siang, a Christian convert from Java, went to Singapore to meet Dr. Lim Boon Keng. Upon his return to Java, IJoe Tjai Siang together with a friend published a Low Malay translation of a Confucianist text called Thay Hak Tiong Tong.⁹⁴ The introduction of the Confucianist movement in the Indies during a time when the Chinese were in a state of malaise was bound to find acceptance among the leaders of that community who were already anxious to found an organization that would promote the welfare of the Chinese people. Thus when Phoa Keng Hek was approached by some enthusiastic Chinese leaders to found the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan the idea was quickly acted upon. The organization was formed on 17 March 1900.

92. Lea E. Williams, op.cit., p. 113, ff.

93. Ibid., p. 55.

94. Ibid., p. 56.

Response from the Chinese in Java was overwhelming. The vernacular press, both Chinese-run and Eurasian-edited, gave prominent publicity to its emergence.

The principal aims of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan were:

- i. to promote the customs of the Chinese, which as far as possible were to be in accordance with the teachings of Confucius and which should not be contrary to the adat sopan [refined customs]; and to spread knowledge of Chinese languages and literature among the [Indies] Chinese;
- ii. to provide and maintain, for the purposes of achieving the above aim, a building or premise in order to provide members [a place] for socialization, discussion of matters of interest to the organization and other issues which would benefit the community and to work towards achieving their needs, without breaking the laws of the State;
- iii. to provide a library which would be beneficial to the propagation of knowledge and understanding.⁹⁵

On 3 June 1900 by the resolution of the Governor General, No. 15, the organization was given legal recognition by the government.

The Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan was especially successful in the field of education for Chinese children. The first Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan Chinese school was set up on 17 March 1901, exactly a year after the organization was formed. The Principal of the school was specially recruited from Singapore through the assistance of Dr. Lim Boon Keng. The monthly school fees charged were between fl.1,- and fl.10,-, depending on the financial background of the pupil's parents. Children of non-members were admitted with a higher fee being imposed. On 1 September 1901, an English school was opened and the name given for the school was,

95. Nio Joe Lan, op.cit., p. 7, For an analysis of the T.H.H.K. see Lea E. Williams, op.cit., pp. 57-63.

curiously enough, Yale Institute or Afdeeling /Section / "C" of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan.⁹⁶ The school was run by a certain Dr. Lee Teng Hwee.

Apart from its educational role, the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan also encouraged members to practise customs based on the teachings of Confucius. A member who was ignorant of traditional rituals in matters such as funeral and burial ceremonies for example, would be given assistance by one of the committee members. The organization also professed to encourage members to retain a modern outlook towards life in general. There was a conscious effort to wage war on superstitions and corrupt practices which had, allegedly, been absorbed from native animistic influences and were thus viewed as against the teachings of Confucius. It is interesting to note that while the peranakan Chinese were advocating a return to traditional Chinese practices based on Confucian teachings, they were also very much open to modernization which in fact meant to many of them the adoption of Western cultural traits. In this regard there is a parallel with the Islamic modernist movement which while calling for a return to the Koran and hadith, was not against modernization so long as it did not clash with teachings in the Koran and hadith /sayings and practices of the Prophet /J. Indeed, for the leaders of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan, anything that was not said or sanctioned by Confucius should be left to the better discretion of the individual. Nevertheless, the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan did represent a modern, disciplined (its members were discouraged from gambling) and organized nationalist movement which aimed at giving the Chinese self respect and prestige in the eyes of the other races, particularly the Dutch.

96. Nio Joe Lan, op.cit., p. 23.

However, its rise in the beginning with its professed Confucianist orientation was not favourably received by some quarters within the European population and, not surprisingly, the missionaries. In an article which appeared in the Bentara Hindia, the missionary journalist, L. Tiemmersma wrote among other things that if the Chinese thought that they could find salvation through Confucianism, they were bound to be disappointed. He asserted that only Christianity could provide them that.⁹⁷ To this article, a Chinese reader responded by saying that Tiemmersma should "cease attacking other people's religion in order to wage his own Christian propaganda".⁹⁸ The Chinese attitude towards the European community was certainly more outspoken following the emergence of the Tiong Hoa Hiwee Koan. The Chinese at Surabaya were reported to have formed a "Boycott Committee" and were urging their fellow-Chinese to boycott any European firm that discriminated or gave poor treatment to Chinese.⁹⁹

The rise of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan not only marked the emergence of Chinese nationalism in the Indies but, more importantly in the context of the development of the vernacular press, saw the sudden flowering of "organs" for that organization which were heavily Chinese in orientation and character. For the first time in the Indies, the year 1901 witnessed the emergence of newspapers using Low Malay language but having Chinese titles; and the pages had Chinese characters interspersed in between the lines. In April 1901, about a year after the formation

97. Bintang Betawi, No. 123, 4 June, 1902.

98. Ibid.

99. See Pembrita Betawi, No. 84,, 15 April 1903.

of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan, Tan Gimng Tiong and IJoe Tjai Siang, the Christian convert who turned Confucianist and who, according to a Dutch missionary, was "both mentally ill and an opium addict"¹⁰⁰ founded the Li Po which he and his friend edited.¹⁰¹ Printed at the Soekaboemische Drukkerij which was owned by a Chinese, the paper promised to print regularly articles on Confucianist teachings.¹⁰² Not long after that, in 1902 the Sie Dhian Ho press which had just been set up at Surakarta began to publish another Chinese weekly called the Sien Po which had Tan Soe Djwan as editor.¹⁰³ Although the language used was Low Malay, Chinese characters were used to illustrate certain Chinese names and terms. Sie Dhian Ho also produced the Taman Pewarta in that same year. Despite its Malay title, Sie Dhian Ho called the thrice-weekly paper the "unofficial organ of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan".¹⁰⁴ In the meantime, in Surabaya, also in 1902, Lo Swie Tek was publishing the Loen Boen, another organ of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan.¹⁰⁵ At about the same time, at Semarang, a new Chinese press had come out with a Malay newspaper called Warna Warta edited by F.D.J. Pangemanaan. While the Director and Manager was given as Kwa Wan Hong, the publisher and owner of the paper was the N.V. Drukkerij en Handel in Schrijfbehoeften "Hap Sing" Kongsie. Although meant to be a paper for all the races in the Indies and commercially orientated, having eight pages of advertisements to only two of news and articles, it nonetheless proclaimed itself the "unofficial organ of the

100. Lea E. Williams, op.cit., p. 56.

101. The proof editions appeared on 1 April 1901. The Manager was Lauw Tjeng Bie. Bintang Betawi, No. 78, 12 April 1901.

102. Ibid.

103. See Sien Po, No. 4, 24 February 1903 (second year).

104. Bintang Betawi, No. 185, 16 August 1902.

105. Regeeringsalmanak, 1903, pt. I, p. 212 (Appendix).

Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan."¹⁰⁶

The year 1903 ushered in a number of newspapers managed or owned by peranakan Chinese. On 15 March the Kwa Hok Ing press launched the specimen editions of the Pewarta Soerabaja, another daily to rival the Bintang Soerabaia. Its editor was H.F.R. Kommer.¹⁰⁷ From the press of Tjoe Toei IJang, who all this time had only devoted his attention to publishing story books, there emerged at Batavia the Kabar Perniagaan which was edited by F. Wiggers with Lie Kim Hok and Tan Kim Bo as assistant editors. Since both Lie and Tan were committee members of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan, it was obvious that the paper too was the organization's unofficial organ.¹⁰⁸ But in 1904, it seemed that Tjoe Toei IJang had sold the Kabar Perniagaan to a newly established Chinese press, the N.V. Boekhandel en Drukkerij Hoa Siang In Kiok.¹⁰⁹ In May 1903 Sukabumi was again to see the birth of another Chinese newspaper called Ho Po which was also published by the Soekaboemische Drukkerij. The editor of this weekly paper was Thio Sian Lok, a lieutenant of the Chinese. He was assisted by Tan Tjan Hie who also held the post of administrateur or manager of the paper. Confucianist in orientation, the paper was circulated in Bogor and had Lie Kim Hok, Tjiong Loen Tat and Gouw Peng Liang as correspondents.¹¹⁰ Following the footsteps of Sie Dhian Ho, another Surakarta Chinese resident had begun to set up his own press at

106. See Warna Warta, No. 355, 6 June 1904 and Warna Warta, No. 137, 21 June 1910.

107. Pembrita Betawi, No. 151, 5 March 1903.

108. Kabar Perniagaan, No. 22, 1 March 1904.

109. The takeover happened on 16 August 1904. See Kabar Perniagaan, No. 157, 16 August 1904.

110. The paper was the organ of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan. Pembrita Betawi, No. 84, 15 April 1903.

the Kampung Cina, Warung Pelem, Solo. The new press owned by Tjoa Tjoe Kwan was called Tjoa Tjoe Kwan Sien Ien Kiok and was set up in 1903.¹¹¹ On 12 November of that year Tjoa launched the twice-weekly newspaper, Darmo Kondo which used Malay and Javanese and was edited by Tjoa Tjoe Kwan himself. Barely two months later Tjoa had launched the specimen editions of the Chinese weekly, Ik Po, of which he printed six thousand copies, a clear indication that Tjoa Tjoe Kwan was determined to make the paper a success. The paper's regular copies began to appear from 15 March 1904, again with Tjoa Tjoe Kwan himself as the editor.¹¹² Although Low Malay was its medium, Chinese characters were also used.

The appearance of newspapers with Chinese names continued right up to the period when indigenous political activities had become more vocal and more radical with the rise of Sarekat Islam and the Indische Partij. The list would be too long if they were to be enumerated here. But suffice it to say that before the emergence of the Boedi Oetomo almost in every year there would be a new Chinese newspaper emerging. Batavia had seen the circulation of the weekly Seng Kie Po¹¹³ beginning from 1 July 1906 which was edited by Gouw Peng Liang, a peranakan from Jatinegara.¹¹⁴ Even a small town such as Bogor had a Chinese weekly, the Tiong Hoa Wie Sin Po which appeared in 1905 from the press of Vizier & Co, a book dealer, while Besuki in the division of Bondowoso was also to witness the appearance of a newspaper in 1908. However, the paper Sinar Tiong Hoa was probably limited in circulation considering the fact that it was

111. Permission to set up the printing press was actually obtained from the Resident of Surakarta whose permission was granted through his besluit / resolution / dated 22 November 1902, No. 7287/29. The printing press was then officially set up on 1 August 1903. See Ik Po, specimen edition, 23 February 1904.

112. Ibid.

113. See Kabar Perniagaan, No. 134, 18 June 1906.

114. Born in 1869, Gouw Peng Liang was to become a prolific writer, journalist and author of several books. See Leo Suryadinata, op. cit., p. 6.

published by the Chinese Reading Club /Leesgezelschap/¹¹⁵ of that town.

With the influx of newspapers in the first decade of this century the European publishers and printers could no longer afford to be choosy in employing editors. Although some publishers were still in favour of employing ex-government officials from the Eurasian group, the period had also seen the emergence of many Chinese editors who were as capable as their Eurasian counterparts for many of the Chinese editors had either had some schooling in a native language or had some experience as translators or as officials of their community. The new wave of Chinese nationalism had also made many of the European newspaper publishers aware that it was practical to employ a Chinese editor or a native one if the paper were to fetch a good market.

Having looked at the circumstances that brought about the rapid growth of the Chinese-owned newspapers as well as the emergence of printing presses owned by Chinese, one wonders whether it was not the rising tide of Chinese socio-economic consciousness in the last two decades of the nineteenth century that had given birth to the development and growth of a Chinese-orientated press and the deep involvement of peranakan Chinese in vernacular journalism. The economic pressures and the growing anti-Chinese sentiments were the catalyzing factors in bringing awareness to the Indies Chinese of the importance of the press. Dutch recognition of Japan in 1899 as an emerging power and the elevation in status of the Japanese in the Indies by the granting of rights previously enjoyed by those categorized as Europeans also contributed towards the rise of Chinese consciousness which in turn manifested itself in the emergence

115. The paper expired in 1914. See Sinar Djawa, No. 24, 5 February 1914.

of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan and the proliferation of the Chinese press.

The upsurge of Chinese nationalism and the mushrooming of Chinese newspapers, did not make the Indonesians indifferent to the new political wind that was blowing in the Indies. The success of the Chinese in penetrating the vernacular press industry was lauded by Indonesians not so much for the economic profits derived but more important was the resulting influence of the press on the Chinese community in general.

In the words of Tirto Adhi Soerjo,

... it was because of the influence of the press that the Chinese people had been awakened from their slumber, and each and everyone of them had begun to ... find ways and means to achieve progress and it was due to this that there arose various types of associations and schools and their business being strengthened ...¹¹⁶

Thus while the Chinese were making progress in the last years of the nineteenth century, the indigenous intelligentsia were not unaware that they too had to do something for the advancement of their people. Although the press was still in the hands of the Eurasians and the Chinese, their vision, aspirations and idealism to bring about change for the indigenous society nonetheless remained strong and the deliberations on how to go about bringing kemajuan / progress were expressed in the press at the turn of the century. In the following chapter we shall look at the issues which preoccupied the minds of the newly emerging Indonesian intelligentsia.

116. Speech of R.M. Tirto Adhi Soerjo, delivered to a gathering of native merchants and traders from Bandung, Batavia, Yogyakarta, Solo and Semarang, re-printed by the Pewarta Boemi, No. 17, 16 May 1911.

CHAPTER V

THE EMERGENCE OF A MODERN INDONESIAN CONSCIOUSNESS
AND THE PRESS

In the preceding chapter we attempted to show that the socio-economic conditions that affected the peranakan Chinese community had given birth to a Chinese "national" consciousness in the Dutch East Indies. This was manifested in the founding of printing presses and an increase in the number of peranakan Chinese holding the post of editor of vernacular newspapers in various towns and cities of Java and the Outer Islands.

While the peranakan Chinese had made a remarkable stride in the vernacular press industry after 1884, the role of the Eurasian editors and Dutch-owned vernacular press was still significant even though competition for readership was gradually becoming more difficult by the turn of the century. For the Eurasian editors, the indigenous literate were still the main source of subscribers and for that reason their newspapers, while not trying to alienate Chinese readership, aimed to court the native readers' interest by publishing articles which would be perceived as speaking to the needs of the native population.

For the tiny group of Indonesian literate composed largely of teachers and junior officials (those who had had some form of education but were holding positions below that of Assistant Wedana), the last two decades of the nineteenth century had brought many changes in their physical environment. Technological innovations, marked by the introduction of a more elaborate system of communications, the growth of urban centres and the expansion of industries, banks and warehouses selling items imported from Europe and other countries all indicated that a new world -- the modern world -- was emerging. Thanks to the comfort of the

railways, trains and ships people were now able to travel faster and over longer distances. The telephone, post office, telegraph and newspapers were providing a more efficient distribution of news, and new ideas were propagated as a result of the growth of the printing industry. For the educated Indonesians, all these developments did not go unnoticed. For them, such phenomenon constituted a barometer of changing times or what came to be perceived as kemajuan. From their perspective, the Europeans in the Indies, as exemplified by the newly emerging bourgeoisie of the urban centres and the wealthy planters whose lifestyle demonstrated luxurious comfort with their stately homes, exclusive social clubs and beautiful carriages, appeared as the true example of material success as a result of kemajuan. Even the Chinese as a community, the so-called "Foreign Orientals", were looked upon with a mixed feeling of envy and admiration. They were viewed as being more secure economically because of their role as the middlemen in commercial transactions and because of their near absolute control of the retail trade. In Java, by the eighties the Chinese were already following the footsteps of the Europeans. They had already set up their own exclusive social clubs (where only the rich and the "enlightened" mingled) and associations modelled along European lines. Added to that they had towards the end of the eighties successively founded new newspapers all oriented towards serving the interest of their community. Indeed, for the average Indonesian, the Chinese were already making progress or about to attain kemajuan.

Kemajuan meant an elevation of one's social status or the achievement of community or nation in such important fields of life as economic, social, cultural and political. Kemajuan was also interpreted to mean many things: educational progress, enlightenment, civilization, modernization and success in life. One was considered to have attained kemajuan when one was not regarded as being inferior especially by a non-native. For the young intellectuals kemajuan must be pursued by the

Indonesians if they wished to be respected as civilised people (beschaafde mensen). In order to achieve this the Indonesians must acquire knowledge through Western-type education.¹

It was this preoccupation with the search for a solution to bring Indonesians to the gates of kemajuan or progress that the writings in the newspapers of the eighties and nineties were primarily concerned. It was also as a result of Indonesian interest in this theme that the Eurasian-edited vernacular newspapers managed to sustain continued support from the native readers while the Chinese peranakan press was gradually becoming more Chinese-orientated in its contents. Articles bearing education as a theme, which was generally agreed as the key to progress, were given prominence. From the numerous readers' letters that appeared there also seemed to be an attempt to look within native society itself, especially Javanese, for any shortcomings and weaknesses viewed as hampering the way towards modernization.

Since the early 1960s native education had already drawn interest among readers. But the period of the eighties had generated more polemical writings in the press with regard to education because more schools had been built and more teachers had been trained. As was pointed out earlier, the rapid socio-economic changes that were taking place in the Dutch East Indies and the realization that if Indonesians were to attain progress they had to compete with the other communities had made education an important topic of discussion in the press. Lower priyayi who wrote to the editors clearly understood that education (meaning to be able to read and write) was a prerequisite in their

1. See the writings on "Kemadjoëan" in Taman Pengadjar No. 1, 15 July 1899, pp. 40-42; Taman Pengadjar No. 4, 15 October 1899. See also Bintang Hindia, No. 4, 1904, pp. 35-37.

profession as junior officials or clerical staff in the government. Even a magang² who wished to become a priyayi, i.e. an official, must acquire some level of education. In the long run too, all officials who wished to be considered for promotion in the native bureaucracy would be measured by their education and background as well as their competency.

But the interest in education was not paralleled by the growth of schools, which was extremely slow. By 1882, the number of schools in Java had risen to only about three hundred and in the outer provinces to not more than four hundred schools. The total number of pupils for the whole of the Indies for that particular year was no more than forty thousand.³ Indeed, a glance at the following table⁴ on educational expenditure allocated by the government to both European primary education and native primary education reveals the sluggish effort of the government in the expansion of education among Indonesians.

Table 1

<u>Year</u>	<u>European Primary Education</u>	<u>Native Primary Education</u>	<u>No. of European Pupils</u>	<u>No. of Native Pupils</u>
1883	f1. 1,631,000	ff1. 1,196,000	9,700	35,000
1886	f1. 1,746,000	ff1. 990,000	10,700	43,000
1889	f1. 1,934,000	ff1. 978,000	16,900	-
1892	f1. 2,096,000	ff1. 1,040,000	18,700	53,000

2. A magang, usually but not necessarily of priyayi-birth, was a kind of apprentice who was assigned to serve a native high priyayi or Dutch official to learn the art and craft of bureaucratic administration. The period of attachment was unlimited. His appointment as a priyayi depended on a vacancy being available or his father having some connection or influence with a Dutch official such as the Controleur or Assistant Resident. A magang received no salary but the prospect of becoming a priyayi official was so glamorous and viewed as so rewarding in terms of status and power that many youths were induced to remain as magang for as long as ten to twelve years.
3. J.S. Furnivall, Netherlands India: A Study of plural economy, Amsterdam 1976 (reprint), p.. 220.
4. Figures taken from G.J. Nieuwenhuis, "De Ontwikkeling van het Indisch Onderwijs", Gedenkboek van Nederlandsch - Indië 1898-1923, Batavia-Weltevreden-Leiden, 1923, p.. 158.

The period following the economic crisis of 1884 saw a severe reduction in school expenditure for native children even though the number of pupils had increased considerably. The allocation was only improved in 1892 but then it did not even amount to half of the figure allocated for European schools although the number of native pupils almost trebled that of the European pupils.

That the need for more schools was seriously felt by many Indonesians could be gauged from the numerous letters to the press complaining that the government was not providing enough places for native children. This issue had been raised even in the seventies. It was said that usually only one school was built to serve the needs of several outlying districts.⁵ To overcome the shortage of schools, in 1874 the government had offered to extend a financial subsidy to private schools set up with at least twenty pupils,⁶ with the condition that no religious teaching was allowed during school hours. But these schools, which were to be overseen by local chiefs and Regents, did not have highly qualified or even trained teachers. The only way the government could follow the progress of each school was through the reports which the teacher had to submit annually to the Inspector of Native education.⁷ In all government

5. This raised the problems of places for the pupils to stay since they were far away from their villages and also other problems such as food, hygiene and lack of conscientiousness in their school work since they yearned to return home often. See Selompret Melajoe No. 15, 20 February 1878.
6. The subsidy was to cover expenses on furniture and teaching aids. Its continuance depended on the school's adherence to conditions laid by the government. No mention of the salary of teachers was made. Initially, for each school, fl.200 would be given. An annual sum would follow depending on the number of pupils:
fl.100 to a school having not more than 20 pupils;
fl.125 to one having between 20 to 30 pupils;
fl.150 to one having between 30 to 40 pupils;
and a maximum of fl.175 to a school having between 40 to 50 pupils.
See Selompret Melajoe, No. 19, 8 May 1875.
7. Ibid.

schools, following the implementation of the Fundamental Decree in 1871, Riau or High Malay as opposed to Low Malay was preferred to be the medium of instruction.⁸ Promotion of teachers to a higher salary scale depended on their capacity to acquire a "clear knowledge of Malay".⁹ But in the private schools this requirement was not enforced and presumably local languages were used more since not many Javanese who did not have formal teacher training were able to teach in Malay.

It was not until 1893, after economic stability was more or less restored, that more serious attention was given by the government to native education.¹⁰ In that year, as stipulated by the Staatsblad 1893

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- 8. See H. Kroeskamp, Early Schoolmasters in a Developing Country: A History of experiments in school education in 19th century Indonesia, Van Gorcum, Assen, 1974, pp. 260, 366-367.
 - 9. The promotion of High Malay had actually been advocated from at least 1660 by the Dutch East India Company authorities at Batavia. However, there was a continuous debate among missionaries of the Malay language in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries pertaining to the suitability of High Malay and the practicality of Low Malay. It seems, however, the proponents of High Malay gained in government schools. See John Hoffman, "A Foreign Investment: Indies Malay to 1901", Indonesia No. 27 (April 1979), pp. 65-91.
 - 10. The development of education for girls did not make much progress either in the period before 1900. Native customs, religious prejudices and the general suspicion over socialization between the two sexes formed an obstacle in spreading education for girls. However, efforts towards this end were made by the missionaries who nevertheless had only limited success in persuading parents to send their daughters to school. There were also a few enlightened Indonesian individuals who had, in a way, pioneered the education for girls in the nineteenth century. In 1880, for example, a certain Soetan Gombok was reported to have founded a girls' "school" with about thirty pupils at his house in Padang. It was ceremoniously opened by the Governor who, in his address, welcomed the initiative as a sign that the women of Padang were on their way to progress. In the Minahassa, the first girls' school was established by the missionaries at Menado in 1881. In East Java, towards the end of 1898, the Frobel school at Mojoworno reportedly had 271 girls out of a total of 717 pupils. But only thirty-three of the girls were Muslims (as opposed to 200 Muslim boys out of 446), an indication that education for girls was still lacking support from Muslim parents. See Bintang Timor, No. 83, 16 October 1880; Selompret Melajoe, No. 99, 14 December 1881.

No. 125 Article 1, native schools had been categorised into:¹¹

- (a) first class schools, which were meant for children of the aristocrats and the upper class;
- (b) second class schools, which were again subdivided into two:
 - (i) second class schools having four grades, and
 - (ii) those having three grades.

The second class schools catered for the children of the "commoners" among the natives. The standard and content of teaching in the two classes of school were so different, that the "miserable" quality of education given in the second class schools was a source of lament by teachers. Apart from the question of poor quality of education the lower priyayi were even more concerned about the lack of opportunities for native children to go to school. By 1895, the number of schools in Java and Madura had merely increased to 210 to cater for a population of 25 million.¹²

The shortage of "Western-type" schools, however, should not be construed as an indication that the majority of Indonesians were totally alien to some form of education. Religious institutions such as the pesantren and the langgar which existed in Java and the predominantly-Muslim areas in the Outer Islands did provide instruction in Koran reading and the Arabic alphabet.¹³ Their functions and activities were nevertheless rarely discussed in the press. If at all discussion pertaining

11. G.J. Nieuwenhuis, "De Ontwikkeling van het Indisch Onderwijs", op.cit., p. 158. See also Taman Pengadjar No. 8, 15 February 1903 p. 235.

12. Taman Pengadjar No. 8, 15 February 1903, pp. 235-236.

13. In 1893 there were 17,879 pesantren in Java and Madura (not including those in Banyumas and Bagelen) and 4,836 in the Outer Islands. The number of pesantren students in Java and Madura totalled 259,166 and in the Outer Islands where it was stated that about 4/5 of the religious schools were in langgars or small mosques, the number of pupils were 67,168. See E. Nijland, Schetsen Uit Insulinde, Utrecht, 1893, p. 127.

to the pesantren arose it was usually in the form of deriding the institution as was evident from a reader's letter in the Selompret Melajoe which urged the priyayi not to send their children to the pesantren because the students there "studied by rote".¹⁴

In their deliberations over education the lower priyayi who constituted the bulk of newspaper readership never ceased to remind readers that if they wanted the indigenous people to change for the better then the western form of secular education was the only means towards that goal. Although the means and method of changing society by education might not have been clear to them they nevertheless shared the view of many that change must come from the top stratum of society. In other words, since the leadership of native society was in the hands of the upper priyayi it was only natural that their children must be given good education. But the reality of the situation was that children of the upper priyayi were not doing well in schools. The priyayi themselves were not bothering too much about their children's education. In 1880 a reader in the Bintang Timor complained that;

from the names of students taking their examinations at the dokterjawa school ... there was not a single Raden or Raden Mas from among the Javanese ...¹⁵

Even the few children who managed to gain admission in the Dutch primary schools were not doing well, which prompted the Bupati of Demak at the turn of the century to remark that this did not augur well for the Indies.¹⁶

14. This was opposed by Warta Sanjata, a teacher who was a regular contributor to the Selompret Melajoe. He defended the pesantren system by saying that it had served a useful purpose in places where no government schools existed. He also argued that the pitiful conditions of the pesantren were due to their being neglected by the authorities. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 19, 9 March 1881 and Selompret Melajoe, No. 34, 30 April 1881.

15. Bintang Timor, No. 100, 15 December 1880.

16. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 148, 12 December 1899. In 1880 the number of priyayi children in the European schools was only 43. G.J. Nieuwenhuijs, "De Ontwikkeling van het Indische Onderwijs ...", op.cit., p. 157.

The concern felt regarding the apathetic attitude of most priyayi parents towards education often became polemical in the vernacular newspapers. Criticisms of priyayi which had appeared in the press even in the seventies took an increasingly more strident form in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Accusing the priyayi class of being too entrenched in the Javanese adat, these critics blamed the obsession for hormat,¹⁷ the craving for respect and status, as the major obstacles to the advancement of education among children of priyayi. Many priyayi sent their children to school only with the expectation that their children too would ultimately become priyayi, thus paying little heed to the need to produce professionals and self-employed personnel from among the priyayi community to serve the needs of the Javanese.¹⁸

Newspaper readers who wrote to the editors criticized the upbringing of the children of priyayi which they said was spoiling them by pampering;

... it has been a customary practice of the orang bangsawan (traditional aristocracy) or the orang kaya-kaya (nobility) to provide one son with more than ten attendants. Wherever he goes, he is accompanied by the payung 'ndhoro (ceremonial parasol) and his retinue of followers. Almost everything that he fancies will be met ... this is the habit that he will continue to cultivate as an adult whereby he will never hold any position but one that will give him power to command others ... he knows very well that the person who holds a non-government post will not be accompanied by the parasol, ceremonial lampit (rattan mat) and the toembak (pikes) as well as retinue ...¹⁹

17. It is rather difficult to render the exact meaning of the word in English. But hormat does convey the underlying meanings of honour, reverence, status, respect and esteem.
18. Selompret Melajoe, No. 10, 5 February 1881, See also Hindia-Nederland, No. 49, 19 June 1878.
19. Ibid.

It was pointed out that because of the great importance attached to hormat, many priyayi craved to have their sons admitted in priyayi schools instead of the Doktor-Jawa School or the teachers' training colleges. But since places in the hoofdenscholen (Chiefs' schools) at Bandung, Probolinggo and Magelang were limited, many sons of priyayi were stranded with a Javanese primary school qualification. But the urge to join the priyayi bureaucracy was such that many of them did not mind serving as magang for an unspecified number of years in anticipation that they would be given administrative posts.

The glamour of becoming a priyayi and the rewards of going to a priyayi school were explained by a dokter jawa who said that while a graduate of the Doktor-Jawa School could only become a mantri cacar (vaccination officer) or at best a dokter jawa whose maximum pay (after about twenty five years of service) would only amount to fl. 90 a month, a graduate of the Chiefs' school had the prospect of being appointed a mantri (official), Assistant Wedana, Wedana or even a Patih or a Jaksa, not ruling out the possibility of ultimately becoming a Regent.²⁰

The lure of bureaucratic positions among many sons of priyayi and the prejudice against professional work such as teaching and dokter jawa and the other non-governmental vocations gave rise to a series of debates in the press in regard to whether such a behaviour was not hampering the progress of the native people in the long run.²¹ Thus there emerged what appeared to be a concerted effort by writers to the vernacular

20. Bintang Timor, No. 103, 29 December 1880.

21. A reader, indignant over the Javanese' (priyayi's) lack of interest in trade, asked:

... For three hundred years the Javanese had been ruled by the Dutch, how is it that they have not produced a single shop that is owned by Javanese?

See Selompret Melajoe, No. 10, 5 February 1881.

cular press to call upon the aristocratic priyayi to discard their outmoded way of thinking and prejudices towards the "independent" or private occupations (pekerjaan particullier). The Javanese old priyayi were asked to reject their misconceived notion that business and wealth would tend to lead to immoral actions. Instead, they should adopt the values held by the white man that material wealth would strengthen respect and status.²² Another writer even compared the Javanese priyayi to the Chinese who, although not holding governmental posts as officials of the bureaucracy, were nonetheless more respected. He wrote:

... the priyayi should not be too sure of the greatness of his status because the merchant has more prestige than an official. At present aren't the Chinese having a higher status than the Javanese? In Batavia, if the Governor-General holds a party, it would be the Chinese who will be invited but not the Javanese Commandants and others and this happens not only in Batavia but also in Semarang. If the Resident gives a party, the Chinese or Chinese officials whose rank is no higher than the village chief (wijkmeester) are always invited. Yet no Javanese officials from the rank of Patih and below are invited. With the exception of the Bupati, all those Javanese priyayi could be said to be of no significance
²³
...

The writer continued to assert that the special treatment accorded to the Chinese was due only to their role in commerce. It is interesting to note here that educated Indonesians had often found it convenient to quote the example of the Chinese community in their endeavour to attain progress. The desire to emulate the ways of the Chinese became more conspicuous after 1900 when Chinese organizational activities inspired Indonesian intellectuals to found their own movement. The founding of the Boedi Oetomo in 1908 was an example of the desire to emulate the Chinese who had already established the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan in 1900 with the aim of promoting Indies Chinese education and culture. Even the emergence of an economic awareness as expressed in the rise of native commercial and

22. Selompret Melajoe, No. 10, 5 February 1881.

23. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 69, 10 June 1890.

trading associations in the 1910's and the efforts to found a native press were strongly influenced by a desire to emulate if not to compete with the Chinese.

The obsession with hormat was certainly prevalent among the native officials in Java. That it was viewed with disdain and contempt was obvious from the many letters to the editors that appeared in the press of the nineties. Since hormat was inherent in the Javanese adat the latter too received strong criticisms from the newly emerging intelligentsia among the Indonesians. There was a growing resentment on their part against having to subject themselves to what they considered as cumbersome if not humiliating practices such as the adat of laku dodoq, jongkok and sembah²⁴ towards the upper priyayi. They detested the excessiveness of priyayi who demanded they be addressed with such titles such as Gusti,²⁵ Sampeyan Dalam²⁶ and Kangjeng Panyenengan Dalam.²⁷ They called the adat confusing and junior officials considered it a nuisance.²⁸ Worst, they regarded the Javanese adat as practised by the priyayi of the late nineteenth century as a recent innovation to suit the liking of the

24. Also known as cara Jawa (the Javanese way), obeissance demanded that the person doing it bend down while walking and then perform jalan dodoq by moving forward while sitting on the floor and then, while still some distance from the person to whom the sembah was paid, he would raise both hands before the face with his palms placed together with fingers straight and thumb touching or pointing toward his nose. This was done every time he wished to utter something. See Taman Pengadjar No. 4, 15 October 1899, "Tjara Djawa dan Hoeboengannja", pp. 113-116.
25. Lord or master.
26. "You" for addressing God or king.
27. The phrase could be translated as "Your Majesty".
28. See Bintang Barat, No. 116, 25 May 1893.

priyayi and Dutch officials.²⁹

It appears that in the late nineteenth century writers of letters to the editors in the vernacular newspapers were showing new self-confidence by being quite daring in expressing criticisms of officials. As was always the case, priyayi were generally viewed as being in cohorts with their Dutch counterparts in the administrative service. The hardship experiment by the native villagers was also often attributed to the bullying attitude and oppressive measures undertaken by both the priyayi and the Dutch officials.³⁰ Indeed, reading through the papers of the nineties one gets the impression that the traditional priyayi were not really respected as they would like to be. The decline in hormat or deference could certainly be viewed as the consequence of the spread of western-type secular education which by the last decade of the nineteenth century had managed to produce a tiny group of Indonesian intellectuals.³¹ It was indeed the view of many conservative priyayi which often found concurrence among some Dutch officials³² that if the Dutch language was taught to the Indonesians the position of the priyayi would be further

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- 29. It was also alleged that Javanese priyayi too were saying that Dutch officials were excessive in their demands for respect or hormat. In one residency in East Java a Wedana and others below his rank could neither sit on equal level with a Dutch Controleur nor with an unattached Dutch official (ambtenaar ter beschikking) who had just graduated from college. There were also complaints of priyayi who when meeting an Aspirant Controleur had to perform the sembah thirty three times. Selompret Mellajoe, No. 81, 8 July 1890.
 - 30. See Selompret Melajoe Numbers 12-17, 28 January - 8 February 1890 in which the writer blamed the Wedana and the Controleurs as conniving to exploit the people. See, also Heather Sutherland, The Making of a Bureaucratic Elite: The Colonial Transformation of the Javanese Priyayi, Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd. Singapore, 1979.
 - 31. The spread of schools also prompted some priyayi to remark that education had created the existence of "trouble-makers" who liked to report what was happening in the villages. Taman Pengadjar, No. 1, 15 July 1899, p. 41.
 - 32. Some Dutchmen were of the opinion that by allowing Indonesians to acquire a knowledge of Dutch, the government was sowing the seeds of trouble in the Indies. See Taman Pengadjar, No. 9, 15 March 1901, p. 254. See also Heather Sutherland, op.cit., p. 37.

threatened. The younger generation would have less hormat for the priyayi class since they should tend "to abandon their adat and immitate the European customs".³³

Thus by the turn of the century there appeared voices from among the higher priyayi urging the government to restore the declining status of the priyayi. Raden Mas Adipati Ario Hadi Ningrat, the Bupati of Demak, for example implored the government to pay serious attention to the needs of education for the children of Bupati not only in the priyayi schools and Dokter-Jawa School but also in the European primary schools.³⁴ In making this call the Bupati of Demak also urged the government to find ways of making the Bupati send their children to schools and pursue a good education. The Bupati also pointed out that the time was not ripe yet for appointing non-aristocratic natives to high priyayi posts.

While the view of the Bupati of Demak reflected the growing concern felt by the high priyayi over the steady decline in status and prestige of their class towards the end of the century, the emerging class of new priyayi who were only orang asal kecil (those originating from the commoners) were increasingly making their voice heard through the press. These "new" priyayi constituted the intelligentsia of native society. Sutherland pointed out that

they lived on the fringes of indigenous and colonial society, working in embryonic institutions of middle-class urban native life, as teachers or journalists moving from place to place and job to job ...³⁵

33. Taman Pengadjar, No. 6, 15 December 1900, p. 166 and Taman Pengadjar, No. 9, 15 March 1901, p. 254.

34. See Selompret Melajoe, Numbers 143-155, 30 November 1899-28 December 1899. See also Akira Nagazumi, The Dawn of Indonesian Nationalism: The Early years of the Budii Utomo, 1908-1918, Institute of Developing Economies, Tokyo, 1972, p. 14.

35. See Heather Sutherland, op.cit., p. 56.

The native teachers especially were demanding that there should be less discrimination in the provision of education.³⁶ They also urged the government to restore the teaching of the Dutch language in the teachers' training colleges³⁷ and to make the language available to all native children.³⁸ Their plight found support among some Dutch educationists, such as Th. J.A. Hilgers, a co-editor of the educational journal Het Onderwijs (Education).³⁹ But there was a general feeling among the Indonesian literate that their keenness to have education spread to all classes of native society and their hope that Dutch be included as an important subject were not favourably received by the high priyayi and the Dutch population in general.⁴⁰ There was a very strong prejudice that if the natives were taught the Dutch language their behaviour would tend to imitate the European's customary habits. As was pointed out by a teacher, there was a fear that the Dutch-educated Indonesian would be kurang ajar (rude or not courteous).⁴¹ Dutch education was also perceived as having the potentiality of

... increasing the misdeeds of the natives.
They will be less obedient because they are more acquainted with the norms and way of life of the white man ...⁴²

- 36. Taman Pengadjar, No. 8, 15 February 1903, pp. 235-236.
- 37. The teaching of Dutch in the kweekschoolen was withdrawn in 1886 when it was discovered that Dutch was the most difficult subject for the teacher-trainees and its learning devoured an excessively large portion of time and effort. See H. Kroeskamp, op.cit. pp. 281, 365-366.
- 38. The marked increase in enthusiasm to study the language was revealing in that at the turn of the century several private schools emerged in Java with the aim of teaching Dutch. Taman Pengadjar, No. 9, 15 March 1901, p. 257.
- 39. See Ibid., pp. 253-260.
- 40. Taman Pengadjar, No. 6, 15 December 1900 and Taman Pengadjar, No. 9, 15 March 1901.
- 41. Taman Pengadjar, No. 6, 15 December 1900.
- 42. Taman Pengadjar, No. 9, 15 March 1901.

The period around the turn of the century certainly demonstrated a sudden upsurge of interest to clamour for the knowledge of the Dutch language. Whether it was genuinely out of interest to know the language or just a reaction to the discriminatory posture of the Europeans towards native education is difficult to say. But the fact remained that by the turn of the century the "new intellectuals" were very concerned about native education and the Dutch language. There was a growing realization that the Dutch language was a vehicular language for modern sciences from the West. This could only mean that if kemajuan or progress and modernization were to be pursued, the Indonesians must strive to master the Dutch language - the necessary key to open the doors of Western knowledge. Only then, so the argument went, could Indonesians elevate themselves to the level of the Europeans in their pursuit for progress. The press, in this regard, increasingly became a medium to express their sentiments. There was also a strong suspicion among educated Indonesians that the Dutch wanted to deny them the opportunity of acquiring the language because they feared that Indonesians would crack the social caste that had all this time been built up to subjugate Indonesians as an inferior race. Quite often letters complaining about a Dutchman's refusal to speak to Indonesians in the Dutch language appeared in the newspapers.⁴³

The Beginnings of a Kemajuan-oriented Press

The growing interest in native education in the eighties and the nineties had led to the founding of educational journals. In January 1887, the first attempt to produce such a journal for student-teachers and

43. Indonesians regarded this as an unwillingness of the Dutchman to do away with the hormat which was inherent in the Javanese language. A speaker of Javanese would be expected to address the Dutchman using the high Javanese, the kromo or refined form of the language, while a person of superior status would use the ngoko or low Javanese which was crude and only used by people of respected caste. See Selompret Melajoe No. 144, 2 December 1877.

teachers in the Indies was made by P. Schuitmaker at Probolinggo. Named the Soeloe Pengadjar (The Teachers' Torch), the periodical was edited by L.F. Tuijl Schuitmaker.⁴⁴ Using both Malay and Javanese this monthly journal was primarily aimed at providing a forum for teachers and the kweekelings (student-teachers) around Probolinggo, other parts of Java and the Outer Islands.⁴⁵ In spite of its pedagogical orientation, however, the Soeloe Pengadjar managed to exist only up to the end of 1895.⁴⁶ But in October 1895 an attempt was again made by P. Schuitmaker to replace the Soeloe Pengadjar with another journal called Matahari Terbit (Rising Sun).⁴⁷ Like the defunct Soeloe Pengadjar the Matahari Terbit also was a monthly that published articles pertaining to teaching and other related subjects.⁴⁸ However, it also suffered from the normal problem of most periodicals in the Indies-- a dire need for subscribers. It was not until two years later that another educational journal was published but this time it appeared at Semarang, one of the major centres of the press in

- 44. L.F. Tuijl Schuitmaker was a Hoofdonderwijzer (Head Teacher) at the Teachers' Training College at Probolinggo. Almanak Bahasa Melajoe 1893, p. 184.
- 45. The periodical had 12 pages containing articles ranging from subjects such as Malay, geography, history and teaching methods to government circulars and resolutions. Its subscription rate was fl.9 per year.
- 46. Its disappearance was attributed to financial problems.
- 47. It was edited by F.C.E. Bousquet, the former editor of Bintang Soerabaja, L.K. Harmsen an educationist and author of several books for schools, F.B. Nunnink, a Head Teacher, Raden Kamil an assistant instructor at the Chiefs' school in Magelang, J. de Bruyn M'Gzn., a lawyer, and J.N. Labaar an ex-Assistant Resident. It appeared, however, L.K. Harmsen was doing most of the editing work; although Bousquet was the co-editor not many of his writings appeared. The others were more like corresponding editors.
- 48. Apart from topics such as geography, history and language, there were also articles on native customs, nature study, general science and hikayats. The contributors were not confined to the teaching profession only. Tjoa Tjoe Kwan, the productive peranakan writer who was later to become famous as newspaper editor and publisher had also begun writing in the Matahari Terbit.

the Indies. The Taman Pengadjar (Teachers' Garden), as it was called, was edited by Indonesian teachers under the leadership of P. Vermeulen.⁴⁹

The emergence of the Taman Pengadjar on 15 May 1899 from the press of G.C.T. Van Dorp was quite significant. It appeared at a time when the question of native education was at its peak, to judge by the polemics about that issue in the vernacular press. The Taman Pengadjar came to provide a more congenial place for teachers to discuss not only issues pertaining to native education, the teaching of the Dutch language to Indonesians and the importance of education for girls but also the overall question of change and modernization of the indigenous people. It was the Taman Pengadjar which consistently reminded the teachers, the "intellectual" group of the period, that they had an important role to play in the propagation of education and leading the path to kemajuan or progress.⁵⁰ The journal also encouraged teachers to be united and consult one another in deliberations over matters concerning their work in school. This resulted in the formation of what was then known as Mufakat Guru or Teachers' Discussion Group which soon emerged in various districts and residences in Java.⁵¹ The aims of the Mufakat Guru were basically to pave the way for teachers' unity and to encourage teachers to discuss problems of teaching and matters related to the pupils and school administration. Issues such as education for girls and how to encourage parents to send their children to school were also discussed in the meetings held by the Mufakat Guru.⁵²

49. P. Vermeulen was Hulp onderwijzer or Assistant Instructor at the Teachers' Training College in Yogyakarta. The Indonesian teachers helping him were: Mas Boediardjo, Mas Soerja, Mas Abdullah and Mas Ngabehi Dwidjosewojo.
50. Taman Pengadjar, No. 4, 15 October 1899, pp. 107-108.
51. See Taman Pengadjar, No. 6, 15 December 1900, p. 166 and Taman Pengadjar, No. 12, 15 June 1902, p. 353-356.
52. The meetings were often attended by teachers of all ranks and trainee-teachers. The Mufakat was usually run by the President and the Secretary.

The dawning of a new mood for change and progress among the Indonesian literate also affected the content-orientation of the vernacular newspapers run by the Eurasians. Since at the turn of the century the Chinese were more concerned with orientating the contents of their newspapers to satisfy the growing needs of Chinese readership, the Eurasian editors began to focus more attention on themes such as education and progress which appeared to be topics most favoured by the native subscribers. More significant perhaps, the turn of the century also witnessed a shift in the attitudes of some European newspaper-owners with regard to the recruitment of Indonesians as editors. In 1898 Ki Padmosoesastro, a noted Javanese writer at Surakarta, was given the editorial chair of the Djawi Kando,⁵³ a Malay-Javanese thrice-weekly newspaper. Following that, in January 1900 Mas Ngabehi Wahidin Soediro Hoesoedo, a retired dokter jawa at Yogjakarta was asked to succeed Tjan Tjioek San as editor of the Retno Dhoemilah,⁵⁴ another Malay-Javanese newspaper that received strong support from the teachers. From then on, one Indonesian after another emerged as editors of the vernacular press in Java.⁵⁵

53. The Djawi Kando first appeared in June 1891 from the printing press of J.A. Schultz and later of Albert Rusche & Co. Using both Low Malay and Javanese, the paper was first edited by F.S. Winter who was then succeeded by H.D.J. Kilian. When Kilian lost his job because of some misunderstanding with the publisher, the editor's post was given to Ki Padmosoesastro towards the end of January 1898. Ki Padmosoesastro, described as an independent individual who was well-versed in the Javanese language, nonetheless only held the job until the end of 1898 because it seemed that he became a mágang for the Court writer's position (kkapujanggaan) at Kapatihan, Solo. Selompret Melajoe, No. 131, 3 November 1898 and Selompret Melajoe No. 137, 17 November 1898.

54. The first issue of the Retno Dhoemilah (Beautiful Jewel) appeared on 17 May 1895 with F.L. Winter as editor. Using both Low Malay and Javanese, the paper was published twice weekly by H. Buning & Co. When F.L. Winter resigned he was succeeded by a certain Tjan Tjioek San on 23 February 1900. But commencing from 6 July 1900 Wahidin Soediro Hoesoedo was given the task of editing the Javanese section, while Tjan concentrated on the Malay section. By January 1901 however it appeared that Tjan had resigned thus leaving Wahidin to manage both the Javanese and Malay sections. See Soeparno, "Hasil Inventarisasi surat kabar jang terdapat didalam perpustakaan Lembaga Kebudajaan Indonesia", Wartha Dan Massa, n.d. p. 119.

55. In Sumatra the appearance of Indonesians as editors was much earlier. This was because the development and situation of the vernacular press in that area was a little different. For a discussion on the development of the press in the Outer Islands see Chapter VII.

The changing attitude of the Eurasian editors and European publishers at the turn of the century can be best understood when placed in the context of a change in policy regarding colonial management that was beginning to take shape in the Netherlands government. In order to see how this change in policy affected the development of the press at the beginning of this century we shall need to discuss it in more detail.

The Ethical Colonial Policy and the Development of the Vernacular Press

Early in 1898 the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament debated the issue of the general welfare of the Javanese Christians and the native population as a whole. Members had argued that the declining native welfare in the Indies should be remedied as soon as possible. In August 1899 an article entitled, "A Debt of Honour" (Een Eereschuld) authored by the liberal leader Dr. C. Th. van Deventer appeared in the journal De Gids. In that article van Deventer argued that the Netherlands was honour-bound to repay the "surplus millions" she had reaped from the Indies and urged that her debt to the colony and its people (about 832 million guilders) be promptly paid in the form of uplifting the socio-economic welfare of the natives of Indonesia through educational and economic measures.⁵⁶ Van Deventer called for the formulation of a policy that would protect native rights; and promote moral and material development in contrast to past policy of exploitation.⁵⁷

For almost two centuries Indonesia had contributed to the economic well-being of the Netherlands to the extent of leaving its native population deprived of any political or economic development. The island

56. Edward J.M. Schumutzer, Dutch Colonial Policy and the Search for Identity in Indonesia 1920-1931, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1977, p. 8 and 12.

57. See J.S. Furnivall, op.cit., p. 231.

of Java, with its rich resources, became virtually one vast plantation whose products since the implementation of the Cultivation System had continued to support the financial well-being of Holland through the Batig Slot⁵⁸ policy. Indeed, the expansion and diversification of the Dutch economic system which included its industrialization programme took place at the expense of the Indonesian peasants of Java. The entry of private foreign capital to Indonesia which began around 1870 had led to closer penetration of the Javamese economy by planters, namely the sugar planters, and to the opening of the Outer Islands whose raw materials and mineral resources in Sumatra and Borneo were in great demand by the new industries of Europe.

Private capitalism came to exert its vital influence on Dutch colonial policy during the 'liberal' period. It was not forgotten that the Indies was not only an exporter of tropical raw materials but also an importer of foreign manufactured goods. Dutch industry saw the Indies as a big potential market for its products and realized the need to raise living standards of the people. Thus when the call for a more humanitarian colonial policy towards the natives was made the manufacturing interest group soon began to see that "interest in native welfare was no longer, as with Van Hoevelli, humanitarian, or, as with many Liberals, hypocrisy; it was economic."⁵⁹ The promotion of native welfare, so it was felt, would also appeal to labour which was much needed in the modern enterprises. Therefore, for the Dutch business entrepreneurs, the ethical spirit to be imbued in the new colonial policy was a paying proposition and thus a more intensive colonial involvement in the causes of peace,

58. Indies /surplus/ contribution to the Dutch treasury. It was inaugurated in 1831 by Van den Bosch and came to an end in 1878.

59. See J.S. Furnivall, op.cit., p. 227.

justice, modernity and welfare deserved their support.⁶⁰

The new ethical spirit that emerged towards the closing years of the nineteenth century finally came to realization when in 1901 Queen Wilhelmina's speech to the Dutch Parliament proclaimed that "as a Christian power the Netherlands is obligated in the East Indian archipelago, to better regulate the legal position of native Christians, to lend support, on a firm basis, to Christian missions, and to imbue the whole conduct of government with the consciousness that the Netherlands has a moral duty to fulfill with respect to the people of these regions".⁶¹ The implementation of a colonial policy based on Christian principles was thus left to the Clerical Party which formed the new coalition government of Conservatives and Religious parties, replacing the Liberal party. It is not our intention here to deliberate at length on the Ethical policy but only to show that in the context of the development of the vernacular press at the turn of the century the Ethical spirit as propounded by the writings of Pieter Brooshoof⁶² and Van Deventer had much to do with the changing attitude of the Eurasian editors and European publishers of the vernacular newspapers.

In the middle of 1898 when R.L.H.A. Overbeek Bloem decided to

- 60. See M.C. Ricklefs, A History of Modern Indonesia, The Macmillan Press Ltd., London, p. 143.
- 61. A. Vandenbosch, The Dutch East Indies, University of California, Berkeley, 1944, p. 64.
- 62. Pieter Brooshoof was, around the turn of the century, editor of the Dutch-language newspaper, De Locomotief. His views on what he termed "Ethische Koloniale Politiek" (Ethical Colonial Policy) were published in his little book, De Ethische Koers in de Koloniale Politiek (The Ethical Orientation in Colonial Policy). A translated version of part of his work is available in Chr. L.M. Penders (ed.), Indonesia: Selected Documents on Colonialism and Nationalism, 1830-1942, University of Queensland Press, Queensland, 1977, pp. 65-77.

produce and edit the Pewarta Prajangan⁶³ he thought it necessary to announce his "ethical" intention

... to advance and assist the indigenous population of the Indies so that they will gradually attain progress in all (their) endeavours ... and so they can be released from their misery and hardship as a result of deceipts and treachery of the other races⁶⁴ and the oppressive native chiefs ...

Even J.J.P. Halkema, the editor of the Selompret Melajoe, called on the government not to discriminate against native officials in the Binnenlandsche Bestuur if they spoke Dutch and embraced Christianity:

... it will not be fair if the subjects of the Queen of the Netherlands who have no difference in qualification and religion from their Dutch counterparts are discriminated against in rank on account of their dark skin. This is not fair and does not ensure a secure administration ...⁶⁵

The period around the turn of the century had also seen the emergence of more "specialised" journals catering for the needs of the priyayi administrators, especially those from the lower ranks. While the teachers had already had their own journals focussing on education and other matters concerning the teaching profession the administrative priyayi too had begun to feel the need for journals that would confine

- 63. The paper which was published in low Malay made its maiden appearance at Bandung on 1 July 1898. However, inspite of Bloem's lofty ideals, the Pewarta Prajangan only managed to last until December 1898. Solempret Melajoe, No. 3, 7th January 1899.
- 64. Selompret Melajoe, No. 80, 5 July 1898, quoting Bloem's introduction of the first issue of the Pewarta Prajangan.
- 65. Selompret Melajoe, No. 33, 18 March 1897. Halkema even launched a campaign for the teaching of Dutch language to all classes of natives, especially the haji, were due to ignorance.

their contents to matters of the law and translations of the various government regulations which would benefit the priyayi in their daily work.

Aware of this need, in November 1897, the firm De Vries and Fabricius at Bandung started to publish the weekly periodical, Pengadilan (Justice) under the editorship of G. Francis.⁶⁶ But this venture failed for by 16 April 1898 it was no longer in circulation.⁶⁷ The vacuum caused by its disappearance was soon filled by the Hoekoem Hindia (Indies Law) in June 1899. But the Hoekoem Hindia, in spite of its name, was actually a daily newspaper.⁶⁸ So it certainly couldn't afford to confine its contents to matters of the law only. Thus in 1901, under the editorship of F. Wiggers,⁶⁹ W.P. Vasques, the owner, published a separate periodical called Pengadilan Daari Hoekoem Hindia (Cases from the Indies Law) as a weekly.⁷⁰ It was more specialized in contents and was intended

66. Its first issue came out on 13 November 1897. Among its correspondents were Lie Kim Hok, Taan Tjan Hie, Tjoa Tjoe Kwan and Na Tan Piet, a clear indication that the publisher intended to gain support from the Chinese readership. The periodical's native correspondents were Badroel Firdaus and Abdul Wahid. When G. Francis left, R. Brons Middel a Hulponderwijzer at the Chiefs' School in Bandung was given the job as editor.

67. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 48, 23 April 1898.

68. The paper was initially published by A. Veit and printed at the press of J. Schreutelkamp & Co. at Batavia. It called itself soerat kabar dan advertentie (news and advertisement paper). Its first editor was Veit himself. Then when the paper's ownership fell into the hands of W.P. Vasques in 1900 the editor's job was undertaken by H.F.R. Kommer who however served only briefly because of some misunderstanding with the owner in 1901.

69. F. Wiggers, a Eurasian born around 1862, had served as a Controller in the Binnenlandsche Bestuur. He began his career as a journalist in 1898 when he became editor of the Pembrita Betawi. A prolific writer in the Low Malay language, Wiggers published his first work, Toerki dan Joenani (Turkey and Greece) in 1897. Until his death in 1912 he had published no less than twenty five books ranging from novelettes to translation works on laws and regulations in the Indies. He was also editor of several newspapers and periodicals.

70. It had sixteen pages of translations of government regulations. Its subscription rate was fl.1..50 per three months.

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- 65. Selompret Melajoe, No. 33, 18 March 1897. Halkema even launched a campaign for the teaching of Dutch language to all classes of Indonesian society. He felt that the troubles caused by the natives, especially the haji, were due to ignorance.

to serve the needs of the priyayi officials and Chinese readers interested in knowing the various laws and regulations of the Indies. The Hoekoem Hindia continued as a newspaper but was changed to the new name of Taman Sari in 1903 when Wiggers became the chief editor.⁷¹

But it was in mid-1900 that a full-fledged priyayi journal appeared as "organ" of the general priyayi community. The journal, named Pewarta Prijaji, was edited by Raden Mas Koesoemo Oetoyo,⁷² a Javanese-language translator at Surakarta, and published by the P.A. Van Asperen van der Velde Press at Semarang. It appeared monthly using Low Malay. Its contents were mainly translations of government regulations, enactments and extracts from the Staatsbladen or States' papers which were considered very useful for the priyayi officials in Java and Madura. But articles pertaining to issues such as native education, health, agriculture and the general development of the indigenous population were also published by the Pewarta Prijaji.

The periodical's usefulness to the priyayi was obvious. Even the government at Batavia noticed this. Thus when Koesoemo Oetoyo made a request to the government for financial assistance in the hope of lowering the subscription rate so as to enable more priyayi to enlist as subscribers he found the authorities quite obliging and willing to

71. Pembrita-Betawi, No. 235, 9 October 1903.

72. Koesoemo Oetoyo was a graduate of the hogere burger school in 1891. He was a clerk in the Contrôleur's office at Bandar in Pekalongan where he served for four years. Following that he was appointed as Assistant Wedana at Buwaran, Pekalongan and remained there for 3½ years. In 1896 he was requested by the government to be the editor of the government's agricultural journal Mitrating Among Tani. His experience as editor of this journal and the strong encouragement given by some Dutch officials induced him to assume the post of editor for the Pewarta Prijaji even though he was quite occupied as a Javanese-language translator at Surakarta. See Pewarta Prijaji, No. 1, Vol. 1, 1900 pp. 1-4.

meet his request.⁷³ In the history of the vernacular press this gesture from the government was indeed a new development, reflecting the Ethical spirit prevailing at the turn of the century. But the Pewarta Prijaji in spite of its ability to secure very good response from the priyayi community was forced to cease publication in the second half of 1902 when its very able editor, Raden Mas Koesoemo Oetoyo, was made Regent of Ngawi and later in 1905, Japara.⁷⁴

At the time when the Pewarta Prijaji was being launched, a totok Dutchman, aroused by the Ethical spirit of the late nineties, had already founded a journal in the Malay language intended to cater for the needs of the native soldiers in the Netherlands East Indies. On 15 April 1900, Henri Constant Claude Clockener Brousson, first lieutenant of the Dutch Infantry,⁷⁵ launched the first regular issue of the Soerat Chabar Soldadoe from the printing press of Albrecht & Co. at Batavia.⁷⁶ Although the name appeared to suggest that Soerat Chabar Soldadoe was a "newspaper" for soldiers, nonetheless it did not contain any current news; it was more a periodical that aimed to get support from the native soldiers as well as civilians.⁷⁷ To entice subscribers the paper listed a host of well-known names who were supposed to be members of the editorial board.

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- 73. The original subscription rate was f.12, per year but with the government's subsidy, Koesoemo Oetoyo hoped to lower the subscription rate to f.7.50 per year. See Pewarta Prijaji Vol. II, 1901, p. 303.
 - 74. Efforts to find a suitable editor and thus to revive the journal met little success. See Djawi Kando, No. 24, 26 February 1907 and Pem-berita Betawi, No. 255, 9 November 1908.
 - 75. Born on 12 April 1871, Clockener Brousson was commissioned second lieutenant of the infantry in July 1892 after having served in the Netherlands since August 1888. In 1896 he left for the Indies and was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant to serve in the Reserve Division in the Garrison Battalion in Aceh. In 1900 he was posted to Padang but visited Batavia on a number of occasions to initiate the publication of the soldiery's periodical with the cooperation of the printing firm Albrecht & Co.
 - 76. The pilot of the paper were released in late 1899. The Soerat Chabar Soldadoe had four pages and was published fortnightly.
 - 77. See, for example, the contents of Soerat Chabar Soldadoe, No. 16, 15 November 1900.

For example, the names of Pangeran Hario Sasraningrat, Captain of the Paku Alaman Legion at Yogyakarta, F. Wiggers, editor of the Pemberita Betawi, J.E. Tehupeiorij, an Ambonese dokter jawa student at Batavia, Datoek Soetan Maharadja of Padang and Brousson himself as well as several teachers were lined up as redacteuren.⁷⁸ Since the periodical was printed at Batavia most of the real work was actually done by F. Wiggers and Tehupeiorij. The rest of the names, with the exception of the few teachers who were correspondents, were probably a display to impress readers.⁷⁹

While Brousson was busy arranging the publication of the Soerat Chabar Soldadoe in Java, a Palembayan-born Malay by the name of Abdul Rivai,⁸⁰ had also founded a fortnightly Malay periodical in the Netherlands. The said periodical, Pewarta Wolanda (the Netherlands Reporter)

- 78. It appeared that Brousson's intention to publish a soldier's periodical in the Malay language was inspired by the popularity of the Dutch-language Nederlandsche Soldatenkrant voor Indië for which Brousson served as a correspondent prior to 1899. During his sojourn in Sumatra he also met and befriended several well-known native personalities who appeared to have encouraged him in his intention. He also managed to get the Sultan of Langkat and a certain Mr. Taylor of the Koninklijk Paketvaartmaatschappij to give him some monetary assistance of an undisclosed sum for the execution of his project. Vb. 11 October 1901, p. 18.
- 79. The primary aim of the periodical as declared by Brousson, was "to combat moral failing, gambling, opium smoking and prodigality among the natives". Brousson to Minister of Colonies, Vb. 14 January 1901 Lett. L1.
- 80. Abdul Rivai, born 13 August 1871, was a dokter jawa formerly working in Medan. Intelligent, ambitious, frugal and very determined, Rivai had left for the Netherlands at the end of 1899 with the intention to continue his medical studies, the first dokter jawa graduate to do so. However, after having got himself admitted in the University of Utrecht, he discovered that he could not be allowed to sit for the final examinations later because he had never been to the Hoogere Burger School. He was asked to sit for the preliminary examinations first before he could be considered a bona fide medical student. So he moved to Amsterdam to prepare himself for the said qualifications and to study other European languages. It was while staying in Amsterdam that he initiated the publication of the Pewarta Wolanda with the assistance of Y. Strikwerda, a retired Assistant Resident.

had appeared at Amsterdam and circulated in the Indies in 1900.⁸¹ The existence of these two periodicals in the Indies with more or less similar formats and orientation and the fact that Brousson and Rivai were old acquaintances in Medan, gave Brousson the idea that it would be a more profitable and effective venture if the Soerat Chabar Soldadoe and the Pewarta Wolanda were combined to form a single periodical. Furthermore, Brousson's knowledge of the Malay language was not good enough to enable him to edit a periodical; while Abdul Rivai was a born writer,⁸² Brousson, in calculating the prospect, was possibly also thinking of his impending departure from the Indies in 1901 as his term of five-year service in the Indies army would expire in April that year.⁸³ One other possible reason that might have induced him to propose the amalgamation of the two periodicals was the fact that the government by the turn of the century was becoming more favourable towards any move in the direction of bringing enlightenment and educational awareness to the native population. Brousson must have come to know about the government's promise of subsidy to the Pewarta Prijaji in early 1901.

Thus, in January 1901 Clockener Brousson wrote to the Minister of Colonies requesting financial subsidy for the new periodical which he was going to call Bandera Wolanda (The Netherlands' Flag). He asked for

81. The Pewarta Woland's first regular issue was dated 14 July 1900. In this issue there were articles on the "Boxers" in China, about the famous Princess Dowager, Tsu Hsi, and about life in Holland as well as other parts of Europe, mostly written by Rivai.
82. Born in a family of teachers (both his father and brother were teachers) Rivai's first book was a translation work entitled Pengadjaran perihal melakoekan kewadjiban orang beristeri, a manual for those who wanted to go into matrimony, which was published in 1892 at Batavia while he was still a student at the dokter jawa school. In 1900 he also contributed some articles to the Soerat Chabar Soldadoe.
83. See Extract uit Stamboek van Clockener Brousson, Henri, Constant, Claude. No. 12602.

a sum of fl.5,500 and the permission to have the periodical circulated in the barracks as well as in schools.⁸⁴ To convince the government that it was a good cause he stated that the aim of the Bandera Wolanda was to draw the military closer to Holland and to

strengthen the sentiments of loyalty and adoration for Her Majesty the Queen and the Netherlands flag ...⁸⁵

Before he left Java to return to the Netherlands where he had applied to be attached to the Convalescent Afdeeling (Convalescent unit)⁸⁶ he made preparations with the press of Albrecht & Co, at Batavia. On 15 April 1901 the Bandera Wolanda began to appear with an editorial board consisting of Brousson, Rivai, Tehupeiorij and Wiggers.⁸⁷

Although Brousson did not get the whole amount of fl.5,500 he asked for,⁸⁸ the government nevertheless agreed to recommend the Commandant of the Army and Chief of Department of War to spend a sum of fl.1,530 for 923 subscriptions to the Bandera Wolanda. A letter was also sent to the Director of Education, Public Worship and Industry to avail himself

84. Oost en West, No. 17, 3 October 1901.

85. See MR 11 January 1901, Vb. 14 January 1901 Lett. L1.

86. Minister of War to Minister to Colonies, 28 March 1901, Exh. 3/30 - 1901 No. 1.

87. The other corresponding editors whose names had appeared in Soerat Chabar Soldadoe were retained. New correspondents recruited were Lim Soen Hwat of Sibolga, Mas Abdullah (who was supposed to be the periodical's illustrator at Amsterdam) and Raden Mas Panji Sastra Kartana, the elder brother of Raden Ajeng Kartini.

88. Brousson had requested for that amount to be used for improving the quality of paper and format of the periodical. He also gave a reason that he needed fl.1,000 to provide a scholarship for the training of a member of a Javanese aristocratic family with H.B.S. qualifications as a journalist who would eventually be given the editor's post of the periodical. However, the government's reply to this request was they had to wait and see.

a sum offl.4,50 for subscribing to 9 copies of the periodical for a duration of three months, to be distributed among officials of the native schools' inspectorate.⁸⁹ Judging from the number of agents the periodical had, its circulation must have been widespread. It had agents in several towns in Sumatra, Banjarmasin, Makassar, Penang, Singapore and all the major towns in Java.

But Brousson seems to have run foul of the authorities towards the end of 1901. In the June 1901 issue of the Bandera Wolanda an article under Brousson's name as the writer appeared with the title "Protestantism and Islam". The gist of the article was the author's claim that there were many similarities between Islam and the Protestant religion. This aroused opposition from the De Tijd, a pro-Catholic paper published in Amsterdam.⁹⁰ De Tijd sensationalized the issue and expressed fear that the article might incite friction "among uneducated Muslims against their Catholic colleagues in the army and would make them feel superior to the Catholics".⁹¹ This led the Minister of Colonies to demand an explanation from Brousson. Brousson at first denied that he was the author of the article; but later he apologized and reasoned that "his acquaintance with Islamic fallacies (warbegrijpen) and prejudices had led him to write in such a hasty manner".⁹² He nevertheless promised not to indulge in religious issues in the future.⁹³

89. Mr. Abendanon, the Director felt that the periodical was not suitable for schools. "Its language was impure and the contents unsuitable", he said. Directeur van Onderwijs to Governor General, Exh. 3/10-1902 No. 102.

90. See Bandera Wolanda No. 6, June 1901.

91. De Tijd, 16 October 1901.

92. Brousson's letter dated 3 October 1901, Vb. 11 October 1901 p. 18/ no. 80. Cf. Handelsblad 18 October 1901.

93. According to investigation carried out by the army, Brousson was not the author of the article. It was written by Abdul Rivai. F. Wiggers the editor at Batavia also said that Rivai was the writer. See copy of letter from Bussink, the chief of Albrecht & Co. press dated 19 December 1901, Vb. 1 February 1902, Litt. F.2.

Small though this incident was,⁹⁴ the government nonetheless was sensitive to any question of the Islamic religion and was extremely careful not to allow any form of religious (Islamic) propaganda to creep into a periodical subsidized by government funds. Furthermore, it was later learnt that Brousson had apparently become or at least expressed a desire to become a Muslim.⁹⁵ The prospect of seeing an Islamic-biased periodical, edited by a supposedly Muslim Dutchman and to be circulated among the native soldiers whose position as marginal people in the Indies rendered their loyalty to the Dutch flag suspect must have been very disconcerting to the Minister of War too. Brousson's affiliation to the Indische Bond,⁹⁶ an organization perceived by some government quarters as socialist-leaning, also aroused the government's suspicion of any radicalism that might creep into the pages of the Bandera Wolanda.

However, in spite of the doubts raised about Clockener Brousson, he was nevertheless regarded by many in the army as "sympathetic enthusiast and an idealistic man".⁹⁷ He had also given his undertaking not to arouse the government's displeasure in the future. Because of that the government continued the subscription for the army in early 1902.

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- 94. As was pointed out by the Commandant of the Army and Chief of the Department of War in the Netherlands Indies, the public in the Indies did not attach too much importance to Brousson's writings in the Bandera Wolanda. Commandant of the Army to Governor General dated 24 December 1901, ibid.
 - 95. Whether Brousson really became a Muslim cannot be fully ascertained. While the government believed that he was, and the Bintang Betawi No. 280, 8 December also said of his being a Muslim, the Taman Pengadjar No. 5, 15 November 1902, quoting the Bataviasche Nieuwsblad stated that Brousson was returning to Java in 1903 to become a Muslim. See Minister of War to Minister of Colonies, Exhibitum 23 August 1901, Vb. 11 October 1901, p. 18.
 - 96. The Indische Bond, a union of Eurasians and Dutchmen in the Indies was founded in 1898. It was given legal recognition by the government on 2 December 1898. See draft of letter, Minister of Colonies to Minister of War, Vb. 11 October 1901, p. 18.
 - 97. Voorlopig Visie Co., Vb. 16 January 1903 No. 18/182.

But the incident had soured Brousson's relationship with Albrecht & Co. Press. Brousson accused the firm of being unwilling to improve the quality of the paper.⁹⁸ So he withdrew from the enterprise leaving Albrecht & Co. to continue the publication. But the real reason was probably because Brousson was finally thinking of retiring from the army.⁹⁹ He was also thinking of publishing another journal that would not depend solely on the support of the Indies soldiers but would draw support from the younger generation of educated Indonesians who had shown signs of awakening to the call for kemajuan. He was also thinking of the young peranakan Chinese intellectuals who, through their founding of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan, had demonstrated their ability to organize in response to the call for modernization. Brousson, the romantic ethicist was enthralled by the events that accompanied the dawning of the twentieth century. He was impressed with the upsurge of Indies pan-Chinese nationalism. He also noticed that changes were taking place among the Indonesians. The call for kemajuan which began in the last decade or so of the previous century had in 1900 materialised in the form of the emergence of cooperative societies which managed to set up priyayi shops in several places.¹⁰⁰ While it was true that in the last decade of the nineteenth century a number of small localised clubs and associations

98. Bintang Betawi No. 96, 1 May 1902.

99. Bandera Wolanda (published in the Netherlands) No. 26 n.d. 1909? 7, p. 2.

100. When R.M. Oetoyo was editor of the Pewarta Prijaji he urged his priyayi colleagues to form mutual-help associations to which priyayi could make contributions as a form of savings which could be withdrawn in times of need. He also called for the founding of Auction Committees so that goods sold at auctions could be purchased and resold in the priyayi shops (toko priyayi) established by the associations. See Pewarta Prijaji Vol. I, 1900, pp. 44-47 and p. 93.

had been formed by priyayi and teachers,¹⁰¹ by 1900 the need to have a bigger and more widely based organization for the Javanese was very much more felt by the elite group of native society. In an article in the Pewarta Prijaji, R.M. Tjokroadikoesoemo urged the priyayi leadership to found a Javanese organisation that could look into the questions of Javanese unity, mutual cooperation, promotion of education, encouraging Javanese priyayi to appreciate professions in the fields of agriculture and commerce, promotion of learning and cultivating an interest in reading newspapers and books and enabling the Javanese to understand their duties towards society and the government. The writer also proposed that while Dutchmen could become members besides Javanese, the leader should be a Bupati, Patih or Wedana.¹⁰²

The rise of native consciousness in Java was certainly prompted by a variety of socio-economic factors. But it was the socio-economic development that had affected the Chinese and the Eurasians that had hastened the process of change among the Javanese. The examples set by the two communities and the envious feeling of the native intellectuals as a result of the "other races' advancement", which was further goaded by the vernacular press, were certainly motivating factors for the native

101. The first Javanese association that seemed to have been recorded by the vernacular press was the Mangkoesoemitro, formed by the teachers in Semarang in 1882. But it was a language association. Members met weekly to discuss questions pertaining to the Javanese language. The association however existed only briefly. In 1888 the Langen Samitro was formed by the priyayi at Semarang. Its demise in 1891 was replaced by the Langen Darmojojo, also based at Semarang. In that same year the mangang of the city founded their own association called Langen Badjono. But it was towards the last years of the nineteenth century that more priyayi associations emerged. Among them that existed in 1897 were the Perkoempoelan Soekamanah (Batavia), a club for priyayi patterned along the Dutch and Chinese clubs, Abi Projo (Surakarta), Goeno Oepojo and Langen Hardjo (both situated in Surabaya) and the Reading Club, Tjipto Moeljo which had a library at Mojo Agung. In spite of the keeness shown to form clubs or associations, however, the organizations rarely survived longer than two to three years.

102. See Pewarta Prijaji Vol. II, 1901, pp. 117-119.

intellectuals to lead their people to a similar goal of kemajuan or modernization.

It was this concern for kemajuan which seemed to have very much affected Indies society that gave Brousson the idea of founding the magazine that was to become the organ of the new intelligentsia. Thus it was that by the middle of 1902 Brousson was making arrangements with Abdul Rivai to publish an illustrated magazine in the Netherlands for circulation in the Netherlands East Indies.

The Bintang Hindia and the development of Indonesian national consciousness

The Bintang Hindia's role in stimulating Indonesian nationalism was indeed an irony of history. Founded by Brousson and Rivai following their withdrawal from the Bandera Wolanda, the illustrated magazine first appeared in July 1902 from the printing firm of N.J. Boon at Amsterdam.¹⁰³ But Brousson's astute means of securing financial assistance from the government had led the periodical to become a semi-official organ of the government in its third year of existence. To understand the background of this development in the context of the history of the vernacular press in the Indies, it is necessary to describe the events that led to the government being involved in its circulation.

Government Subsidy and the Bintang Hindia

When the Bintang Hindia was launched towards the end of 1902 Abdul Rivai was still preparing for his preliminary examinations to get

103. The first specimen issue had 8 pages but this was increased to 10 in the second number. There were four specimen issues and to introduce the magazine, Brousson had it distributed to all parts of the Indies and also to neighbouring Singapore. Its first regular issue began in January 1903 as a fortnightly. The printer N.J. Boon was also the publisher of the Dutch fortnightly De Prins since 1901. Thus when Brousson produced the Bintang Hindia its format was almost identical to that of the Dutch illustrated periodical.

into the school of medicine at Amsterdam. He was, in the meantime, also waiting for a decision from the Minister of Colonies to whom he had written in 1899 to enquire about the possibility of exemption for him and other graduates of the Dokter Jawa School from the examinations.¹⁰⁴ While at Amsterdam Rivai, like Brousson, had associated himself with the leadership of the Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond and the Vereeniging Oost en West. These two organisations were known to be strong supporters of the Ethical policy and their members were ex-Dutch officials who had served in the East Indies. It was from these two organizations that Brousson had sought help. In late 1902 the committees of both associations wrote to the Minister of Colonies urging the government to support the Bintang Hindia which aimed at

promoting the cultural development of the indigenous population and strengthening the bond between the Netherlands and her colonies¹⁰⁵

While the issue of subsidy was still being debated and A.W.F. Idenburg, the then Minister of Colonies, was yet to make a decision, Brousson left for Java in early 1903 to organize the distribution of the Bintang Hindia and to set up an office that could look into matters of circulation and subscription. An office was eventually set up on 1 June 1903 at Bogor but towards the end of the year it was moved to Bandung where the location was more convenient. It appeared that while in Java he had made efforts to procure government support for the distribution and circulation of the periodical among government officials, school teachers, college students and military personnel.

By April 1904 the Governor General indicated that he had no objection to giving support to the Bintang Hindia. He nevertheless

104. Rivai wrote to the Minister of Colonies on 5 November 1899.

105. Exh. 10/24-1902, Nô. 84, Vb. 16 January 1903 No.18/182.

pointed out that government subscription "should not extend beyond the teachers' training colleges, hoofdenscholen (Chiefs' schools) for native officers and the military hospitals and sick-wards",¹⁰⁶ Directives were then sent to the Director of Education and the Commandant of the Army to place subscriptions for the Bintang Hindia. Not surprisingly, the sale of the periodical was highly boosted when native readers especially the priyayi, learnt that it was being supported by the government. But in spite of an increase in the number of readers as evidenced by the number of copies printed,¹⁰⁷ paid up subscriptions were still very minimal. For the 1904 subscriptions, only about two hundred subscribers had paid up their subscription fees beforehand by 15 November 1903.¹⁰⁸ But Brousson was very optimistic because of the financial subsidy from the government. Indeed, towards the end of 1905 Governor-General Van Heutsz, finding that the Bintang Hindia was "well disposed to the Netherlands in spirit and tenor", had, without getting the final approval from the new Minister of Colonies, Mr. Dirk Fock, given his approval of granting a loan of fl. 20,000 to Clockener Brousson. The loan which was free of interest was to be utilised in the publication of the periodical and it could be paid by quarterly instalments of fl. 1,000. On top of this the Governor-General also promised to grant Brousson free

106. The Minister of Colonies, Idenburg, had also given the approval of granting support to the magazine so long as "the articles published will not exercise a bad influence on the native reading public". See Mailr. No. 531, Vb. 16 September 1904 No. 30.

107. In January 1904 10,000 copies were sent to Java by Abdul Rivai. But in February Brousson cabled that Rivai should print 15,000 copies. In March 1904 Brousson sent another cable to Amsterdam requesting that 25,000 copies be printed for the forthcoming issues. See Bintang Hindia No. 11, 1 June 1904, p. 112.

108. Ibid.

postage facilities in the distribution of the Bintang Hindia. As though this was not enough, a circular was also sent to all Assistant Residents to instruct their officials to assist in the dissemination of the periodical among native officials, private local inhabitants, well-to-do Europeans (for their staff) and Foreign Orientals.¹⁰⁹

In exchange for this generosity Brousson promised to provide eight pages of the Bintang Hindia for the government to insert any articles or announcements. He would also have them translated into Malay. Both services were rendered gratis. Brousson also agreed to renounce his rights to the government in collecting subscription dues if he failed to repay the loan by quarterly instalments.

But when the Governor-General's decision was later made known to the new Minister of Colonies, Dirk Fock, he reacted with a sharp protest and severe criticism. He regarded Governor-General van Heutsz as having transgressed his authority by failing to consult him. He severely lashed out at Van Heutsz for making the loan which incidentally was called an "allowance" by the Governor General. The Minister was also very upset over the Governor General's circular of 6 November 1905 which called on the Assistant Residents to assist in what the Minister called "hawking" of the Bintang Hindia.¹¹⁰ He accused Van Heutsz of trying "to govern

109. Provisional Draft, Minister of Colonies to Governor General 16 May 1906, Vb. 16 May 1906 Cf, Vb. 13 February 1906 Kabinet P4/no.22.

110. In paragraph 6 of the circular it was stated: "It needs no argument that in connection with the above plan (i.e. support of the Bintang Hindia) it would please the government very much if the number of readers would increase considerably ..."; and in paragraph 11: "On behalf of the Governor-General I have the honour to ask Your Excellency to bring the above to the attention of the officials in your district and to invite them to support the editors of the Bintang Hindia as much as possible in their commendable aspirations". See Ibid.

with the aid of newspapers".¹¹¹

The Governor General's reply to these criticisms was that in approving the subsidy for the Bintang Hindia he was merely implementing the wishes of the former Minister of Colonies, A.W.F. Idenburg, who in the Cabinet Communication of 23 February 1904 had foreseen the matter.¹¹² He also expressed disagreement over the Minister's contention that a periodical sponsored by the government would arouse distrust among the Western-educated natives and foreign orientals. He argued such a view might be correct for a European society. But in the Indies, announcement and propagandistic articles from the government would be more acceptable to the native readers than those from any other newspaper editors. The Governor-General was, in making this observation, obviously thinking of the large priyayi readership who would constitute the bulk of the magazine's subscribers. It should also be borne in mind that Van Heutsz's experience in the Aceh campaign must have made him realize that a government-sponsored periodical or newspaper was necessary to win over the top stratum of Indonesian society, namely the newly emerging intelligentsia. He felt that there was a need

to throw light upon the motives / of the government / for measures which have been explained in a misleading way by the press, and to help spread the knowledge of subjects of general interest ... / which / has been common property for centuries past in European society.¹¹³

But criticisms against the Governor-General also came from other quarters. The Bataviaasche Nieuwsblad accused the government of being

111. Governor-General to Minister of Colonies, Exhibitum 7 May 1906, Cabinet, Litt. W.14.

112. Ibid.

113. Ibid.

secretive about the whole deal.¹¹⁴ It also ridiculed the Bintang Hindia for having submitted itself to the status of Soeara Kandjeng Gouvernement (voice of the government).¹¹⁵ The publisher of the Pewarta Boemi,¹¹⁶ another advertisement and business newspaper published at Amsterdam, driven by a fear of competition, even wrote to the Queen to request the withdrawal of the Governor-General's circular of 6 November 105 which he said would threaten the existence of his newspaper,¹¹⁷ The Nederland Courant of Amsterdam was more explicit in its criticism. While welcoming the intention of the Indies government "to promote mass education by disseminating good reading matter", the paper expressed regret over the way it was done. It especially abhorred the issuing of the circular by the Governor General which would involve the officials of the government "to make propaganda for the Bintang Hindia".¹¹⁸

Whatever objections the Minister of Colonies had pertaining to the Indies government's attitude towards the Bintang Hindia had to remain on paper for the Governor-General had already committed the government to extend the loan. Nevertheless the circular directing the Assistant Residents and other officials to promote the sale of the magazine was withdrawn in the second half of 1906. The government also withdrew the free postage facility given to Clockener Brousson.

114. The giving of interest-free loan to Brousson was not informed to the Government's press bureau so as not to publicize it to the Indies press.

115. See Bataviasche Nieuwsblad No. 30, 6 January 1906.

116. The Pewarta Boemi was first published in 1893 by Pijtersen & Nieuwenhuijzen at Amsterdam. It was a fortnightly advertising paper and had Y. Strikwarda and Dr. Fokker the Malay language scholar serving as its editors.

117. See Pyttersen to the Queen, 6 January 1906, Vb. 11 January 1906, No. 49/108.

118. Cutting from the Nederland Courant, 23 December 1905, in Vb. 11 1906, No. 49.

The divergent attitudes demonstrated by both the Governor-General and the Minister of Colonies were very clear. While the Minister was seemingly against utilizing the press as a tool for government propaganda, the Governor-General was inclined to be more in tune with the Ethical spirit of the time. He genuinely believed that the Bintang Hindia

both advances the education of its readers in a direct way and gives to those who are educated an opportunity to put their acquired knowledge to use. Therefore support for the paper is entirely consistent with a policy of raising the intellectual level of the native population ...¹¹⁹

The opposing views of the two men also reflected their personalities. While Dirk Fock, a Meester in de rechten, was known to be a particularly hard man by nature, Van Heutsz, the ex-General in the Aceh Campaign, was more of a political strategist who felt that if the press could "educate" the natives in a desirable way, there was nothing wrong in supporting it. It was also not impossible that the Governor-General knew Brousson's father, himself a former Colonel who was said to be well-acquainted with the royal house in the Hague.¹²⁰ This and the fact that Brousson once served in the Aceh campaign might have influenced the Governor-General when he made the decision to support the Bintang Hindia by giving the loan of fl.20,000.

119. Governor-General to Minister of Colonies, Exhibitum 7 May 1906, Cabinet Litt., W. 14.

120. Colonel G. Clockener Brousson was also conferred the title of Officier der Orde van den Eikenkroon. He was said to have been generous in giving financial aid to the Bintang Hindia in its early years. He died in May 1906. Bintang Hindia, No. 12, 1 October 1906.

The Bintang Hindia as Propagator of Indonesian Nationalism

When the first specimen number of the Bintang Hindia appeared in July 1902, Abdul Rivai, the editor¹²¹ wrote that the fortnightly magazine which he called soearat tjerita had an ambitious and noble aim, and that was to promote knowledge among the people of the Indies so that they could attain the status of what he called the bangsawan pikiran.¹²² Rivai's call was also echoed by another Indonesian sitting on the editorial board, Raden Mas Koesoema Joedha¹²³ who urged the Javanese in particular to read and become subscribers of the Bintang Hindia. Indeed, in the first specimen issue Rivai categorically stated that the magazine was directed to all levels of Indies society. It was intended for the native aristocrats, native, Arab and Chinese officials, military officers

- 121. Although Brousson was the Chief editor, it was nevertheless Abdul Rivai who really did most of the editor's work. But Brousson, as the principal shareholder and owner of the periodical had the final say in determining the contents.
- 122. Literally: "aristocrats of the mind". This will be elaborated in the following pages.
- 123. Koesoema Joedha, also nicknamed "Soemi" was the second Javanese to have studied in a Dutch university. He was first registered at the medical faculty in the University of Amsterdam but after about a year he was informed of his brother's death in Java. He was asked by his parents to return home but he refused to do so. Instead, he moved to Leiden to study in the University there. In 1904, he passed the Grote Ambtenaar examinations and became the first Indonesian to be appointed by the Dutch as an Aspirant Controleur in 1905. Bintang Hindia, No. 6, n.d., 1905, p. 62.

in Yogyakarta, Solo, Madura, Ambon, Ternate and Banda, the mercantile community, students of the Chiefs' schools, teachers training colleges, and dokter jawa school and all uniformed personnels. To entice the Arab and Chinese readers Rivai promised to print news and articles about the Middle East and China. To fulfil the needs of those readers who wanted to learn the Dutch language, Rivai also published some articles in Dutch.¹²⁴

For Abdul Rivai the publication of the Bintang Hindia was not primarily motivated by commercial interests.¹²⁵ On the contrary, he was, it appears, deeply sincere in making the periodical his medium to propagate his ideas concerning the social and moral upliftment of the Indonesians. Clockener Brousson also had good motives in the publication. A romantic idealist, he was very much the "ethical" propagandist whose aim was to foster goodwill and loyalty among Indonesians toward the Netherlands and her Queen.

Judging from its contents the Bintang Hindia was certainly the first illustrated magazine which consciously through its articles and illustrations orientated itself towards bringing to its readers an awareness of, and exposure to, the world outside the Netherlands East Indies. From its very first issue in 1902 Abdul Rivai had emphasized to the readers the need to change to a more modern way of life. In his article on the bangsawan pikiran which was to become a slogan among the younger generation associated with the movement towards modernization and progress in the Indies, he said:

124. See Bintang Hindia, specimen issue No. 1, 1902.

125. For a subscription rate of fl.3- per year, the Bintang Hindia, Hindia, which was published on very good quality paper, was certainly the cheapest periodical around during that time.

When we compare the people of the Indies / bangsa
Hindia /¹²⁶ with the white-skinned race, there
 could be discerned a variety of differences ...
 which are as greatly different as the sky is
 from the earth ... Why must there be such
 differences? ... In Europe there exist two
 kinds of nobility:

- i. the nobility by birth / bangsawan usul /
- ii. the nobility by intellect / bangsawan pikiran /

There is little need to prolong our discussion on the "original nobility" because its rise was accidental / takdir /. If our forefathers were born aristocrats we too could be called bangsawan even though our knowledge and achievement may just be like the proverbial frog under the coconut shell.¹²⁷ For that reason we may assert our rights and boast about it; but supposing others do not care about those rights, we should not be resentful, because we are now living in the twentieth century. Nowadays people will seldom ask, as in the days of old: who is he? On the contrary, they will enquire: How is he? Physical prowess, the loftiness of one's status and the estimation of one's origin are no longer prerequisites for the attainment of fame. Now it is achievement and knowledge which will determine one's standing. It is this kind of situation that gives rise to the emergence of the bangsawan pikiran (intellectual nobility). ... The position of the bangsawan pikiran could be achieved by all men ... but in order to do that there is a necessary way we must follow, that is through:

- 1. learning
- 2. studying and absorbing the thoughts and ideas of learned people in their own special fields as well as other areas ...¹²⁸

126. It is well worth noting that it was the Bintang Hindia which popularised the term bangsa Hindia (Indies people or race) and anak Hindia (Indies-born) which psychologically implanted the esprit de corps among the natives of the Indonesian archipelago. Although the term could also refer to the other racial groups in the Indies such as the Chinese and Arabs, nonetheless the way it was used it was meant to refer to Indonesians in general. It was only after Indonesian nationalism gained its maturity in the early twenties that the term bangsa Indonesia displaced bangsa Hindia.

127. Meaning: man of limited vision.

128. Bintang Hindia, No. 1, Specimen issue, 1902, p. 3.

Rivai's categorization of the intellectuals as the "aristocrats of the mind" indicated the importance he placed on the role of the educated group of Indonesians to lead their people to the path of progress. He compared this group (which he said would eventually increase in size in the Indies) to the armed combatant. Noting that the Europeans were already "armed" so he called upon the native youths to "arm" themselves also:

... the armed enemy can only be challenged by an opponent that is also armed; likewise, knowledge and skill can only be combatted by a similar weapon
129
...

Although his call to the natives to pursue progress was made in a manner as though they had to prepare themselves to "challenge" the Europeans nonetheless it was presented in his writing in an ambiguous form, accompanied by praises to the government in its effort to increase the number of schools for natives. Yet the message was clear:

Since the foreigners (bangsa asing) are already "intellectual aristocrats" it is of utmost importance for the indigenous people to be bangawan pikiran also, that is if they wish to be treated with equality. 130

Apart from Clockener Brousson and ex-Major Tuinenburg, the administrator of the office at Bandung, all the editors and proof readers 131 were Indonesians. The magazine was so popular (aided in no small way

129. Ibid.

130. The last phrase "treated with equality" was rendered in the Minangkabau lyrical idiom:

"diukur sama panjang
ditimbang sama berat"

131. While Rivai was the editor-in-chief in the Netherlands, J.E. Tehupeiorij was editor for the Indies. Abdoel Moeis was employed as Assistant editor and Boesthamie, an ex-student of the ~~theekwickschool~~ at Fort de Kock as proof reader. Other assistant editors were Samsoedin Rassat and Amaroellah, Mas Soengkono, an ex-dokter jawa graduate was employed as proof reader.

by the "gentle pressure" applied by the government's circular of 6 November 1905) that even in the homes of not well-to-do Indonesians there were cuttings of cover pictures of the Bintang Hindia pinned on the walls.¹³² To entice Chinese readers to support the magazine Rivai also published reports of activities of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan. Indeed, for Abdul Rivai the Chinese were already "progressive" and their example should be followed by the Indonesian intelligentsia; he noted:

... the thoughts and ideas of the Chinese in the Indies can now be categorized into two: the kaoem koeno (conservative) and the kaoem moeda (progressive). Within these two or three years we have seen how these two groups have strived to develop ¹³³ the thoughts and opinions of the individuals.

Through the Bintang Hindia Abdul Rivai popularised the term kaum muda which he defined as

all people of the Indies (young and old) who are no longer willing to follow the obsolete system (atoeran koeno) but are, on the contrary, anxious to achieve self-respect through knowledge and the sciences (ilmoe).¹³⁴

The term kaum tua or kaum kuno, on the other hand, was applied to those who were too obsessed with demand for respect (gila hormat) and the Javanese adat of sembah and jongkok.¹³⁵

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- 132. Tirto Adhi Soerjo, Doenia Pertjintaan: Seitangkoening, Makassar, 1906.
 - 133. Bintang Hindia No. 1, 1904, p. 4.
 - 134. Bintang Hindia No. 14, 1905, p. 159.
 - 135. While the term kaum muda complements Rivai's concept of the "intellectual aristocrats" (bangsawan pikiran) kaum tua or kaum kuno was apparently meant for the so-called "original aristocrats" or bangsawan usul.

In his analysis of Indonesian society Rivai perceived three distinct groups present:

- a. the common people
- b. the bangsawan usul
- c. the bangsawan pikiram

Of the three, he was convinced that only the last group could lead the way to modernization of society. In 1905 he called for the setting up of a large native organization that would bring together all the kaum muda or progressive elements. He said the proposed organisation, which he called Perhimpunan Kaoem Moeda (Progressive Society), would endeavour to establish branches in different towns and districts so as to deliberate on matters pertaining to the needs of the natives. In making this proposal, Rivai quoted the example of the Chinese who, he said, had set up a perhimpunan kaum muda of their own - the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan.¹³⁶

The idea of forming such an association foreshadowed the setting up of the Boedi Oetomo three years later. Like the Boedi Oetomo, the association visualised by Abdul Rivai also envisaged making education and learning as its main platform in the pursuit for progress. But it was the Chinese and the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan which strongly influenced Abdul Rivai to call for a similar movement to be taken up by the Indonesian intelligentsia.

By 1903 the Chinese in the Indies had already been granted

136. Rivai suggested that the organization should have a President, Vice-President, First Secretary, two assistant secretaries and a Treasurer. He also proposed that there should be five or six members to sit on the executive committee. See Bintang Hindia, No. 14, 1905, p. 160.

permission to cut off their queues and to dress like Europeans. By this time too the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan had set up schools outside Batavia. Rivai's admiration of the Chinese kaum muda movement had led him to support them in their demand from the government for the opening of educational facilities to their children.¹³⁸ In 1906 the Dutch government in the Netherlands had welcomed the Chinese mission from China. In his comments about this Rivai noted that the Chinese had already attained their beschaving; he then posed a question: "When will the natives acquire such a status?" In a series of articles on the "awakening" of the Chinese, he emphasized the fact that it was the kaum muda who had provided the leadership for the peranakan Chinese.¹³⁹ It was due to his admiration of the Chinese modernist movement that Rivai time and again urged his fellow Indonesians to emulate the ways of the Westernized Chinese.¹⁴⁰

For many Indonesians, the Bintang Hindia had been an "eye-opener" that urged them to change their traditional values and attitudes for a more modern and western approach to life. While Abdul Rivai had been regarded as the prime mover of the new ideas and author of such conceptual

137. Bintang Hindia, No. 23, 14 November 1903, p. 248. For a general background of the Chinese modernist movement in Indonesia, see Lea E. Williams, Overseas Chinese Nationalism: The genesis of the pan-Chinese Movement in Indonesia, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1960. See also Kwee Tek Hoay, The Origins of the Modern Chinese Movement in Indonesia, trans. Lea E. Williams, Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Ithaca, 1969.

138. Bintang Hindia, No. 22, 1 March 1907, p. 278-280.

139. See Bintang Hindia, No. 11, 15 September 1906, Bintang Hindia, No. 12, 1 October 1906, Bintang Hindia, No. 15, 15 November 1906.

140. Bintang Hindia, No. 24, 1 April 1907.

term as kaum muda the magazine also published articles written by Indonesian and Chinese intellectuals who shared the same ideals propagated by Rivai. The articles and illustrations in the magazine covered a wide range of subjects. There were accounts and pictures of places in Holland and Europe, the Russo-Japanese war, the Dutch military expedition in Boni and Indies officials both Dutch and native alike. There were articles on literature, commerce, language-learning and education in general. Reports and pictures of the Chinese and Arabs in the Indies especially pertaining to their organizations, schools and material progress were not only meant to entice support from the two communities but also to urge the Indonesians to emulate their ways in the pursuit of kemajuan. But it was Rivai's writings on the backwardness of his people and the need to awaken them from their slumber that stimulated interest among the newly emerging intelligentsia to read the Bintang Hindia. Thus, in spite of its image as a government-sponsored periodical, the Bintang Hindia managed to draw the attention of the literate namely the teachers, priyayi officials and students to the polemical issues of tradition and change for indigenous society. For many Indonesians the Bintang Hindia, which was the only truly "intellectual" publication at that time, had expressed the sentiments that they had long felt. In a speech given by the President of the Boedi Oetomo branch at Bondowoso in 1909, the Bintang Hindia and Abdul Rivai were both cited as pioneers in voicing the need for Indonesians to found an organization similar to the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan.¹⁴¹

Nevertheless towards the end of 1906 the Bintang Hindia's exis-

141. Bandera Wolanda No. 33, 15 June 1909, Cf. St. Mohd. Zain, Zaman Baroe, Batavia, 1941, pp. 42-53.

tence appeared to be in a state of uncertainty. The circular of 6 November 1905 which urged government officials to support the periodical was withdrawn in August 1906.¹⁴² The free-postage facility had also been withdrawn. Abdul Rivai, the editor doing most of the work in the Netherlands, was also too busy with his studies now.¹⁴³ To make matters worse, Rivai had had some misunderstanding with Brousson¹⁴⁴ on the type of orientation the Bintang Hindia should be following. Rivai wanted its contents to be political in nature and the language nearer to literary Malay. But Brousson did not want Rivai to dabble too much in political issues and to use only Low Malay for its contents.¹⁴⁵ Because of financial mismanagement by Brousson, the magazine was also not making any profit but on the contrary was suffering from unpaid subscriptions.¹⁴⁶ To reorganize the Bintang Hindia, Brousson left Java for Holland in March 1906, but with Rivai being too busy with his studies the contents of the periodical were no longer as interesting as before. In 1907 there were more articles in Dutch than in Malay. In June 1907 Rivai finally left the editorial board to concentrate on his medical studies. This meant the end for the Bintang Hindia. Its last issue appeared on 15 June 1907.¹⁴⁷ But since Brousson had still not fully paid up the government loan he took, in 1908 he initiated the publication of the Bandera

142. See Circular No. 2416, Vb. 3 October 1906, no. 44, Exh. 9/15-1906 - No. 3.

143.. Abdul Rivai had enrolled at the University of Amsterdam's medical faculty in late 1904 following the introduction of a law by the Dutch government allowing graduates of dokter jawa school to enter Dutch universities without having to sit for the preliminary examinations.

144. Bintang Hindia, No. 9, 15 August 1906.

145. See Bintang Hindia, No. 5, 15 June 1906, p. 50.

146. Tuineburg to Secretary General of the government Vb. 17 February 1908 No. 6.

147. Bandera Wolanda, No. 27, n.d. (1909?), p. 2.

Wolanda as successor to the Bintang Hindia. He had J.E. Tehupeiorij¹⁴⁸ to be the editor and like the Bintang Hindia, the Bandera Wolanda was also an illustrated magazine printed by the N.J. Boon press at Amsterdam.¹⁴⁹

Conclusion

From the above discussion we have seen that the closing years of the nineteenth century had witnessed the birth of a new consciousness among the Indonesians, namely the demand for a more widespread Western-type education. This consciousness which was prevalent among the school teachers and other priyayi officials found expression in the various vernacular newspapers and periodicals that emerged in the last years of the previous century and at the beginning of this century. The pertinent issue discussed by the intellectuals of that period was education and the need for Indonesians to pursue kemajuan, a term whose meaning was to encompass all aspects of progress. The realization that kemajuan was an important goal was, however, accompanied by the desire to change society from within. This in turn resulted in conflicts between the traditional elements in Indonesian society and the newly emerging kemajuan-oriented intelligentsia. Polemics regarding kemajuan and the question of modernizing society along Western lines appear to dominate the pages of periodicals founded by the new intellectuals who found the aims of the Ethical Colonial Policy in harmony with theirs. In this regard it was the Amsterdam-based Bintang Hindia that undertook the role of purveying new ideas for the literate Indonesians in their pursuit to moder-

148. J.E. Tehupeiorij arrived at Utrecht in 1907 to continue his studies in medicine. He passed his examinations in December 1908 but met an untimely death four days after he was informed of his success because he forgot to switch off his gas heater while sleeping.

149. Following Tehupeiorij's death, Soetan Casajangan became editor of the Bandera Wolanda in 1909. The magazine lasted until 1913.

nize society and to bring about kemajuan, Abdul Rivai's call to the Indonesian intellectuals to emulate the Chinese and the Arabs soon led to a more serious effort by the Indonesian journalists to found their own newspapers and organizations.

The following chapter will therefore discuss the growth of the native-owned press as a manifestation of an indigenous awakening.

(CHAPTER VI

THE GROWTH OF THE INDONESIAN-OWNED PRESS

This chapter examines the rise of native Indonesian editors and printing presses. The growth of socio-economic organizations run and managed by newspapermen will also be discussed. The consideration of the development of the native press and the rise of indigenous social consciousness will, however, be focussed on Java where the first attempts to found a native-owned press were made and the emergence of a socio-economic consciousness began.

The belated appearance of indigenous Indonesians in the publishing business in general and the press in particular could be attributed to their weak economic position. It was not until the early years of this century that there emerged indigenous business concerns, though in size and financial strength they were still small and weak compared to firms run and owned by Europeans and Chinese. The conspicuous absence of an indigenous business circle thus accounted for the belated growth of indigenous publishing companies.

But it was not only the publishers but also the professional jobs in the press, namely the posts of editors and correspondents, which were a monopoly of Eurasians and Chinese until the closing years of the nineteenth century. One reason for the late appearance of Indonesians editors was because no Europeans or Chinese publishers were willing to recruit Indonesians unless they were as qualified as the Eurasians who were mostly ex-officials of the Binnenlandsch Bestuur. The fact that well-educated Indonesians were mostly employees of the Dutch government meant that publishers had difficulty in recruiting qualified but "independent" Indonesian editors. It was only in the closing years of the

nineteenth century that there emerged retired Indonesian government officials and Dokter Djawa school dropouts who became editors or assistant editors of vernacular newspapers. However, it was the opening of the twentieth century that saw an increase in the number of indigenous Indonesians taking up newspaper jobs either as editors or assistant editors, both part-time and full-time. More Indonesians were also recruited to work as correspondents and typesetters; it was not unusual to find typesetters contributing articles in the newspapers they worked for.

Around 1900 there were thirteen newspapers and six periodicals circulating in the Indies.¹ Five of the ^{vernacular} newspapers were dailies.² But almost all the papers were catering for Chinese readership and thus printing news and articles which suited Chinese tastes. The rise of Chinese consciousness, marked by the formation of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan, had apparently stimulated interest among the peranakan Chinese to subscribe to newspapers. Competition among publishers and editors to woo the Chinese readership therefore became more intense. Native publishers also had to attract non-native subscribers. Thus it was not surprising that when the first native-owned periodical, Soenda Berita, appeared on 17 August 1903, the publisher and Editor, Raden Mas Tирто Adhi Soerjo, announced in the maiden issue that twenty percent of the profit acquired from subscriptions would be donated to the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan, the White Cross Colony at Salatiga (home for poor Christians) and any welfare bodies catering for the natives at Semarang. Tirto Adhi Soerjo also promised to donate 20% of the returns of advertisement

1. See Appendix D.

2. Ibid.

charges to charitable bodies. Undoubtedly, Tirto's motive in doing so was to attract Chinese and Eurasian (or European) subscribers and advertisers apart from native readers. However, the contents of this periodical mainly concerned the Indonesians.

The dependence of the vernacular press on Chinese and Eurasian subscribers was acknowledged by Tirto Adhi Soerjo himself. Looking back to his early days in the press business, he said,

... I still remember the days when I served as editor fifteen years ago during which time the Malay press could survive only by depending on the Chinese and Europeans /Eurasians/; editors should be scrupulous enough not to be careless in promoting the interests of the two communities, for otherwise it was not unusual for them to lose their jobs, so that the editor's pen and his assistant's were pushed in order to help towards advancing the position and status of the other races ...³

Tirto Adhi Soerjo's interest in journalism had started at an early age while still studying at the School tot Opleiding van Inlandsche Artsen /School for Training of Native Doctors/ or STOVIA where he studied to become a dokter djawa /native doctor/ but never graduated.⁴ His career as a journalist began when he served as correspondent for the Hindia Ollanda in 1894. He was not paid but received free copies of the newspaper. His competence as a native editor was only

3. Tirto's speech to the native traders at Bogor which appeared in the Malay press and was reprinted by the Pewarta Boemi, No. 17, 16 May 1911.
4. According to Tirto himself, he was more interested in writing to newspapers than studying. Pertaining to his education, he said, he first studied up to the highest class in the Dutch school at Bojonegoro, Madiun and Rembang. He spent six years at the STOVIA and had cleared the fourth study year but never sat for his final Inlandsche Arts examinations to qualify as a dokter jawa. He admitted that he didn't work hard enough as a result of which he failed in one of the promotion examinations. See Medan Prijaji, No. 3, 1909, pp. 54, 667-69 and 749.

proven when he became chief editor of the Pembrita Betawi commencing from 1 April 1902 and concurrently assistant editor of the daily, Warna Sari [Colourful Flower.]⁵ He claimed that at that time he was also requested by the Susuhunan of Solo to be the correspondent for the Javanese-language, Bromartani.⁶ His job with the Pembrita Betawi lasted for only about a year until he left in April 1903 because of poor health.⁷ However, it was not long after this that his urge to start his own publication led him to launch the Soenda Berita [Soendanese News.]⁸ This weekly periodical was printed by G. Kolff & Co., Batavia and had twenty four pages of which fourteen consisted of advertisements. It carried articles on commerce, agriculture and law, clearly reflecting the editor's desire to arouse interest among his readers to strive for progress through learning. The periodical was the first indigenous publication owned, edited and managed by a native. But the Soenda Berita survived only for two years for Tирто was forced to leave Batavia for the Moluccas in late 1904. Early in that year he had landed himself in a legal suit in which he was accused of breach of trust.⁹ The next one and half years were spent in the Moluccas, possibly in exile as a result of the court case.

5. The Warna Sari's first number appeared on 1 October 1901. It was published by L. Weber at Buitenzorg and edited by F. Wiggers.
6. Bintang Betawi, No. 74, 4 April 1902.
7. Pembrita Betawi, No. 49, 31 March 1903.
8. The Soenda Berita appeared on 17 August 1903. Its subscription rate was fl.7,50 per annum or fl.4,- per six months or fl.2,50 per three months. See Pembrita Betawi, No. 185, 14 August 1903.
9. A certain Raden Noto who was said to be Tирто's acquaintance had asked the latter to redeem an ornament he had pawned at Yogyakarta as Tирто was going to that city. However, after receiving the money, Tирто was alleged to have absconded with it without rendering Noto's ornament. So the latter reported the matter and consequently Tирто was detained. See Taman Sari, No 62, 17 March 1904 and Taman Sari, No. 64, 19 March 1904.

In 1906, upon his return, Tirto Adhi Soerjo made a tour of Java and according to him he was then approached by a number of leading priyayi to find ways and means that would draw attention to the plight and welfare of the native population.¹⁰ On the completion of the tour, Tirto discussed the matter with Raden Mas Prawirodiningrat, the Chief Jaksa [public prosecutor] the district commandants [chiefs] of Tanah Abang, Mangga Besar and Penjaringan, all of Batavia. Following his deliberations with these priyayi, a provisional committee was immediately formed to look into the question of forming a society of priyayi to be named "Sarekat Prijaji".¹¹ A notice calling for support from the priyayi community was circulated in and around Java. The society was to be based at Batavia but would have branches throughout Java. Its principal aim was to form a scholarship bureau so that education for the children of priyayi could be promoted.¹² According to Tirto Adhi Soerjo, about seven hundred priyayi agreed to become members. Joining fees was fixed at fl.10,- with a monthly subscription of fifty cents for each member. Whether the society did come into realization is still a matter of conjecture. With the exception of the Medan Prijaji, none of the newspapers of 1907 carried any news of it. Nevertheless, a provisional committee for the Sarekat Prijaji did exist in 1906.¹³

10. See Medan Prijaji (3), 1909, pp. 7-14.

11. Ibid.

12. To finance the bureau the protem committee decided that the source of funds could come from membership fees, members' own contributions, public donations, income derived from the setting up of kindergartens and Dutch-language classes and income from the sale of native handicrafts during exhibitions.

13. The committee consisted of:

President: Raden Mas Prawirodiningrat
 Vice President: Tamrin Mohd, Tabri
 Secretary cum Treasurer: R.M. Tirto Adhi Soerjo
 Commissioners: Taidjin Moehadjihin; Bahram.

The move to form the Sarekat Prijaji was indeed significant for the Indonesians. It was the beginning of an attempt to form a modern indigenous organization led by the Indonesian intelligentsia. Like the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan that came into being in 1900 and the Boedi Oetomo that appeared in 1908, the Sarekat Prijaji had education as its main concern. Like the leaders of both organizations, the founders of the Sarekat Prijaji also wanted to have a politically-orientated organ.

The Medan Prijaji Press

The desire to publish a newspaper materialized when one member, Raden Mas Temenggong Pandji Arjodolinoto, Chief Jaksa of Ceribon, volunteered to donate a sum of one thousand guilders as initial capital to start the society's organ. And so on 1 January 1907,¹⁴ the weekly paper Medan Prijaji /Prijaji's Arena/ made its appearance. Tirto Adhi Soerjo became its editor and administrator. He had established it with an initial capital of fl.3,500.- but the expenditure incurred in its publication was fl.7,500.-. The weekly had about one thousand subscribers, half of whom were priyayi.¹⁵

The Medan Prijaji, which was printed in tabloid format, could be said to be the first full-fledged indigenous weekly newspaper in Java. It was to act as an organ for the educated native Indonesians and to serve as a forum for the native readers to express their views and discuss issues relating to native welfare, ranging from native education

14. Medan Prijaji (3), 1909, pp. 7-14.

15. Date given by Tirto himself. See ibid.

to socio-political questions such as criticisms against corrupt priyayi and inefficient government officials who exploited the orang kecil / masses / through abuse of power. The contents of the Medan Prijaji were more "radical" than its predecessor, Soenda Berita. Tирто's unrestrained criticisms of both Dutch and native officials and his very nationalistic sentiments demonstrated the political orientation of this weekly. Although the Bintang Hindia could claim to have planted the seed of Indonesian "national awareness" regarding various questions concerning social, economic and political matters, it nevertheless was published in Holland where the press censorship was not as harsh as in the Indies. Furthermore, the Bintang Hindia appeared fortnightly and its nationalistic overtones were shut off when Abdul Rivai withdrew from the editorial board in 1907. Thus the Medan Prijaji could be said to be the successor of the Bintang Hindia as a nationalistic organ for the indigenous people. However, it was committed to the defence of native interests against the exploitation and injustice of corrupt native rulers and corrupt government officials. The Medan Prijaji was also bolder in its criticism of the Dutch colonial system as evident from the swift legal actions taken by the authorities against the chief editor, Tирто Adhi Soerjo, who more than once was prosecuted for breaking the colonial Press Laws which among others proscribed criticism of government officials and respectable figures such as the senior priyayi,

Soon after the launching of the Medan Prijaji, Tирто Adhi Soerjo published the Soeloeh Keadilan / Torch of Justice / which began appearing in April 1907. The title of this monthly periodical was suggested by R.M.T. Pandji Arjodinoto who, with Tирто Adhi Soerjo as chief editor, sat on the editorial board of the Soeloeh Keadilan until he was appointed Regent of Pemalang, Pekalongan. Not long after the Soeloeh Keadilan made its appearance in August 1907 Tирто Adhi Soerjo sought the help of Haji Mohd. Arsad to run the publications. According to Tирто, he lacked the

financial resources and therefore approached Haji Mohd. Arsad for help. When he started the Soeloeh Keadilan he was able to get monetary support from charitable priyayi, one of whom was Raden Adipati Aria Prawiradinigrat who contributed one thousand guilders for the publication of both the Soeloeh Keadilan and the Medan Prijaji.¹⁶

By October 1907 the Medan Prijaji had proved to be a popular reading matter among educated Indonesians. Its readership, according to Tirto Adhi Soerjo, consisted of Raja, Regents, Patih, District Chiefs, Jaksa and members of the Landraad / native court /. These people also subscribed to the Soeloeh Keadilan. The success of Medan Prijaji led Tirto Adhi Soerjo to approach Haji Mohd. Arsad who, as mentioned earlier, had agreed to form a joint-venture firm with Tirto in August 1907. As a principal shareholder of H.M. Arsad & Co., Arsad agreed in October 1907 to inject more money into the Medan Prijaji together with the Soeloeh Keadilan.

Tirto also wanted to start a ladies' journal in the belief that the awakening of the native elite should not be restricted to the males among the native literate alone but also be directed towards Indonesian women, small though the number of those who could read might be.¹⁷ Thus

16. See Medan Prijaji, No. 9, 5 March 1910, p. 100.

17. Actually the desire to start a ladies' journal had been the dream of Tirto Adhi Soerjo since the days he held the editorial post of the Pembrita Betawi in 1903. Tirto wrote an article entitled "Kemadjoean Perempoean Boemipoetra" / the progress of the native women / in Pembrita Betawi, No. 10, 14 January 1903. In this article Tirto mentioned the name of Raden Ajoe Lasminingrat, the Pasundan lady, wife of Kandjeng Adipati of Garut. Tirto said, to his knowledge, this lady was the first Indonesian woman to indulge in literary activities. She had written two books in Sundanese. He knew two other ladies who were following the footsteps of Raden Ajoe Lasminingrat, but these two sisters, Raden Adjeng Kartini and Raden Adjeng Rukmini, the daughters of the Bupati of Japara had not written in their own native language. They wrote in Dutch in several monthly periodicals in Holland. So "the knowledge of these two princesses have not sown useful seeds for their sisters in the Indies ... because they are still too young and not matured in their awareness to disseminate their knowledge among us indigenous people ..." See Pembrita Betawi, No. 10, 14 January 1903, on Tirto's criticism of the two famous

in June 1908 Tирто initiated the publication of the Poetri Hindia / Indies Princess J. As with the rest of his publications Tирто solicited moral support from the higher echelon of the priyayi class. When launching the Poetri Hindia he requested the Bupati of Karanganjar, Raden Temenggoeng Tирто Koesoemo, to become patron of the journal. Tирто himself assumed the post of editorial adviser jointly with a certain R.S.T. Amidjojo. There were several names of Dutch or Eurasian ladies and wives of prominent priyayi sitting on the editorial board, either holding the post of editors-in-chief or editors.¹⁸ The Poetri Hindia catered largely for the wives and relatives of the higher priyayi although there were also Chinese subscribers. Articles touching on domestic aspects such as

(continuation of footnote 17)

sisters. In the same article, Tирто expressed his desire to start a women's magazine because "... there wasn't any suitable journal or newspapers for them". Other ladies' names mentioned by Tирто to have contributed their writings to the Malay-language press were: Njonja Retnaningsih and Retnaningroem.

18. The editors-in-chief were: Laura Elmendorp. T. Sereal, F. Kramer (wife of R.S.T. Amidjojo), Raden Ajoe Tjokro Adikoesoemo nee Miss Visscher (daughter-in-law of the Bupati of Cianjur), Raden Adjeng Soehito Tirtokoesoemo (Headmistress of the Government Girls' School at Karanganyar), Raden Fatimah (daughter of the Wedana at Bogor), Raden Ajoe Siti Habiba (Tирто Adhi Soerjo's first wife), S.N. Norhar Salim (daughter of St. Mohd. Salim and teacher at Fort de Kock) and Raden Ajoe Mangkoedimedjo (niece of the Sultan of Yogyakarta). The editors were: Mas Loro Hasiah Rogoatmodjo (a trainee teacher attached to the girls' school at Bogor), Raden Aroem (a handicrafts teacher at Bogor), Raden Ajoe Soetanandika (wife of the Patih of Ciamis), Raden Ajoe Pringgwinoto (wife of the Patih of Rembang), Toean Poetri Radja Fatimah (Tирто's second wife and daughter of the Sultan of Bacan), Raden Ajoe Tирто Adhiwinoto (widow of Tирто's elder brother, R.M. Tирто Adhiwinoto and Raden Ajoe Arsad (wife of Haji Mohd. Arsad). Others who served the editorial board of the Poetri Hindia in its first year were: Raden Ajoe Djojosepoetro (wife of a retired Demang at Meester Cornelis), Njonja Soeida (wife of the Head Teacher of the native school at Makassar) and Raden Adjeng Soedarni (daughter of R.M. Temenggoeng Wreksodiningrat, Bupati of Kalang, Surakarta). Most of the ladies sitting on the editorial board had Dutch education. See Poetri Hindia, No. 1, 15 January 1909 and Medan Prijaji (3), 1909, pp. 744-745.

hygiene, advice on childcare, the evils of extravagance and the art of Javanese cooking filled its pages. Occasionally there would be reports of women's associations or clubs such as the "Vereeniging Pāmitran" at Bandung.¹⁹ The Poetri Hindia received backing from the authorities. This could be attributed to the fact that there were some European ladies on its editorial board. Sometime in 1909 the board of editors was presented with a sum of money by the Queen Mother, Queen Emma "as an inducement for the bringing of kemajuan [progress] to the housewives in the Indies".²⁰

The good response from subscribers to the three periodicals published by Tirto Adhi Soerjo in 1908 had encouraged him to found a business concern to be backed by rich priyayi and wealthy Chinese.²¹ His application to form a maatschappij [trading company] was granted by the government resolution of December 10, 1908, No. 27. The company named Naamlooze Vennootschap: "Javansche Boekhandel en Drukkerij en Handel in Schrijfbehoeften Medan Prijaji" [Medan Prijaji Javanese Bookshop, Printing House and Stationery Company Ltd.] with a target capital of seventy five thousand guilders, to be divided into 3,000 shares valued at fl.25,- each. The shares were divided into three groups, each having fl.25,000,-. The first group of shares was said to have been purchased by the company's promoters while the second and third groups would be sold to outsiders, including Chinese and Europeans. With the setting up of the Medan Prijaji firm as a limited liability company the

19. Nothing much is known about this club, except that it was founded at Bandung around 1908. The club aimed at promoting mutual help among housewives when faced with the death of members of their families. See Poetri Hindia, No. 1, 15 January 1909.
20. The amount given was not disclosed. The editorial board decided to use it to buy books and to set up a library. See Medan Prijaji (3), 1909, p. 744.
21. Ibid., p. 72.

Indies saw the birth of a serious attempt by indigenous entrepreneurs to expand their newspaper publishing business by soliciting financial backing from the wealthy Chinese and Europeans through the sale of shares.

As editor-in-chief of the Medan Prijaji, Tirto's articles were sharp and biting, exposing the corruption and abuse of power by government officials over the native population. This soon landed him in serious trouble. In the twentieth issue of the Medan Prijaji, dated 30 June 1908, Tirto accused A. Simon, the Aspirant Controleur at Purworejo, of being corrupt and used the term "snotaap" [urchin] to refer to the Controleur. Following the publication of this article Tirto was sued for defamation of character by Simon and called to face the Council of Justice.²² In his defence Tirto admitted writing the article and criticizing the Aspirant Controleur and Mas Tjokrosanto, the Wedana of Cangkrep, Purworejo, because he was angry over the fact that the two had abused their powers and conspired to exploit the native people. But he denied that he had written the article in order to defame or deride the characters of the two men. Tirto was acquitted on charges of calumny but later was found guilty for defamation. As a result he was sentenced to a two-month exile to Teluk Betung in the Lampung residency.²³ But this was only the first time the Medan Prijaji was brought to court. In August 1911 the Medan Prijaji was again sued for defamation by the Regent of Rembang, the heir to the throne of Solo and the Patih at Meester Cornelis as a result of an article written by an unnamed contributor.

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22. According to Article 25 of the Press Regulation as amended by the government's resolution of March 19, 1906 No. 4 "defamation, derision or calumny in print would be liable to punishment of either one to twelve months' imprisonment or fine of between fl.10,- to fl.500,- or both."
 23. Taman Sari, No. 244, 15 October 1909. Tirto arrived at Teluk Betung on 12 March 1910. The area used to be the banishment ground for opium offenders. See Medan Prijaji, No. 12, 8 March 1910.

The editorial board had refused to name the author of the article and Tirto asserted that the allegations of the plaintiffs were unfounded.²⁴ What outcome the case had is hard to tell for not many copies of the Medan Prijaji have survived. Nevertheless it does show that Tirto's way of writing was provocative and he displeased many priyayi when incidents of bribery and oppression were exposed. In May 1911 Tirto's writing had allegedly defamed the name of Pangeran Ario Joedonegoro, the Bupati at Yogyakarta. But when the Bupati wanted to take legal action Tirto withdrew the remarks he made that the Bupati was a lintah darat / blood-sucker.²⁵

In the early history of the vernacular press in Indonesia, no other Indonesian editor could be said to be as bold and as sharp as Tirto Adhi Soerjo. He not only derided native officials but also insulted the Dutchmen whom he likened to "living like animals with native women, consequently creating a new race among the full-blooded Europeans."²⁶ He tried to dissuade priyayi youths from aspiring to become bureaucratic priyayi. He criticised them for preferring to work as copyists and draughtsmen and chided them for their obsession to be elevated to the priyayiship after being mangang in order to get the letter "W" on their coat buttons and the privilege of using the ceremonial umbrella.²⁷ He despised Indonesians who had tried to become Dutchmen or half-Dutch and named these naturalised Netherlanders "Belanda Besluit".²⁸ To those

24. Pantjoran Warta, No. 192, 28 August 1911.

25. See Pantjoran Warta, No. 248, 4 November 1911.

26. Medan Prijaji, 1909, p. 768, When he clashed with the Bupati of Tjangkrep he even accused the wedana of having got his position by prostituting his wife to the galon-galon gondol (Dutchmen). See Medan Prijaji (3), 1909, pp. 757-760.

27. Ibid., p. 613,

28. See Medan Prijaji (3), 1909, pp. 749 and 753.

Javanese who apologetically admitted that they couldn't speak Javanese well but would rather speak Dutch, he expressed strong disapproval. In his very own words, he said:

... We the natives shall always remain indigenous, but it is important that we strive like the Europeans, researching and promoting our knowledge of the language, customs and institutions / of the Dutch /, but the language and customs shall not be used to usurp our original language and customs; they are only to be utilised as capital to increase our wealth and our strength ...²⁹

Despite his apparent radicalism, Tирто Адхи Соерjo was essentially conservative himself, as can be seen in his attitude to other innovating groups. He attacked the kaum muda by accusing them of being agents of the Dutch and pretending to uplift the well-being of the indigenous people. He accused them of becoming bangsa kapiran / of the infidel race /. Although he initially welcomed the formation of the Boedi Oetomo, he expressed his strong disapproval when the new organization announced its intention to start an organ in 1909 under the editorship of E.F.E. Douwes Dekker, the editor of the Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad. He condemned the move because he felt Douwes Dekker, being Eurasian, was incapable of assuming leadership of the Javanese people since his knowledge of the Javanese was less than his acquaintance with the physical conditions of the Javanese.³⁰ He also had low opinion of the younger students who had initiated the founding of that organization such as the

29. Ibid., p. 459.

30. Tирто's dislike of Douwes Dekker was partly due to the latter's attack on R.T. Ario Tirkokoesoemo, the Bupati of Karanganyar, in his article "Misbruikt / misused / Intellect" which appeared in the Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad. Dekker was said to have been angry after learning that the Bupati had declined to buy any shares in the newspaper to be published by the Boedi Oetomo if he became its editor-in-chief.

Dokter Djawa School students, whom he regarded as upstarts obsessed with Western culture.

Tirto's attitude towards the younger generation was more due to his haughtiness as a true aristocrat. Born in the year 1878 at Blora, Raden Mas Tirto Adhi Soerjo came from a Bojonegoro Regent family. His grandfather, Tirtonoto was dismissed as Bupati in 1888, apparently the victim of a concerted attack by the Patih and his half-brother, the Eurasian Assistant Resident.³¹ It was possibly the indignation over the removal of his grandfather and appointment of another man as Bupati that made Tirto so sensitive about the treatment of indigenous Indonesians by the Dutch. In spite of his sharp criticisms of the government, however, Tirto was in fact not as anti-Dutch as his words seemed to imply. On the occasion of celebrating the birthday of Princess Juliana, heir to the Dutch throne, on April 30, 1909 he spoke lengthily of the history of the Nassau kingdom while expressing loyalty and devotion on behalf /of his fellow Indonesians to the Queen.³² Later, when his popularity in the Sarekat Islam waned miserably during the height of its rise, he was quick to accuse the Sarekat Islam of being anti-Dutch³³ and he was even reported to have made a protest to the Governor-General, Idenburg, for "abetting the Sarekat Islam".³⁴

Despite these sentiments, it was Tirto who in March 1909 founded the Sarekat Dagang Islamiah / SDI - Islamic Commercial Association / at

31. Heather Sutherland, The Making of a Bureaucratic Elite: The Colonial Transformation of the Javanese Priyayi, Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd., Kuala Lumpur, 1979, p. 57. See also Taman Sari, No. 199, 28 August 1912.

32. Taman Sari, No. 103, 11 May 1909. Cf. Medan Prijaji (3), 1909, p. 12.

33. Warna Warta, No. 15, 19 January 1914.

34. Sinar Djawa, No. 30, 6 February 1914, quoting the Preanger Rode.

Bogor which declared its principal aim as "to look after the interests of Muslims in the Netherlands Indies".³⁵ Tирто, who held the post of Secretary-cum-adviser of the new body, wrote in the Medan Prijaji that the association aimed at improving the pathetic conditions of native traders and businessmen. He said, "the native or Muslim traders should at least be brought to the level of the Chinese traders if not the European".³⁶ He looked forward to the day when Muslim businessmen would possess their own companies, banks and enterprises.³⁷ The emergence of the first Muslim-based trading organization could be seen as a consequence of the growing awareness among Indonesian small traders on the importance of commerce and the business field in general for economic upliftment of society and for the betterment of the general livelihood of the native people. That the association should declare itself as an Islamic-based commercial body was in part due to the relatively stronger position of the Arab mercantile class vis a vis the Indonesian petty traders. By this time there existed small business associations and commercial co-operative ventures attempted by Indonesians at the district and local levels.³⁸ However, the slow growth of such associations was attributed by many native businessmen themselves to the lack of managerial skill among native traders and businessmen. They also complained that the well-to-do European businessmen were not willing to have business transactions with native traders simply because the former lacked confidence in the ability of the latter in the field of commerce. This

35. Retnodhoemilah, No. 27, 7 April 1909.

36. Medan Prijaji (3), 1909, pp. 181-195. The SDI founders also pointed out that Surabaya "had already seen the emergence of native traders but their conditions needed improvement".

37. Tirto said the native traders started their business by trial and error and such a method needed modernization.

38. Medan Prijaji (3), 1909, pp. 189-195.

situation according to Tirto must be remedied. Native businessmen must strive hard to gain the confidence of other traders, especially the European merchants so that the natives could utilize the capital of other races. As to how this situation could be remedied Tirto gave no clear elucidation. But he did realize that whatever steps the Indonesians might take to participate in the trading world and thus bring about change in the old mercantile structure, they needed an organization. As the Arabs were relatively stronger in finance and better equipped in the know-how of the business, an organization incorporating the Arabs would be a good beginning.

So a meeting of native and Arab traders was held on March 27, 1909 in the house of Tirto Adhi Soerjo at Buitenzorg, which agreed to found the SDI. The new organization was to be based at Buitenzorg and branches would be set up "anywhere in the Dutch East Indies".³⁹ The association also declared its principal aim of "serving Muslims of all races in the Indies".⁴⁰ The founders were:

1. Sech Ahmad bin Abdulrachman Badjenet, an Arab merchant.
2. Dokter Djawa Mohammad Dagrim
3. Sech Galib bin Said bin Tebe
4. Sech Mohammad bin Said Badjenet
5. Mas Railoes, land clerk

39. The Sarekat Dagang Islamiah then became the first indigenous organization that declared its aim to spread its activities all over the Indies, indicating that it was not regionalistic. See Ibid., Medan Prijaji (1909) p. 190. Although the meeting was held on 27 March its founding date was put as 1 March 1909 as stipulated in its provisional constitution. See Ibid., p. 199, Article 2.

40. Ibid., p. 190.

6. R.M. Tирто Адхи Соерjo, journalist
7. Soeleiman, bookbindær
8. Haji Mohd. Arsad)
) merchants
9. Abdullah)

In the meeting, Haji Mohd. Arsad,, the Director of the N.V. Javansche Boekhandel en Drukkerij en Handell in Schrijfbehoeften Medan Prijaji and the merchant Sech Said bin Abdulrachman Badjenet were absent, though they were no doubt strong supporters of the move to form the SDI. When the members of the board of management were elected, Tirto Adhi Soerjo, the man who initiated the meeting;, was elected Secretary-cum-adviser of the association. Perhaps because of his standing as an experienced journalist and his popularity as a prime mover of the Sarekat Prijaji in late 1906, those present unanimously chose him to do the organizational work. The post of President fell to Sech Achmad bin Abdulrachman Badjenet, a wealthy Arab merchant from Bogor. A dokter djawa, Mohammad Dagrim, was elected Vice-President; Haji Mohd. Arsad from Batavia, was elected one of the five commissioners. The other four commissioners were all from Buitenzorg.⁴¹ The post of treasurer went to Sech Said bin Abdulrachman Badjenet, the brother of the President. After the elections of the Board of Managers, the union's initial funds were quickly started. The Arabs in the union agreed to donate the following amount:

Sech Achmad bin Abdulrachman Badjenet	f1.500,-.
" Achmad bin Said Badjenet	f1.500,-.
" Galib bin Said bin Tebe	f1.150,-.
" Mohammad bin Said Badjenet	f1.100,-.

41. They were: Sech Achmad bin Said Badjenet
 Sech Galib bin Said bin Tebe
 Sech Mohammad bim Said Badjenet
 Mas Rais, land clerk.

Sech Abdullah bin Abdulrachman Badjenet	f1.150,-.
" Ali Rais	f1. 5,-.
" Abdul Gani, Deputy Head of the Moors at Batavia	f1. 2,50.-.

The President and the Secretary were mandated to seek legal recognition and permission from the government. Tирто, as Secretary, was also asked to seek permission from the Buitenzorg administrative hierarchy while waiting for the Governor-General's permission regarding the existence of the SDI. For the purposes of launching its programme, the SDI purchased a building at Tanjahan Empang, Buitenzorg, which was opened on 5 April 1909. To avoid bureaucratic suspicion, the Board of Managers also requested the Assistant Resident at Buitenzorg, C.J. Feith, to become an honorary member and promised that he would be made a patron as soon as legal recognition was obtained from the Governor-General.

But by the end of 1909 the first Muslim-based organization found its existence threatened. The government had rejected its constitution on the grounds that matters of commerce and trade and their laws concerning bankruptcy as applied to Arabs were very different from those applied to native Indonesians so that a commercial association including both natives and Arabs could not be recognized.⁴² Following this sudden turn of events, Tирто decided to dissolve the SDI. The assets and property left by the defunct SDI were a sum of money and an office block at Bogor which after being auctioned brought the total assets to a sum of f1.614.87. When the question of dispensation of the funds arose, someone suggested that the money be donated to the mosque at Buitenzorg. But the ex-President, Achmad bin Said Badjenet opposed the suggestion.

42. Selompret Melajoe, No. 9, 22 January 1910.

Finally, agreement was reached that a sum of fl.175,- be allocated for the repair work to be done at the Muslim cemetery at Bogor and the remaining sum of money should be donated to the mosque. But misunderstanding arose when Achmad Badjenet wanted to build steep fences for the tomb of his father, Sech Abdulrachman bin Abdul Badjenet. Many people felt that for such a purpose Achmad Badjenet himself should bear the expenses.⁴³ Following the dissolution of the first SDI, Tirto Adhi Soerjo decided to form a similar organization with the same name but restricted to native members. The Islamic content of the constitution was retained. To revive the organization, Tirto had himself elected as President and in early 1910 he claimed that there were about ten thousand members.⁴⁴ His plan to inject new life into the SDI, however, was disrupted when in March 1910 he was finally banished to Teluk Betung, capital of the Lampung residency, for two months to carry out the sentence imposed on him after being found guilty of defamation by the Court of Law following his attack on A. Simon, in the Medan Prijaji in 1909.

On his return from the two-month exile, Tirto resumed his job as Chief Editor of the Medan Prijaji and continued to lead the new SDI. By this time, he even claimed to belong to the Boedi Oetomo Division II at Bandung. But he complained that the Board of Managers of the Boedi Oetomo never sent him any reports to be published in the Medan Prijaji which had been converted by Tirto into a daily newspaper since July 1910 after his return from exile. Regarding the Boedi Oetomo's boycott of his paper he alleged that this could be due to their being jealous of

43. Selompret Melajoe, No. 9, 22 January 1910.

44. Medan Prijaji, No. 9, 5 March 1910, p. 105. The figure is obviously an exaggeration. As a matter of fact in March 1910 he even claimed to have about 20,000 members in the SDI.

his success.⁴⁵ Apart from the popular Medan Prijaji, Soeloeh Keadilan and the women's journal Poetri Hiindia, Tирто also edited the monthly periodical, Militair Djawa,⁴⁶ the Pewarta S.S. / Staats Spoor,⁴⁷ which was published fortnightly for employees of the Railway Department, and the Sri Pasoendan.⁴⁸ He was also editor-in-chief of the daily Pantjaran

45. Medan Prijaji, No. 20, 2 May 1910, p. 240. This allegation could well be right. One should not forget the quarrel between the Boedi Oetomo's board of managers and Tирто over the appointment of E.F.E. Douwes Dekker as editor of the projected organ of the Boedi Oetomo. Tирто was an arch-enemy of Douwes Dekker, who on the contrary was close to the Boedi Oetomo leaders, especially the younger group.
46. The Militair Djawa was first published in 1909 by W.H. van der Hucht & Co. at Jogjakarta. However, a periodical of the same name appeared to have been started at Bogor in either late 1910 or early 1911. See Pertja Barat, No. 4, 10 January 1911. According to the editor of the Pertja Barat, Militair Djawa was a monthly organ of the Sarekat Militair Boemipoetra (Indigenous Military Union) based at Bogor. Without mentioning the name of the editor, the editor of the Pertja Barat said that the journal was edited by the Hoofdbestuur of the Indigenous Military Union. The subscription rate was as follows:
- a. for military personnel who were members of the union:

sergeant	ff1.0,30 per year
corporal	ff1.0,20 per year
private	ff1.0,15 per year
 - b. for military personnel who were non-union members:

Europeans	ff1.2,50 per year
Ambonese	ff1.2,- per year
Natives	ff1.1,- per year
 - c. for civilians:

Europeans	ff1.3,- per year
Foreigners	ff1.2,- per year
Natives	ff1.1,50 per year

It was improbable that the publication of the Militair Djawa which started at Jogja was transferred to Bogor and had Tирто Adhi Soerjo on its editorial board since Tирто was resident in Bogor.

47. According to Tирто the fortnightly periodical was published following a demand from about 1,000 priyayi in the Railway Services. The journal however ceased publication after 1912. See Medan Prijaji, (3), 1909 p. 161.
48. The Sri Pasoendan, a Sundanese paper, first appeared in May 1909. It was out on every Monday and Thursday. It was printed at the Adrian Binkhorst Press, Bogor. Tирто's attachment with the Sri Pasoendan was short for he was soon succeeded by Hiratmaka as editor. The paper's readership was about nine hundred.

Warta⁴⁹ from 1 February 1909 to 31 July 1909.⁵⁰

Of all Tirto's publications, the Medan Prijaji was the most vocal and nationalistic. Although its name literally meant a "field for priyayi", its contents which were mostly the product of Tirto Adhi Soerjo's pen reflected a strong bias toward the call for justice and attention for the underdogs, namely the orang kecil or the poor Indonesians. It is interesting to note that unlike other newspapers or periodicals, the Medan Prijaji boldly allotted a column bearing the words Bagian Politik M.P. [the Political Section of Medan Prijaji]. By mid-1911 its popularity surpassed that of many other vernacular papers and its circulation had risen from about one thousand to two thousand copies per day. It began to draw experienced journalists to serve on its editorial board. Names like Martodarsono,⁵¹ G. Gandawinata,⁵² and Mas Marco,⁵³ whose writings in the vernacular press had made them well-known, came to join the Medan Prijaji.

49. The Pantjaran Warta was first published by H.M. van Dorp & Co. at Batavia and later taken over by the Mij Seng Hoat Publishers who in turn sold it together with its press to the N.V. Javaansche Boekhandel en Drukkerij "Sedio Leksöno" on 21 June 1913. Among those who served on the editorial board were P. Solomonsz, Goenawan and G. Francis who took over from Tirto Adhi Soerjo on September 1, 1909. See Taman Sari No. 207, 2 September, 1909.
50. Tirto's reason for resigning from the editorial chair was because "he wanted to go to the Netherlands to sit on the Adat Commission which was headed by Jhr. C.H.I.A. van der Wijck and Snouck Hurgronje." See Taman Sari, No. 190, 12 August 1909. But in fact this visit never materialized. He also gave another reason for his resignation from the Pantjaran Warta. He said his contract with the publisher had expired. Soon after his resignation Tirto decided to form his own daily paper which he did by converting the Medan Prijaji into a daily in July 1910.
51. He was the former editor of the Djawi Kando and Djawi Hisworo, both appearing at Surakarta.
52. He was the former editor of Pantjaran Warta.
53. Mas Marco was a former clerk at the Nederlands Indie Maatschappij at Semarang before becoming a journalist.

Tirto's pen was sharp and accurate. He was undeterred from exposing the maladministration of the bureaucratic system and the corrupt practices of the self-seeking higher priyayi. He would persistently appeal to the government to pay attention to the plight of the native people. Many a time he would appeal for greater opportunities in the field of education for the children of the indigenous population and urged the government to set up more schools. His unrestrained criticism of the higher priyayi were hated by the various victims of his pen.

While there was no reason to doubt the popularity of the Medan Prijaji, especially among the lower income group of priyayi, financially the paper was facing a serious jeopardy. Tirto's compulsive nature in spending and his lack of accounting skill had brought the Medan Prijaji Co. Ltd. to a financial crisis. Although the accounts indicated a good profit, the company's debt to its creditor-bank was outstanding. This brought suspicion and anger to some principal shareholders. The matter was then left to the firm's solicitors, Mr. Danmeier of Bandung and Mr. van Hinloopen Labberton at Batavia. Rumours began to circulate that both Tirto and Haji Mohd. Arsad were summoned by the Council of Justice to answer to a criminal suit following a report published by the Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad of 17 October 1911 whose editor, Douwes Dekker, had certainly an axe to grind with Tirto.⁵⁴ As a result of this report, Tirto and Haji Mohd. Arsad sued Douwes Dekker for libel.⁵⁵

But rumours continued to circulate. It was also reported in the Taman Sari that the Medan Prijaji Press would be sold to a certain

54. See Pantjaran Warta, No. 192, 28 August 1911 and No. 234, 19 October 1911.

55. The suit was later withdrawn. See Pantjaran Warta, No. 237, 23 October 1911.

Madhie.⁵⁶ The Djawi Kando of 19 October 1911 said that the partnership of the Medan Prijaji had been withdrawn by the bailiff because both the director and chief editor had not settled the loans they borrowed for the company from a bank in spite of reaping a good profit.⁵⁷ The crisis faced by the company also drew the attention of the Dutch-language press in no time. The Preanger Bode reported that the bank had impounded the assets and property of the company. This resulted in an attack made by Tirto in the Medan Prijaji against a solicitor, J.D. Brunsved van Hulten who, as a shareholder of the company and being not satisfied with Tirto's financial management, had requested the confiscation of the Medan Prijaji's assets.⁵⁸

Sales of the Medan Prijaji had begun to drop and Tirto's financial position was aggravated by an unsuccessful investment in a hotel.⁵⁹ Eventually the Medan Prijaji company was forced into liquidation in the second half of 1912. The failure of Tirto Adhi Soerjo and the Medan Prijaji company meant a tragic blow to an attempt by an Indonesian to penetrate the printing industry --- an aspect of the commercial enterprise that many thought could be entered by Indonesians, even though not entirely without the help of the non-natives. It was also a financial loss to Haji Mohd. Arsal who had placed much hope and confidence in the much-acclaimed journalist, Tirto Adhi Soerjo.

56. Pantjoran Warta, No. 238, 24 October 1911.

57. Ibid.

58. Pantjoran Warta, No. 243, 29 October 1911.

59. The "Hotel Samirono" was situated at Keramat, Batavia and was managed by G. Gandawinata, a trusted friend of Tirto was also on the editorial board of the Medan Prijaji. See Darmo Kando, No. 130, 4 October 1911 and Pantjoran Warta, No. 293, 29 December 1911. Cf. Neratja, No. 231, 7 December 1918.

Following the bankruptcy of his company Tирто was confronted with legal problems. On 23 August 1912 he was arrested at his home at Jembatan Merah in Bogor and was detained at the Bogor jail. He was also sued by J. Brunsved van Hulten for failing to settle his debts.⁶⁰ On the following day the N.V. Javanische Boekhandel en Drukkerij en Handel in Schrijfbehoeften Medan Prijaji was auctioned to the public and it fetched a sum of fl.3,389,-. Since the cost of the auction had come to fl.1,000,- the eight creditors to whom the money was due received only fl.2,289,-. Thus ended the history of a most promising native enterprise and with it too ended the life of the first politically-orientated vernacular newspaper, the Medan Prijaji. At the time of its closure it still had some outstanding debts.⁶¹ As for Raden Mas Tирто Adhi Soerjo, it never rained but poured. On 29 October 1912 he was summoned to face the Batavia High Court on account of charges of press offences.⁵² By the end of December 1912 he finally received the verdict of the Council of Justice and was exiled for six months to Ambon.⁶³ As if this was not enough, Tирто and Haji Mohd. Arsad were ordered to pay a sum of fl.2,000,- with six percent interest per year to people whom they still owed money. Payment was to be calculated from 19 September 1911. They were also ordered to pay for the costs of the trial which amounted to fl.50,- plus an annual interest of nine percent to go with it.⁶⁴ They were also to

60. Pantjaran Warta, No. 193, 26 August 1912. See also Taman Sari, No. 199, 28 August 1912.

61. Pantjaran Warta, No. 197, 30 August 1912.

62. Pantjaran Warta, No. 198, 2 September 1912.

63. Pantjaran Warta, No. 296, 30 December 1912. His press offences by this time were many. In October he was already accused of committing such offences. In December he was again accused of defaming and libelling two government officials. See Taman Sari, 21 December 1912.

64. Pemberita Betawi, No. 1, 2 January 1913.

defray the expenses for the impounding of the Medan Prijaji company which amounted to fl. 1.656,20.⁶⁵ Tirto Adhi Soerjo's exile to Ambon was not the end of his misfortune at the hands of the law. In January 1914 he was again gaoled for a press offence he committed two years earlier, when he was chief editor of the Medan Prijaji.⁶⁶

Chinese Nationalism and the Emergence of the Sarekat Islam

It was while R.M. Tirto Adhi Soerjo was suffering from financial crisis in the Medan Prijaji company that the SDI was established at Surakarta.⁶⁷ The history of the formation of the Islamic Trading association at this batik city started when Haji Sammanhoedi, a batik dealer at Lawean, Solo, made contacts with Tirto Adhi Soerjo whose initiative in founding an organization of the same name at Bogor was well-known in Central Java. The batik industry in Surakarta during this period was in the hands of both Javanese as well as Chinese. The strength of Chinese capital and their monopolistic hold on white cloth and printing dyes, the two very essential materials for the batik craft, had long been resented by the indigenous batik traders. The Javanese batik merchants also felt that the Chinese had over the years been encroaching upon their main sphere of economic activity to the extent of threatening their live-

65. Ibid.

66. Tirto had been found guilty of defaming the Regent of Rembang, Raden Adipati Djojo Adiningrat. See Warna Warta, No. 15, 19 January 1914.

67. According to Deliar Noer the Sarekat Dagang Islamiah at Surakarta was formed on 11 November 1911. Noer, however, did not specify the source for this information. Other authors merely agreed that the association was founded sometimes in 1911. See Deliar Noer, The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1942, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1973, p. 102. On the origins of the Sarekat Islam see S.L. van der Wal, (ed.), De Opkomst van de Nationalistische Deweging in Nederlands-Indië. Een Bronnenpublikatie, J.B. Wolters, Groningen, 1967, pp. 84-99. See also Amelz, H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto: Hidup dan Perdjuangannya (2 vols.), Bulan Bintang, Jakarta, 1952.

lihood. The situation was further exacerbated by the rising tide of Chinese nationalism since the formation of the pan-Chinese organization, Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan, in 1900.

The development of Indies Chinese consciousness which began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century had, as explained in chapter four, manifested itself in the birth of the peranakan-sponsored Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan at Batavia. Accompanying this phenomenal rise of Chinese nationalism was the proliferation of newspapers and periodicals run and owned by Chinese publishers and clubs. Between 1900 and 1912, up to the time of the Republican victory in the Chinese mainland, there were no less than thirty Chinese-orientated newspapers and periodicals circulating in Java and the Outer Islands. These publications expressed the attitudes of the Chinese community, amplyfying not only the voice of the peranakan but also the singkeh or totok. The emergence of the Siang Hwe,⁶⁸ an association that galvanized the Chinese Chambers of Commerce to action in the various cities of Java, and the Soe Po Sia,⁶⁹ another major Chinese organization that strived to maintain closer ties with China, in 1906 and 1909 respectively, had brought Indies Chinese nationalism to a close affinity with the parent movement in China. The outbreak of the 1911 revolution and the ensuing victory of the Republicans in 1912 had further reinforced this cultural and ethnic affinity. All this resulted in many Indies Chinese feeling superior to the general

68. The Siang Hwe furthered the nationalist mobilization of Chinese in the Dutch East Indies. On its origins and political role as agent of the government in China, see Lea E. Williams, Overseas Chinese Nationalism: The Genesis of the Pan-Chinese Movement in Indonesia, The Free Press, Glencoe, 1960, pp. 95-103.
69. The Soe Po Sia was founded in 1909 and was designed to function as a front for Sun Yat-Sen's revolutionary activities. The THHK was known to have close affiliation with the Soe Po Sia which was also very much interested in the furtherance of modern Chinese education. For further information on the Soe Po Sia see ibid., pp. 103-109.

indigenous populace. This, in turn was perceived by the latter as Chinese arrogance and disdain towards the indigenous people of the Indies. Chinese success in the economic and commercial fields was viewed by many Indonesians with mixed feelings of envy and jealousy. At a time when native socio-economic consciousness was making its presence felt during the first decade of this century, the upsurge of China-orientated nationalism of the Indies Chinese was bound to bring the two communities to a head-on conflict and racial friction.

It was at a time when Chinese nationalism was at its peak that the Sarekat Dagang Islam was founded in Surakarta. Before the advent of this trade-motivated organization there had already existed in the city a Chinese secret society called Kong Sing which on the surface was supposed to function as a mutual-help society or kongsi in matters concerning funerals and burials, but in reality was actually a "protection" organization for Chinese batik traders. The association, nevertheless, had some Indonesian members, one of them being the batik trader, Haji Samanhoedi.⁷⁰ Following the setting up of a native society called Rekso Roemekso, an association not very dissimilar to the Kong Sing, Haji Samanhoedi left the Chinese organization for the Rekso Roemekso. But this Javanese association was viewed with suspicion and distrust by the government authorities at Surakarta and was never granted recognition. In order to save the association from being purged by the authorities, Haji Samanhoedi, who had heard about the aborted Sarekat Dagang Islamiah at Bogor which Tирто Adhi Soerjo had attempted to form with the aim of promoting interest in trade and commerce among natives, decided to seek the help of Tирто Adhi Soerjo by asking the latter to found the Sarekat

70. Sartono Kartodirdjo, Protest Movements in Rural Java, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1973, p. 154, f. 16. See also S.L. van Der Waal, op.cit., p. 88.

Dagang Islamiah at Surakarta in the last quarter of 1911. To avoid complications with the authorities, it was decided that the Rekso Roemekso should automatically be absorbed into the Sarekat Dagang Islamiah.⁷¹ The association at Surakarta nonetheless, when formed, came to be known as Sarekat Dagang Islam and Haji Samanhoedi became its first President.

The setting up of the Sarekat Dagang Islam at Surakarta marked a turning point for the Javanese traders in the city. It meant that trade rivalry which had existed for some time between the Chinese batik merchants and the Javanese batik traders had led to organizational rivalry that promised to lead to competition in other economic fields, namely the press industry in Surakarta which, hitherto, had been the monopoly of a firm owned by F. Sie Dhian Ho Sr. who not only operated a printing house, but also a batik factory. The Sie Dhian Ho Press also published the Javanese-Malay newspaper, Taman Pewarta.⁷² Thus when the Sarekat Dagang Islam was founded it too wanted to establish a newspaper of its own in order to draw away the support of the native readers from the Chinese-owned Taman Pewarta, the Eurasian-run Djawi Kando and another Solo-based newspaper called Darmo Kando which was published by Tjoa Tjoe Kwan.

When the Sarekat Dagang Islam was being set up, Tirto Adho Soerjo was already having serious troubles with his firm, the Medan Prijaji company. His chance to recover from his incessant problems came when he

71. Ibid.

72. The Taman Pewarta was published in 1902. Although its chief editor was a peranakan Chinese, it nevertheless had Javanese corresponding editors. The weekly paper had six pages, of which two were printed entirely in Javanese. It also had two and a half pages of advertisements. Ever since its inception, it claimed to be the unofficial organ of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan.

was offered the post of editor by the leaders of the Sarekat Dagang Islam at Solo. He was to initiate and run the weekly newspaper, Sarotomo, which was to be the organ of the new organization. But it seems that Tirto's desperate need for money tempted him to misuse the sum of fl.750,- which the Sarekat Dagang Islam's leadership had allocated to pay the printing of the Sarotomo.⁷³ The Javanese paper thus only managed to appear for a short time because of Buning's refusal to continue the printing work on account of the debt not being settled.

Following this unhappy incident, the leadership of the Sarekat Dagang Islam decided to have nothing to do with Tirto. When the Sarotomo reappeared the new board of editors was instructed to leave out the feuilleton written by Tirto. And following Tirto's departure, the word "dagang" [trade] on the masthead of the Sarotomo was also dropped. Thus began the new name of Sarekat Islam. From an Islamic trading Association the new organization had significantly been rebaptized as the Islamic Union with its orientation no longer confined to trade and commerce but embracing all other aspects of native aspirations which had already been laid out in the constitution drafted by Tirto Adhi Soerjo.⁷⁴

The emergence of the Sarekat Islam in 1912 had ushered in a new phase for the vernacular press in Java. Its contents had begun to be more politicised. Following the footsteps of R.M. Tirto Adhi Soerjo, other young Indonesians began to appear as editors and correspondents of vernacular newspapers in Java. The presence of these young men who were members of the Sarekat Islam changed the orientation of the papers

73. Other printers in Surakarta had refused to print the paper. See S.L. van der Wal, op.cit., pp. 90-91.

74. Ibid., p. 92.

from being merely news and advertisement papers to political organs. Indeed, it was Tirto Adhi Soerjo who had shown the way to awaken the Javanese not only through his writings in the vernacular press but also through his activities in founding organizations.

The new wave of consciousness of the importance of the press and organization such as the Sarekat Islam soon began to affect the indigenous people in places outside Java. Signs of a general awakening of the native people in these parts, however, were more conspicuous in the regions of Sumatra's West and East coasts where modern education had made a relative mark on the townships such as Padang and Medan as indicated by the presence of several vernacular newspapers. Nevertheless, parts of Sumatra seemed to be most developed intellectually and the vernacular press seemed to have had a longer history. Other towns in the Outer Islands also had had the exposure, to a certain degree, of modernity that had emanated from the urban centres in Java. In order to understand further how the intellectual development took place in the Outer Islands, the next chapter will discuss the development of the press, its growth, and its general influence on the native literati.

Chapter VII

THE VERNACULAR PRESS IN THE OUTER ISLANDS

The growth of the vernacular press in the Outer Possessions¹ at the turn of the century was not very much different from that of the press in Java. As in Java, the early vernacular press was pioneered by the European entrepreneurs and Chinese traders who by virtue of their economic strength were able to maintain the running of newspapers which served the interest of the commercial sector in so far as the newspapers functioned as "advertisement-newspapers". As in Java too, the press could not detach itself from being the spokesman of the European planters, shopkeepers, Christian missionaries, Chinese businessmen and the Dutch government in general, though in the case of the government the ownership of the press was never in their hands.²

1. The Outer Islands or Outer Possessions / Buitenbezittingen / consisted of twenty provinces made up of governments and residencies. Sumatra had two governments: Aceh (capital, Kuta Raja) and Sumatra's West Coast (Padang) which had two residencies namely Padang Lowlands (administered by the Governor himself) and Padang Highlands (capital, Fort de Kock). There were eight other residencies in the island: Tapanuli (Sibolga), Sumatra's East Coast (Medan), Jambi (Jambi), Palembang (Palembang), Lampung District (Teluk Betung), Bencoolen (Bencoolen), Riow (Tanjung Pimang) and Banka (Muntok). Borneo was divided into two divisions: the Western Division (with Pontianak as its capital) and the Eastern Division (capital, Banjarmasin). Celebes consisted of the Government of Celebes (Makassar) and the Residency of Menado (Menado). The Moluccas included Ternate (capital, Ternate), Ambon (Ambon) and Timor (capital, Kupang). Bali and Lombok constituted one residency. There were two Assistant Residencies in the Outer Islands: one for Southern New Guinea (Marauke) and the other for the island of Billiton (capital, Tanjung Pandan).
2. Muhammad Said, "Sedjarah Persuratkabaran di Medan dan Peranannya" in Merdeka, Jakarta, 20 May, 1972. On the ownership of newspapers and periodicals in the Outer Islands see the following pages.

We have already seen the gradual development of the vernacular press outside Java in the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly its steady growth coupled with its problems of existence since the appearance of the first newspaper in the Outer Islands, Bintang Timor, at Padang in 1865.³ In spite of the difficulties, such as limited circulation and lack of readership, faced by publishers and printers in trying to keep the press alive, by 1900 there were still five newspapers circulating in the Outer Islands. Out of this number, three were published in Padang, Sumatra, one at Tondano, Menado and one at Amboⁿ.⁴ This chapter will survey the emergence of newspapers and periodicals in the governments and residencies (as the districts were known) of Sumatra's West Coast, Aceh, Celebes, Sumatra's East Coast, Tapanuli, Palembang, Menado, Amboⁿ and Borneo. It was only these places that saw the growth of the vernacular press because in the rest of the islands, literacy was not widespread and economic conditions were not conducive to the growth of the press.

The Press in Sumatra

The development of the vernacular press in Sumatra was found only in the major cities or towns in the governments of Sumatra's West Coast and Aceh and the residencies of Sumatra's East Coast, Tapanuli and Palembang. The growth of the press in these districts depended much on the economic viability of the towns; to enable them to support the circulation of newspapers and periodicals among the mercantile community and the local

3. See Chapter Two.

4. The papers published at Padang were: Pertja Barat, Warta Berita and Tjahaja Sumatra. The Tjahaja Siang, a Christian missionary paper, was published at Tondano while the Penghentar, also a missionary paper, was produced at Amboⁿ.

population. The leading newspaper towns in Sumatra since the second half of the nineteenth century were: Padang, Medan, Sibolga and Kuta Raja. Of these, Padang was the most important; since the early rise of the vernacular press Padang had seen the rise and fall of many newspapers and periodicals.

By the year 1900 Padang⁵ was a bustling city of commerce and trade in Sumatra's West Coast. Being the capital, it was only natural that it became the seat of the Governor, whose machinery of government such as the Council of Justice, the lower courts, the chambers of commerce, industry and agriculture and the police (which was under the jurisdiction of the Assistant Resident), were all situated in the city. In 1905 the population totalled about 47,000 inhabitants of which about 1,800 were made up of Europeans, 39,000 Indonesians, 5,000 Chinese, 200 Arabs and about 1,000 Indians (known as Keling) and other foreign orientals.⁶ Because of its strategic position near the sea, with Emmahaven as its port, the city became an outlet for the produce from the hinterland and the region of South Tapanuli.⁷ It was a meeting point of traders and peddlars of all races, thus giving it a rather cosmopolitan character. It was here then that the press could make its home and thrive.

Earlier, we have seen the emergence of journals such as the Soeloe Pengadjar, Matahari Terbit, Taman Pengadjar and Pewarta Prijaji in Java, all aimed at stimulating awareness among the indigenous leader-

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- 5. Padang was built on the Padang river, at the confluence of the Air Padang Aran and Air Padang Idal.
 - 6. Enclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië, second edition, Vol. III, Leiden, 1919, p. 235.
 - 7. Important trade from the interior included: coffee, tobacco, copra, gum, dammar and later rubber. Its surrounding towns, Pariaman, Air Bangis and Painan, were also engaged in trade which was facilitated by a well-protected harbour.

ship group, the priyayi and the teachers, of the need to equip themselves with knowledge and science so as to make them better administrators and better teachers.⁸ This urge to pursue knowledge and education was not solely the obsession of the priyayi in Java but also the nobility class and other native teachers in the Outer Islands, especially in Sumatra's West Coast.⁹ As in Java this consciousness also stimulated the emergence of new newspapers in Sumatra. Hand in hand with the emergence of consciousness of the need for Western-type education was the interest to establish newspapers and periodicals not only for the purpose of using the press as an amplifier for the voice of change and modernization but also as an initial venture by native Indonesians in the field of business like their counterparts in Java. The fact that economic activities were concentrated in both provinces of Sumatra's West Coast and Sumatra's East Coast also contributed to the feasibility of starting the press in a more profitable way. Since Malay was the literary language of the Minangkabau population, the Achene, the Mandailing Batak of South Tapanuli and the

8. On the above journals see Chapter Five, p. 155. Periodicals with articles elucidating Government resolutions and regulations were also published in the last decade of the 19th century; e.g. Pengadilan /Justice/ which appeared on 13 November 1897 and Hoekoem Hindia which appeared in 1898.
9. Compared to Java, educational opportunities in the "Outer Possessions" were more limited for the indigenous population. Most of the schools were begun by Protestant (Calvinist) missionaries and later taken over by the government. Such schools were started in areas where the native population were responsive to Christianity such as in Menado, Amurang and Tanawangko (all in the Minahasa), Ambon and Makassar, in the early 19th century. Western education in Sumatra was more exposed to the Bataks than to the Minangkabau region and other parts where the population was predominantly Muslim. In Sumatra's West Coast the first half of the nineteenth century saw only "surau" (mosque) education for the natives where the Koran and basic teachings of Islam was taught by village ulama. This surau education dragged on right up to the first decade of the twentieth century. It was not until 1909 that formal classroom instructions in the madrasah were introduced. See Mahmud Junus, Sedjarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia, Jakarta 1960; also by the same author, Sedjarah Islam di Minangkabau, Jakarta, 1971.

The shortage of trained teachers was also a contributing factor in the drawback in Western education for native children. There were very few teachers' training colleges built in the Outer Islands in the 19th century. In Sumatra only the kweekschool at Fort de Kock which was set up in 1873 became the sole recruitment of teachers for regions on the island, and surrounding residencies.

Malays of the Sumatran pesisir, thus allowed any newspaper publisher to produce a paper in a language that could be understood by the majority of the population.¹⁰ To promote better sales of the newspapers or periodicals, some publishers, especially Chinese, purposely used the Low Malay in order to have a wider market which would include Chinese and Eurasians as subscribers. But generally speaking the type of Malay used by the press in Sumatra's West Coast was closer to High Malay.¹¹ All these factors, coupled with the fact that the population in Sumatra was greater than the rest of the islands outside Java, contributed to the steady growth of the vernacular press in the early twentieth century in Sumatra, particularly Sumatra's West Coast.

The three newspapers which had survived the last decade of the nineteenth century were joined in 1900 by a new newspaper in Padang. The Tapian na Oeli / Beautiful Bathing Place⁷ was published in the Batak language using Latin characters by a certain L.J.W. Stritzko.¹² The paper's editor was Dja Endar Moeda, a Batak from Padang Sidempuan¹³ who in 1895 was already holding the post of editor for the Pertja Barat.¹⁴ The Tapian

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- 10. The people of South Tapanuli who were mainly Mandailings were not unfamiliar with the Malay language because of their constant contact with the Minangkabau of Padang Highlands; furthermore, the South Tapanuli Bataks were predominantly Muslim and culturally they identified themselves as Malays.
 - 11. Because of this, newspapers published at Padang did not have much attraction for the readers in Java. It was often the complaint of readers in Java that the Sumatran papers were too difficult to understand. However, the Slompret Melajoe quite regularly reprinted essays and news from Pertja Barat.
 - 12. Although it was called 'newspaper', the Tapian na Oeli was more like a periodical. Each issue had eight pages and provided advertisement columns for readers. The specimen number of the weekly was dated October 20, 1900 but it became a regular publication as from 3 November 1900. The periodical however ceased publication in 1903.
 - 13. Or Padang Bolak. Taman Sari No. 182, 12 August 1904. Padang Sidempuan was the capital of Tapanuli residency between 1883 and 1906.
 - 14. On Dja Endar Moeda, see below.

na Oeli appeared on every Saturday and its subscription rate was fl.6,- per year but readers could subscribe for six months if they wished. As a Batak paper which was directed mainly at the Batak of South Tapanuli, the paper could not have fetched a very wide market.

Less than a year after the appearance of Tapiān na Oeli a monthly periodical using Malay as its medium appeared at Padang from the same publisher and printer, Naamlooze Venootschap Snelpersdrukkerij Insulinde.¹⁵ The periodical was called Insulinde and it was also edited by Dja Endar Moeda. This monthly periodical aimed at promoting interest in education among teachers and the priyayi bangsawan / nobility class in general. It had correspondents scattered throughout Sumatra and Java. Insulinde bore many similarities in orientation and content with the educational journal, Matahari Terbit, published at Probolinggo in 1895 by P. Schuitmaker. In its maiden issue which appeared in April 1901, the editor stated that there was a vacuum in reading materials for priyayi and so the Insulinde would serve as a "guidance for all priyayi and gentlemen who were in the pursuit of knowledge ..." ¹⁶ Its articles were of educational value. For example, articles touching on the history of the Insulinde or Dutch East Indies and other pedagogical articles were published.¹⁷ Above all, the editor and correspondents of the journal

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15. Nothing much is known about the ownership or organizational setup of this firm. Nevertheless it would be quite probable that the main shareholder was Holtzappel because he worked as manager of the firm and it was the practice of the day to appoint the principal shareholder to that post. Some non-Europeans, Chinese as well as Indonesians might have been partners. It was therefore, not unlikely that Dja Endar Moeda could have had a stake in the printing business because later he did buy some of the printing machinery and set up his own press.
 16. Insulinde, 1, no. 1, April 1901, p. 22.
 17. Articles on agriculture, general science (e.g. on the planetary system and on air), health science (on food), anthropology (on the origins of man), world history, language, eclipse of the sun, tips for the pilgrimage and education for girls were among those published by Insulinde. Readers were also encouraged to submit questions to the editorial board on any educational topics they wished to be clarified. Such questions often ranged from explanations of the meaning of words to questions on how to make ketchup and the speed of electricity. Ibid.

stressed the need to pursue kemajuan (progress) for the Indonesians and here lay the role of the teachers and priyayi who as leaders should strive for kemajuan of their people.¹⁸ However, this educational journal survived only up to February 1905. The reason given for stopping its publication was that the Insulinde press had been purchased by J.C. Holtzappel and Dja Endar Moeda who had divided the equipment and property between themselves. Since Dja Endar Moeda wanted to devote more time to the newspaper, Pertja Barat, the publication of the educational monthly had to cease.¹⁹

In 1903, Padang saw the emergence of another paper. The Wasir Hindia²⁰ [Indies' Vizier] was edited by Soetan Radja nan Gadang. This was followed by the appearance of Bintang Sumatra²¹ [Star of Sumatra], a Chinese-run Malay-language paper. Both these papers, however, had very short lives for their names were no longer heard of by 1904.

On January 9, 1904, the first Minangkabau newspaper appeared at Padang. The Alam Minangkerbau [Minangkabau World] was a weekly which came out on every Saturday from the printing press of Naamlooze Venootschap Snelpersdrukkerij 'Insulinde'²² which had produced the Tapian na Oeli, Insulinde and Pertja Barat. The subscription rate for Alam Minangkerbau

18. Ibid.

19. Insulinde, No. 47, February 1905. (4).

20. Not to be confused with the Wazir Hindia which appeared in Jawi at Batavia in 1878. Very little information was found about the Sumatran Wasir Hindia, except that it was published in 1903. See Jubileum number of Sinar Sumatra, 1905-1929, Padang, 1929, p. 15.

21. The Bintang Sumatra must have appeared in 1903 and lasted until sometime in 1904. See ibid. In Sinar Sumatra dated 6 September 1905, Lim Soen Hin lamented over the disappearance of the Bintang Sumatra which he said saddened him. See Adi Negoro, Falsafah Ratu Dunia, Djakarta, 1951, p. 76.

22. It was probable that Dja Endar Moeda might have taken over the ownership of the Insulinde Press after the death of the monthly of the same name. See Insulinde, No. 47, IV, February, 1905.

was fl.6,- per year. It was conspicuously 'Malay' in the sense that it used the "higher" or literary form of Malay with Jawi (Arabic) characters which therefore restricted its readership to the Minangkabau and the Muslim Mandailing and Angkola only. When its maiden edition was circulated, Lim Soen Hin, who edited the Tjahaja Sumatra, remarked sarcastically:

... Judging from its words and language, it wouldn't be long now that in Padang there would arise a factory of Malay words, an enemy-spy in the guise of Arabic characters. Such is the spectacle of progress of Alam Minangkabau: a snake with a tail seemingly to appear like the crocodile at the end of time ...²³

There were two haji sitting on the editorial board of the Alam Minangkerbau. They were Haji Mohd. Salleh and Haji Mohd. Amin. Dja Endar Moeda also joined as one of the editors. The paper's news was mostly about events in Padang. But perhaps because of the presence of haji on the editorial board, the Alam Minangkerbau was middle-eastern in orientation.²⁴ It would, nonetheless, be fair to say that articles and essays in the paper reflected the orthodox Islamic tendencies of the paper and its readership.

In July of the same year (1904), F.B. Smits published the daily Taman Hindia / Garden of the Indies / under the editorship of Lim Soen Hin. However, both the Alam Minangkerbau and the Taman Hindia must have

23. Bintang Hindia, No. 7, 1 April, 1904.

24. In its first issue, the Alam Minangkerbau printed the following articles:

- i) sjair permintaan (poem of request)
- ii) about Turkey and other kingdoms
- iii) the origins of the kingdoms of Sjam (Syria) and Basrat Masaq (Iraq)

ceased publication after a short appearance.²⁵ The Alam Minangkerbau's short life might have been due to the use of Jawi characters and its literary Malay, thus depriving the paper of a larger audience of readers, especially the economically well-to-do Chinese peranakan. In spite of its middle-eastern bias which was aimed at the Muslim population in general, it failed to maintain a stable and regular appearance.

In September 1905, the trial editions of the Sinar Sumatra / Ray of Sumatra²⁶ began to circulate in Padang. This time it was De Volharding Printing Press²⁷ which had entered the vernacular press business scene as the publisher. The paper was printed in Romanised Low Malay and had as editor Lim Soen Hin,²⁸ the former editor of the short-lived Bintang Sumatra and former editor of Tjahaja Sumatra. The Sinar Sumatra's motto was:

May the kingdom of Holland be ensuring
May the Indies have peace.²⁹

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- 25. No copies of Taman Hindia could be traced. No mention of the existence of the paper was mentioned in the other papers after 1905. Nevertheless, the Taman Hindia proved to be the first attempt at starting a daily newspaper in Sumatra.
 - 26. The first regular number emerged on 4 October, 1905. It was out on every Wednesday and Saturday. The subscription rate was 50 cents per month, sixty cents in the case of readers outside Padang. For subscribers in Europe and other places the subscription rate was fl.8,- per annum. The Sinar Sumatra had four pages including half a page of advertisements.
 - 27. De Volharding Press was founded in 1902 at Kampung Cina, Padang. It was owned by M.A. van Tijn and Y. Rongge. In 1908 Y. Rongge, who had business interest in the diamond mine at Singkawang, Borneo, sold the press to his partner who in turn brought in some Chinese businessmen to run it as co-owners. The new kongsi in 1908 consisted of M.A. van Tijn, Lim Ang Kam, Lie Djoe Soean and Lim Tjeng Djit. The press changed its name to Snelpersdrukkerij De Volharding.
 - 28. Lim Soen Hin was a peranakan Chinese from Padang Sidempuan, South Tapanuli. His career as a journalist started in the last decade of the 19th century when he sat on the editorial board of the Tjahaja Sumatra with Datoek Soetan Maharadja. He had set as editor in other papers as well but the papers which he edited never lasted very long. But he remained with the Sinar Sumatra from 1905 to 1912 so that the publishers considered him as one of the founding fathers of the paper.
 - 29. In Malay: Ikerallah / Arab.=ikrar / keradjaan Ollanda
Sentousalah tanah Hindia.

The contents of the paper were orientated towards satisfying the tastes of both indigenous and Chinese readers alike, though one can't help noticing the pro-Chinese stance it took. There were serials of Malay hikayat, Middle-eastern stories and Chinese classical stories. The Sinar Sumatra proved a rather popular paper for both Indonesians as well as Chinese.³⁰ In spite of the Low Malay being used, the editor tried to use phrases and literary expressions which were then quite popular with the Malay readers.³¹ Poetry, whether in the pantun or syair forms, was also a popular attraction for readers. At times even news items were ornamented with the insertion of a pantun or syair by correspondents.³² Undoubtedly, Lim Soen Hin's journalistic talent and popularity among the Minangkabaus as well as the South Tapanuli Bataks had made the paper very popular.

As a peranakan from Padang Sidempuan,³³ Lim Soen Hin was quite well-versed in both the Malay language and the Batak language of South Tapanuli. His mastery of the Batak language in fact rendered him the additional post of assistant editor for the Batak paper, Binsar Sinondang Batak which was started in 1905. The weekly paper was published by Mangihut Hezekiel Manullang³⁴ and was printed at the Volharding Press. Its chief editor was a Batak by the name of Immanuel Siregar.³⁵ The

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- 30. The paper was still circulating in the thirties.
 - 31. Words with Arabic and Sanskrit origins but used only in literary classical Malay such as istifahum (to be understood), laksana (like) and mustika (jewel) were used regularly by Lim Soen Hin.
 - 32. According to Adi Negoro, op.cit., the practice of writing pantun and syair to criticise, insinuate or pay compliments to someone, disappeared by the twenties. Adi Negoro, op.cit., pp. 76-77.
 - 33. According to Adi Negoro, Lim came from Batang Toru. Ibid., p. 27.
 - 34. Lance Castles, "The Political Life of a Sumatran Residency, Tapanuli 1915-1940" unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1972, p. 145.
 - 35. Adi Negoro, op.cit., p. 72. Binsar Sinondang Batak, maiden issue, 2 December, 1905.

paper had four pages and its subscription rate was only twenty five cents per month. The contents of the Binsar were mainly made up of poems of all types,³⁶ articles and news about Europe, government notices and some news about the Russo-Japanese war which was keenly followed and reported by all the newspapers at Padang. The Binsar Sinondang Batak was truly a Batak paper, for with the exception of Lim Soen Hin, all those who were involved in its publication were Bataks. The paper's manager, Dja Morodjahan, was also a Batak.

Three years after the emergence of the Binsar, two more newspapers appeared at Padang. Dja Endar Moeda, who was already an established editor and publisher in North Sumatra, published the paper, Minangkabau³⁷ in 1908 and Soetan Radja nan Gadang, who had been with the Warta Berita, published the Warta Hindia³⁸ which was printed at the Snelpersdrukkerij Broeders Sumatra.³⁹ The paper was edited by Soetan Radja nan Gadang and Datoek Bagindo Sinaro. As was the case in Java, vernacular newspapers in Sumatra's West Coast were also edited by people from the nobility class, the counterpart of the priyayi in Java.

The growth of interest among the population in newspaper reading brought about the emergence of new newspapers in the market. The growth of newspaper-reading interest shown during this period could partly be explained by the keen interest shown by Chinese readers to follow events in China which culminated in the 1911 revolution. In January 1910 there

36. The poems were: pantun, syair, gurindam and seloka. Lim Soen Hin himself wrote a poem hailing the birth of the Binsar. There was also a poem on tax-payment in the maiden issue of the Binsar.

37. It was printed at Dja Moeda's own press. Pemberita Betawi No. 293. 24 December, 1908.

38. The paper appeared on Mondays and Fridays. It was still circulating in 1929. Jubileum ..., p. 15.

39. According to Adi Negoro it was printed at the press at De Padanger.

appeared at Padang the Chinese-owned newspaper, Bintang Tionghoa / Chinese Star 7. It was published by Ang Eng Hoat three times weekly. The paper was printed at the Tiong Ho Ien Soe Kiock Press. Its chief editor was S.M. Rasat who was assisted by Sidi Maharadja and P.W.A. Munich.⁴⁰ Using Low Malay as its medium, the paper called itself "organ of all races" though in fact, judging from its contents, it was heavily Chinese-biased.

There was also a new Indonesian newspaper. In January 1911, the Padang Malays finally made a breakthrough in their attempt to found a business firm run by themselves. They had at last formed the Perserikatan Orang Alam Minangkerbau / Union of the People of the Minangkerbau 7 and in January 1911 published the paper, Oetoesan Melajoe,⁴¹ as another attempt to start a truly genuine Malay newspaper. The Perserikatan Orang Alam Minangkerbau was founded on the initiative of Datoek Soetan Maharadja. By the end of 1911 the Union was able to set up a printing press of its own. The Snelpersdrukkerij Orang Alam Minangkerbau, as the press was called, was the first Minangkabau press and by the beginning of 1912 was already attracting other publishers to have their newspapers printed under its roof.

The Oetoesan Melajoe was owned and edited by Datoek Soetan Maha-radja himself who held the post of director-cum administrator of the paper. The caption beneath the paper's masthead stated:

for progress, skill, craftsmanship
for knowledge, agriculture and commerce.

- 40. In 1911 Munich died of old age and he was succeeded by Tjoa Eng Tek. Sidi Maharadja however remained with the Bintang Tionghoa only for a short period for by 1 November 1911 he had already joined the editorial board of the Pertja Barat. Sidi Maharadja's full name was Marah Mohamad Joenoes gelar Sidi Maharadja. In July 1911 he was reported to have been detained for a press offence after being sued for defamation by two penghulu and one adjunct djaksa. Pertja Barat No. 82, 13 July 1911 and No. 138, 23 November 1911.
- 41. The paper appeared at Padang on every Wednesday and Saturday. It had four pages, of which two were devoted to advertisements.

The paper's orientation was very pro-government, as reflected in its slogan on the front page:

May the allegiance of the unity of hearts between
the indigenous and Dutch nations be strengthened.

The Oetoesan Melajoe became the mouthpiece of the upholders of the Minangkabau adat through the pen of its editor. Datoek Soetan Maharadja was a well-known personality in Sumatra's West Coast not only because of his family background and aristocratic standing but also because of his involvement in journalism since the days of the Palita Ketjil in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Not only was he active with the press but he was also known as an organizer and founder of clubs and associations for Indonesians.

The growth of the press in Sumatra's West Coast occurred while important changes were taking place in Java. The rise of the Boedi Oetomo in Java was not left unnoticed by the intelligentsia of Sumatra. They realized that the Javanese had at last awakened to the call for kemajuan (progress) in concrete terms by founding the organization that promised to look into the question of uplifting the reputation of the Javanese in the eyes of the alien races. But in Sumatra the complaints of people who lamented the sluggish approach to progress among the educated few were usually centred on the question of a vacuum in leadership for the indigenous people. Readers and correspondents who contributed articles to the Malay Press in Padang complained that the press itself was not taking concrete steps to awaken the people. They claimed that the editors were too embroiled with petty squabbles and personal quarrels which found expression in the press.⁴² A case in point was the quarrel of Lim Soen Hin

42. e.g. the quarrels of the editors of the Tjahaja Sumatra, Pertja Barat, Warta Berita and Bintang Sumatra.

and Datoek Soetan Maharadja, editor of the Tjahaja Sumatra, and Dja Endar Moeda. The three were indulging in mud-slinging through their comments and editorials against one another, trying to undermine the popularity of their adversary's paper. A reader in the Pertja Barat lamented over the unnecessary squabbles that had been going on for months between editors of the Malay press which he said was damaging the image of the native people in the eyes of the other races. He said,

... will other races not come to think that while the people of the world were striving for progress, the newspapers of Padang were debating issues which were useless and unrewarding to their own community...⁴³

The rivalry among newspapers in Sumatra for a market was stiffer than in Java because they were published and circulated in the same locality. The desire to entice readers to be on a particular paper's list of subscribers had often led to such personal quarrels between editors.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, the constant theme of calling on native leaders and the population to be aware of progress and the need to pursue it was often taken up by the Padang newspapers. For example, the Malays of Sumatra's West Coast were often reminded through the press of the need to adopt the ways of the Chinese: to be industrious and thrifty. Criticisms were levelled at the penghulu and chiefs who were afraid to allow the children of their people to pursue Western education. As in Java, the absence of native participation in viable commercial enterprise was also

43. Selompret Melajoe, No. 66, 3 June, 1905, re-printing article from Pertja Barat (n.d.).

44. A correspondent using the pseudonym of "Poeloet-Poeloet" said that he did not like to contribute to the Padang press anymore because of the quarrels among editors of the Pertja Barat, Bintang Sumatra and Tjahaja Sumatra. Ibid.

constantly raised in the press.⁴⁵ Again, the need to follow the footsteps of the Chinese was always emphasized. This was also pointed out by Dja Endar Moeda himself who said that the examples of the Chinese and the Japanese should be followed. Regarding the formation of Boedi Oetomo, he said it aimed at bringing progress for the indigenous people and he urged the Sumatrans and the Moluccans to set up their own associations or at least to start branches of the Boedi Oetomo.⁴⁶

Indeed, after the rise of the Boedi Oetomo and the Sarekat Dagang Islamiyah in Java, small localised associations began to crop up in Sumatra. On 10 February 1909, an association called Keradjinan Minangkabau nan Dua [Industry of the Two Minangkabaus] was formed at Padang. Apart from its aim to provide education for Malay girls, the association also intended to teach domestic crafts such as lace-making and cookery to the womenfolk.⁴⁷ About a month earlier, on January 1, 1909, two associations were formed at Benkulen in South Sumatra. They were Sinar Kota Bangkahoeloe⁴⁸ [Light of Benkulen Town] and the Vereeniging Sumatra Setia⁴⁹ [Union of Loyal Sumatra]. Both these organizations wanted to

- 45. Selompret Melajoe, No. 72, 17 June, 1905, reprinting article from Pertja Barat (n.d.). Apparently, the Pertja Barat was very conscious of progress for the indigenous population. Its editor Dja Endar Moeda was regarded as an "enlightened" Indonesian by many Dutch editors as well as native editors in Java.
- 46. Pemberita Betawi, No. 261, 16 November 1908, quoting Pemberita Atjeh (n.d.).
- 47. Taman Sari, No. 62, 18 March, 1909.
- 48. The Management Committee consisted of:
 - President: Haji Mohd.
 - Secretary: Tjenet
 - Commissioners: Taman
Boetatabas
Sahoeboedin
 - Hon. Chairman: Haji Hassan bin Haji Abdul Manan
 - Patron: Djonet and Mohd. Adjir
 The Taman Sari noted that all those who were elected were from the kaum muda group.
- 49. The Management committee consisted of:
 - President: Mohd. Djohar
 - Vice-President: Mohd. Adat
 - Secretary: Said Salim Alkaaf

set up trading associations to be called Handelsvereeniging Inlander⁵⁰ / Native Trading Union/. Meanwhile in Palembang there was already an association called Kaoem Setia / Faithful Clan/ which came into existence on 23 April 1909, spearheaded by teachers and non-local officials.⁵¹

However, it was in the field of education that all the newspapers gave special emphasis. The editor of Tjahaja Sumatra, Datoek Soetan Maharadja complained of the lack of schools for native children.⁵² He said the government could prove its sincerity to the colonized people by building more schools and opening up more opportunities for the Indonesians to pursue education. He pointed out that the one thousand primary schools and the five teachers' training colleges, four chiefs' schools and one dokter-djawa school for the whole of the Indies were scarcely enough. As for Sumatra's West Coast, he said the existing forty schools for a population of over a million was disappointing. He reminded the government that the Dutch had ruled the Indies for three hundred years and yet the welfare of the indigenous people was still at the bottom of the ladder.⁵³

The desire to see Malays participating in business and commerce had always been the ambition of the aristocratic leadership in Sumatra's West Coast. Progress as perceived by these Minangkabau Malay aristocrats did not only mean acquisition of Western secular education and extending it to the Minangkabau girls as well, but also a desire to compete with the non-indigenous people, namely the Chinese, in the field of commerce

50. See Taman Sari, No. 89, 23 April 1909.

51. Sinar Atjeh No. 43, 15 June 1908.

52. He was commenting on the article which appeared in Revue de Paris. Retno Dhoemilah No. 12, 13 February, 1909.

53. Ibid.

and trade. The emergence of such consciousness in Java had also found similar sentiments in Sumatra's West Coast. The alleged conceit and unscrupulous characteristics of the Chinese were frowned upon and such criticism soon found expression in the Padang press. A reader writing in the Warta Berita in 1906, expressed his contempt for the arrogance of the immigrant Chinese race vis a vis the Malays. He wrote:

... The wily ways of the alien race who wished to humble the fiery volcano and to snatch away commerce from the hands of my people, prompted me to write to express my views which would be unpleasant to the ears of the alien race ...⁵⁴

By this period too, the Chinese in Sumatra's West Coast had had their association, Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan at Padang, recognized by the government in 1905.⁵⁵ Thus again, as in Java, the activities of the Chinese and the formation of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan had inspired the Sumatra's West Coast Malays to strive for the unity of their community under sincere and dedicated leadership in pursuance of their aspiration for social progress and economic upliftment. This aspiration was manifested in "self-criticism" which became a dominant theme in the Padang press around this period. Again and again the native leaders were called upon by the press to follow the footsteps of the Chinese.⁵⁶ The press also drew the attention of the government to the urgent need to improve indigenous economic and educational welfare.⁵⁷

- 54. The writer was replying to a humiliating article written by a Chinese reader in the Pewarta Soerabaja (n.d.) No. 23, 1906, in which was stated: "The Malay race since ancient time until the present have remained stupid, like the monkeys ... the Malays could never be taught anything ..." Selompret Melajoe, No. 78, 30 June 1906, quoting article from Warta Berita, No. 47, /?/ 1906.
- 55. The legal recognition of the T.H.H.K. was issued by the Governor-General in his letter of 2 February 1905 No. 4. Selompret Melajoe, 25 March 1905.
- 56. See Selompret Melajoe, No. 66, 3 June 1905 and Selompret Melajoe No. 96, 11 August 1906.
- 57. Perniagaan, No. 57, 11 March 1908.

Following these deliberations and propaganda through the press, in around September 1909, a group of Minangkabaus held a meeting at the club, Medan Perdamaian Minangkabau / laras / nan Doeä, to discuss the founding of a Minangkabau industrial loan-office / Minangkabau Industrie hulp-bank / as a sort of co-operative society which would provide financial resources for commercial co-operative ventures to be run by the indigenous people. After the meeting a committee was elected to draft a constitution for the commercial body. Datoek Soetan Maharadja was elected as Adviser of the body.⁵⁸ By 1910 the popularity of Datoek Soetan Maharadja as an editor was at its peak. In that year he was appointed by the Government as member of the Padang Town Council.⁵⁹ His writings in the Tjahaja Sumatra which he edited not only reflected the desire for the Sumatrans to catch up with progress or kemajuan but also the determination on the part of Datoek Soetan Maharadja to impose his ideas on the Minangkabau people about the type of modernization they should expose themselves to. While advocating Western education for the natives he rejected outright adoption of the Western culture and etiquette. He believed in maintaining a strong hold over the traditional adat of the Minangkabau world while using Western education for purposes of kemajuan.⁶⁰

Datoek Soetan Maharadja, born Mahjoedin in November 1860, was educated in the elementary school in Padang.⁶¹ He became an apprentice

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- 58. Medan Prijaji / 1909 /, p. 649, quoting the Tjahaja Sumatra of 27 September 1909.
 - 59. Medan Prijaji, No. 25, 25 June 1910, p. 290.
 - 60. For more elaborate information on modernization and conflicts in the Minangkabau world in the first two decades of the twentieth century in which period Datoek Soetan Maharadja was a central figure, see Taufik Abdullah, Minangkabau 1900-1927, M.A. thesis, Cornell University, 1967. Taufik Abdullah used the same materials for his article, 'Modernization ...' in Claire Holt, (ed.) op.cit.
 - 61. Unless otherwise stated, the source of his biography has been taken from Taufik Abdullah, "Modernization in the Minangkabau World" in Clair Holt (ed.), Culture and Politics in Indonesia, Ithaca, 1972.

of the Jaksa /Public Prosecutor/ in Padang in 1876 and three years later was appointed salaried clerk in the office of the Jaksa. He was promoted to the rank of Adjunct Jaksa /Deputy Public Prosecutor/ in 1882 in Indrapura. A year later he was transferred to Padang where he served as Adjunct Hoofdjaksa /Deputy Chief Public Prosecutor/ until his transfer to Pariaman in 1888. In that year he was made Jaksa.⁶² In the late eighties, Datoek Soetan Maharadja was Chairman of the Malay Club /roemah bola Melajoe/ called Medan Perdamaian which in 1888 had eighty members.⁶³ He was then simultaneously adviser to the club, Taman Penglipoer Lara /Garden for the Soothing of Sorrow/, and was a member of the Kongsi Anak Radja-Radja /Association for the Sons of the Nobility/.⁶⁴ As an aristocrat, he possessed the title of penghulu /chief/ which he inherited from his father, Datoek Bendharo.⁶⁵ It was while he was serving in Pariaman that he founded the society Medan Keramean /Merry-Making Forum/, a kind of social club where newspapers and periodicals were made available to members.⁶⁶ The society's President was Datoek Soetan Maharadja himself while the Vice-President and Secretary were Radja Indo Soetan

62. Sinar Terang, No. 101, 24 October 1888.

63. Sinar Terang, No. 115, 9 November 1888.

64. Ibid. The kongsi could be the Majlis Bangsawan Taufik Abdullah referred to. See Taufik Abdullah, "Minangkabau, 1900-1927", unpublished M.A. thesis Cornell, 1967 pp. 73. However, Taufik appeared to have cited a much later source (1914 newspapers) and therefore the date of the organization's formation is not accurate. His reference to the Medan Pertemuan Minangkabau Laras Nan Duo is also misleading. The association referred to is certainly the Medan Perdamaian and not Medan Pertemuan. The latter name had never been mentioned in the press of 1906, the year cited by Taufik. On the other hand the name of Medan Perdamaian did crop up in the press occasionally.

65. The title "datoek" goes with the rank of penghulu in Minangkabau. An aristocrat of this rank could be addressed as Tuanku or Angku, especially in the coastal and hinterland regions (pasisir and rantau) where the penghulu is vested with the title Raja. See M.D. Mansoor et. al. Sedjarah Minangkabau, Bharatara, 1970, p. 13.

66. The 'society' as it was called had 50 members in 1890. Its aim was to channel the interests of members to the right path. As asserted by its founders, the Medan Keramean would not be a place for cock-fighting game or for setting doves to fight (a form of gambling).

and Kangkoeta Bendahara respectively. The treasurer was a peranakan Chinese known as Baba Jahok.⁶⁷ By 1892, however, Datoek Soetan Maharadja resigned from his job as Jaksa⁶⁸ and returned to Padang to become editor of Pelita Ketjil and later Warta Berita when the paper changed its name.⁶⁹ It was after 1892 that he became a full-time journalist and began to use his pen to assert him convictions and views regarding the society and environment he lived in. He was soon to become famous as a journalist and was reputed to be "a man..of highest integrity and calibre in the field of Malay journalism."⁷⁰ While serving as editor of the European-owned Tjahaja Sumatra,⁷¹ Datoek Soetan Maharadja continued to devote his time to social work, supervising the running of the club Medan Perdamaian which he founded in the late 1880's.⁷² However, by 1906, the club had ceased to exist and as mentioned above, in that same year a new association

- 67. Baba Jahok or Tjoa Ja Hik was a Chinese lieutenant in the Pariaman region during Datoek Soetan Maharadja's time. Albrecht's Almanak 1903, Batavia, 1902. Bintang Soerabaja, No. 78, 5 April 1890.
- 68. According to Taufik Abdullah, he resigned because he failed to get a promotion in rank. See Taufik Abdullah, "Modernization ..." in Claire Holt, op.cit., p. 215.
- 69. He was with the Warta Berita only up to 1897.
- 70. Selompret Melajoe, No. 102, 26 August 1897. Datoek Soetan Maharadja's only rival in the field of Malay journalism in Sumatra was Dja Endar Moeda, who was also "widely known throughout Sumatra West Coast and the Indies." See Ibid., and Selompret Melajoe No. 47, 20 April 1897 for comments on Dja Endar Moeda whose ability was said to be "equal to that of a Dutch editor."
- 71. Datoek Soetan Maharadja had been with the Tjahaja Sumatra from 1904 to 1910. Earlier, from 1895-1900 he was editor of the Warta Berita. At the turn of the century between 1901 and 1904 he also served as correspondent for the periodicals, Bintang Hindia and Insulinde.
- 72. This club could be a new replacement of the old club of the same name which could not have existed that long (1888-1904) considering the characteristically short life of native organizations. The Bintang Hindia reported the existence of a Medan Perdamaian at Padang in 1904. It was described as a roemah bola /club/ where newspapers and periodicals were provided for members apart from facilities for indoor-games. See Bintang Hindia No. 23, 1904. Note that in the Minangkabau world the people liked to adopt the name Medan Perdamaian / Forum of Peace / for their associations even though such associations were founded at different places and in different periods. In 1906 there existed one Medan Perdamaian Boestana Iasjgar / Pleasure Garden's Forum of Peace / in Padang Panjang. See Selompret Melajoe No. 96, 11 August 1906, quoting Warta Berita (n.d.).

called the Medan Perdamaian Minangkabau /laras/ nan Duo /Forum of the Two Minangkabau Laras/⁷³ was set up by Datoek Soetan Maharadja at Padang.⁷⁴

Datoek Soetan Maharadja could be regarded as an aristocrat living in two cultural worlds. While conservative in his views about adat as the binding force of Minangkabau society, he was also modern in so far as his belief that education should be regarded as the vital tool for progress. This earned him the title of propounder and penghulu of the views of the secular kaum muda movement. His dual cultural stance prompts one to compare him with Tirto Adhi Soerjo of Java, also an avid journalist and organizer. Both men believed in preserving old traditions and social norms and both believed in pursuing material progress for the indigenous people.⁷⁵ Like Tirto, Datoek Soetan Maharadja also believed in sustaining the aristocratic hierarchical system. Both men belonged to the upper stratum of native society. The only marked difference between the two men was that while Datoek Soetan Maharadja was a firm believer in the adat as the determinant of Minangkabau identity, with the result that his attitude towards the modernist religious elite was hostile, Tirto Adhi Soerjo saw in Islam the potential for uniting the indigenous community in organizational ventures that would elevate native social and economic positions while projecting the 'national' identity and cultural tradition.

- 73. Laras is the confederation of groups of suku /tribes/ that settled their own internal affairs but referred inter-communal or inter-tribal disputes to a common Head, the tuanku laras or penghulu andeka. In the above context it refers to "collective" original suku of which the many modern suku are supposed to be component parts, i.e. the large Kota Piliang, with its autocratic adat temenggung and the Bodi Ceniaga with its democratic adat perpatih. R.J. Wilkinson, A Malay English Dictionary, Tokyo, Nippon, n.d. Cf. M.D. Mansoer et al, Sedjarah Minangkabau, Bharata, Jakarta, 1970, pp. 3-4.
- 74. This was the association meant by Taufik Abdullah in "Minangkabau ...", p. 73. But he used the name Medan Pertemuan Laras nan Duo. See fn. 61.
- 75. On Tirto Adhi Soerjo, see previous Chapter.

Datoek Soetan Maharadja's hostile stance vis a vis the ulama group of Minangkabau society originated from the days of the Padri War⁷⁶ when his paternal great-grandfather was killed by the religious padri. His grandfather, also a leader of the anti-padri faction in Sulit Air, found good favour with the Dutch after the district was conquered from the padris in mid-1820's. He was made the first tuanku laras of Sulit Air and was later succeeded by Datoek Soetan Maharadja's father.

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, when the people of Sumatra's West Coast were injected with a new fervour to strive for progress, a new generation of indigenous intelligentsia was coming to the forefront to answer the challenge and to expose to their society their own concepts and ideas about change and modernization. This new breed of intellectuals was however divided into two factions. The first group consisted of the elite in the civil service and the teachers who had had their education in Western-type secular schools and the other consisted of those Sumatrans who had received their education in Mecca and Cairo especially in the field of Islamic theology.⁷⁷ The emergence of these groups of intellectuals, in a period when change and modernization were a topic of incessant polemics among the literate, brought about conflicts with the older generation of Minangkabaus whose ideas and value system were based on tradition and hereditary conceptions. While the new breed, the kaum muda, espoused modernization in ideas and

76. For reference on the Padri War, see M. Radjab, Perang Padri di Sumatra Barat 1803-1838, Balai Pustaka, Jakarta, 1954. The standard work in Dutch is H.J.J.L. Ridder de Steurs, De Vestiging en Uitbreiding van Nederlanders ter Westkust van Sumatra, 2 Vols. Amsterdam, 1849-50.

77. On the Minangkabau's contact with the centre of Islamic learning, Mecca, see C. Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka, Leiden 1970, especially Chapter IV, "The Jawah". See also B.J.O. Schrieke, Pergolakan Agama di Sumatera Barat: Sebuah Sumbangan Bibliografi, Jakarta, 1973.

cultural habits in order to bring kemajuan to society, the kaum tua remained distrustful of any new ideas and innovations that would jeopardise the social harmony of their society. But within the new breed of intelligentsia itself could be found two groups of intellectuals. Whereas the Western-educated elite belonged to the secular kaum-muda, the religious and puritanical group from the Middle East was also labelled as kaum muda by the conservative religious sector of Minangkabau society, and by the secularists themselves this new breed of ulama was called religious kaum muda.

Kaum Muda and Kaum Kuno

The terms kaum muda and kaum kuno were first introduced and made popular by Abdul Rivai, editor of the Bintang Hindia in his series of articles in which he urged Indonesians to pursue progress.⁷⁸ In his articles, Rivai divided the Indonesian intelligentsia into two camps of leadership: the modernists and the traditionalists. He brought out the concepts of bangsawan fikiran and bangsawan usul to refer to the newly emerging 'Westernized' elite and the conservative feudal elite. To the former he had given the name kaum muda because he felt that since this group had been exposed to the modern world via education and the European value-system they were ready to accept changes which would ultimately lead them to kemajuan. To the latter who, Rivai felt, were entrenched in their feudal structure and its value system, and were unmoved by the call for modernization and progress, he gave the name kaum kuno or older faction.⁷⁹ The criteria Rivai applied to categorize Indonesians between

78. See Chapter 5.

79. Abdul Rivai defined kaum muda as "... semoea orang Hindia (toea dan moeda jang tidak soeka lagi memegoet atoeran koeno, adat koeno, kebiasaan koeno, tetapi jang maoememoeliakan diri dengan pengetahoean dan ilmoe ..." See Bintang Hindia No. 14, 1905. The THHK was regarded as an example of Kaum Muda organization.

1900-1907 were: education, etiquette, and manner of speaking and dressing, all of which were based on Western-value yardstick. Between 1900 and 1907 the influence of the Bintang Hindia and especially Abdul Rivai's writings was profound.⁸⁰ The terms kaum muda and kaum tua in fact became a cliche in the press and among the young men of the period. However, the usage of the two terms gradually took a different turn in Sumatra's West Coast during the first decade of the twentieth century, carrying with them sociological and psychological undertones. Whereas the sociological division between the secular western-educated elite and the traditional nobility group represented one form of the dichotomy as expressed in the terms kaum muda and kaum kuno, the confrontation between the traditional, conservative ulama and the newly returned Wahabbite⁸¹ ulama formed another aspect of the polarization between the kaum kuno and the kaum muda in Minangkabau Islam.⁸² A third division could be discerned from the hostile attitude posed by the secular-orientated elite vis a vis the Islamic-orientated intelligentsia and vice versa. The existence of the kaum muda-kaum tua polarization in Minangkabau society accelerated conflicts to such an extent that change and modernization became a heated debate and this became a "hot" issue in the Padang press.

It was in the second sense of the kaum muda-kaum tua dichotomy that Datoek Soetan Maharadja became involved. His family history had implanted in him strong anti-ulama feelings. He labelled the ulama from

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- 80. Rivai himself was viewed as a very successful Minangkabau intellectual.
 - 81. The conservative ulama were known as ulama adat and the reformist ulama were known as ulama merdeka (independent ulama) B.P. Schrieke, p. 27.
 - 82. Even the Middle Eastern-educated ulama group itself was divided into two factions: the disciples of Achmad Chatib who advocated Shafite teachings only and the Wahabbites who accepted the four mazhab (religious schools of thought). See. B.O. Schrieke, op.cit., p. 27.

the Middle East as successors of the padri who were trying to bring the Minangkabau back into the period of the padri during which time his great grandfather had been a victim. His distaste for the puritan type of Islam was expressed by him with neither shame nor fear of criticism from his community. He vehemently opposed the teachings of the Wahabbites and the Shafiites such as Achmad Chatib, who in 1893 had attacked the adat practice of matrilineal inheritance as unIslamic and therefore heretical.⁸³ His anti-padri sentiments were so strong that they found expression again when he launched a "pen-war" against the new group of Islamic intellectuals, both Shafiites and Wahabbites. In his Oetoesan Melajoe he warned readers not to allow their independence to be snatched away by the Mecca people.⁸⁴ Although Datoek Soetan Maharadja advocated progress and change, nevertheless the strong wave of Islamic reformism being introduced in Minangkabau pressured him to advocate a campaign for a return to the original adat of Minangkabau. Thus, in 1906 he initiated a movement to purify Minangkabau adat from the influence of Atjeh.⁸⁵

His loyalty to the Dutch was beyond question.⁸⁶ In 1905 when at the end of the Russo-Japanese War, the Kabar Perniagaan, a Chinese-owned newspaper at Batavia, backed the Japanese and proclaimed that nation as the strongest power in Asia, Datoek Soetan Maharadja lashed out at the

83. Achmad Chatib denounced the whole of Minangkabau society as having lived in sin and declared that all marriages based on the matriarchal system were haram (forbidden). Ibid., p. 37.

84. Ibid., p. 38.

85. Ibid., p. 41.

86. Datoek Soetan Maharadja was commonly known among journalists as a "lackey of the government". Even the Tjahaja Sumatra which he edited was said to have become "djadi djilat (lackey) ... to the police. He was accused of being a "lafaard" (coward) and the Pertja Barat said, he shouldn't be expected to defend the under-privileged. See Pertja Barat, 20 June 1911.

editor, J. Pangemanann, asserting that he was not concerned for Asians, but only for the Malay race.⁸⁷ When the secular kaum muda movement was gaining momentum in Padang in the first decade of the twentieth century, Datoek Soetan Maharadja was regarded as the "Penghoeloe" of kaum muda,⁸⁸ in the sense that he advocated progress of the Minangkabau Malays through Western-type secular education.⁸⁹ His position as an aristocrat and leader in a rigid adat-conscious society gave him respect and influence and, furthermore, his relationship with the Dutch was good. In his society his position as leader was thus unchallenged. Unlike Tirto Adhi Soerjo, who was eclipsed in the later part of his career by a new generation of journalists and organizers, Datoek Soetan Maharadja continued to dominate the journalists scene and carried on the "pen-war" with the Islamic kaum muda right up to the formation of the Sarekat Alam Minangkabau (SAAM) in September 1916, in which association he was elected President.

The polemic between the secularists and the Islamic elite became more acute when within the Islamic group itself the controversies raised by the students of Achmad Chatib who had had their education in Mecca and the reformists of the Wahabbite school from Cairo brought about dissension among the ulama. This dissension resulted in the polarization of the group into the kaum muda and kaum tua camps. The religious kaum muda faction was inspired by the teachings of Sjech Mohammad Rasjid Ridla, a student of Muhammad Abdurrahman. Rasjid Ridla was editor of the reformist

87. B.O. Schrieke, op.cit., p. 42.

88. Pertja Barat, 20 June 1911.

89. He took a leading part in establishing schools for girls. He set up a boys' school in 1902. In 1908 he initiated the opening of the first Malay trade fair where he promoted weaving handicraft in Padang. In 1909 he set up the first weaving school for girls, called Padangsche Weefschool. Taufik Abdullah, in Claire Holt (ed.) op.cit., p. 223.

journal Al-Manar in Cairo. This kaum muda faction was led by Hadji Abdullah Achmad, Hadji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah and Sjech Muhammad Djamil Djambek. Their adversaries, the kaum tua ulama, were led by Sjech Muhammad Sa'ad Mungkar and others.⁹⁰ The kaum muda faction began to raise more controversial and unorthodox fatwa / religious legal opinions / when their own journal began to appear in Padang to disseminate their ideas based on the Koran and hadith / record of actions or sayings of the Prophet /⁷. The journal, Al-Moenir, made its appearance on 1 April 1911 just four months after the emergence of the adat-orientated paper, Oetoesan Melajoe. The journal, reformist in outlook and based on the Al-Manar of Cairo, was run entirely by the kaum muda ulama. Its chief editor was Hadji Abdullah Ahmad, the Director of the Adabiah School. He was assisted by other young ulama namely Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah Danau, Muhammad Dahlan Soetan Lembak Toeah, Hadji Muhammad Thaib Oemar of Batu Sangkar and Soetan Mohamad Salim, retired Chief Jaksa who was then staying in Kota Gedang.⁹¹ Other correspondents included Sjech Ibrahim Musa Parabek, Sjech Muhammad Djamil Djambek, and Sjech Abas of Padang Japang.

The appearance of Al-Moenir in the journalistic scene in Padang sharpened the conflict between the secularist adat upholders and the religious sector of Minangkabau society. Its appearance was however not unwelcome to the Minangkabau readers. In 1906 there was already a reformist journal circulating within a limited circle of readers in Sumatra's West Coast. This journal, called Al-Imam,⁹² was also based on the Al-

90. Mohd. Junus, Sedjarah Islam di Minangkabau, p. 54.

91. St. Mohd. Salim was Agoes Salim's father. Earlier he lived in Batavia and became editor of Boemiputera, published at Weltevreden in 1909.

92. On the Al-Imam, see W.R. Roff, The Origins of Malay Nationalism, University of Malaya Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1967, Chapter iii.

Manar of Cairo. The contents of this Al-Imam also advocated reform in Islamic thinking by rejecting what had not been prescribed by the Koran and hadith. However, as the journal was published in Singapore (though its editor was a Minangkabau, Sheikh Tahir Djalaludin by name) the Al-Imam did not have a very wide circulation in Sumatra's West Coast. The suspicious eyes of the Dutch censorship bureau also accounted for the difficulty in the free flow of the magazine in Minangkabau.⁹³ Thus it was only natural that after the closure of Al-Imam in December 1908, the Al-Moenir should take over the role of Al-Imam to spread kaum muda teachings and to counter all enemies of Islam, be they Christian missionary propaganda or adat fanatics. Like the Al-Imam and Al-Manar, the Al-Moenir was radical in orientation with regard to Islam. It published articles that had hitherto been considered taboo by the kaum tua ulama. The wearing of neckties and hats and the taking of photographs which had been considered haram (forbidden) by the kaum tua faction were openly discussed in the Al-Moenir and readers were informed that such things had never been forbidden by the Koran or hadith.⁹⁴ The kaum muda ulama also taught through the Al-Moenir that the Friday sermon before prayers could be delivered in a language that the congregation could understand. All these innovations which were considered 'new' by the Padang Malays were frowned upon by the kaum tua. The fatwa that Muslims should not be confined to interpretations according to the Shafi'ite school aroused anger from the followers of Achmad Chatib. The Al-Moenir's existence,

93. The Dutch colonial government imposed strict censorship on publications published outside the Netherlands East Indies, especially Islamic publications, such as Ma'loemat from Turkey and the Al-Imam from Singapore. The Al-Imam was anti-Christian missionary in its content.

94. Mahmud Junus, op.cit., p. 47.

however, was not very long. In 1916 it ceased publication.⁹⁵

The religious polemics in the years between 1911 and 1913 had been so heated that dissension and conflicts in Minangkabau society worsened to the extent that the kaum muda religious faction had unhesitatingly applied the term kafir to the kaum tua who refused to participate in the common religious services.⁹⁶ At the same time, the growing influence of the kaum muda ulama was also resented by the Oetoesan Melajoe whose editor Datoek Soetan Maharadja took every opportunity to snipe at them, naming them as Wahabbites or Padri.⁹⁷ The centre of activities for the kaum muda ulama was Padang Panjang.⁹⁸ Because of the hostile pen-war between Datoek Soetan Maharadja and the Al-Moenir, the other Padang papers felt that such endless debates would be bad for the community. The editor of the Tjahaja Sumatra expressed regret over the matter. To him it would lead to further discord and he feared that the old hatred towards the Dutch might be re-awakened because the Oetoesan Melajoe was pro-Dutch.⁹⁹

The influence of the Al-Moenir was such that Datoek Soetan Maharadja felt it should be stamped out by all means. He meant to do it by producing another newspaper in Padang to beat the circulation of the Al-Moenir. Thus, the new Soeloech Melajoe / Malay Torch made its appearance in Padang in April 1913.¹⁰⁰ Together with its emergence was a sister-

95. According to Mohd. Junus, its printing press was burnt down and that was why it was closed. See Ibid., p. 48.

96. Koloniaal Tijdschrift, Feb.-March 1912-1913, p. 879.

97. Ibid., quoting Oetoesan Melajoe, No. 19.

98. Ibid., quoting Oetoesan Melajoe, No. 20.

99. Ibid., quoting Oetoesan Melajoe, No. 24.

100. Ibid., quoting Oetoesan Melajoe, No. 19.

paper called Soeara Melajoe / Malay Voice /.¹⁰¹ Both were published and printed by the Snelpersdrukkerij Orang Alam Minangkerbau. The Soeloeh Melajoe was edited by Datoek Soetan Maharadja and Nkoe / sic / Ch. Ali, while on the editorial board of the Soeara Melajoe sat Sidi Maharadja and Abdul Manan gelar Sutan Maharadja. Sidi Maharadja was actually former editor of the now defunct Soeara Rakjat,¹⁰² a newspaper published in 1912 but which ceased publication after only a year's circulation and was succeeded by the Soeara Melajoe. It was through the Soeara Melajoe that the kaum tua ulama were able to repudiate the teachings of the Wahabbites or the Al-Moenir group. Their attack on the kaum muda was led by Sjech Chatib Ali who later came to be branded as murtad / apostate /. This arbitrary action of branding people who disagreed about certain views of religion as murtad led Muhammad Junus, one of the kaum tua ulama, to warn the readers of Soeara Melajoe that whosoever named another Muslim murtad would himself be an apostate.¹⁰³ The followers of Achmad Chatib, the Shafiite imam at Masjid Haram Mecca, denounced all those who found the teachings of the liberal Al-Moenir group as acceptable to Minangkabau society and condemned them as rationalists / mu'tazilite /.¹⁰⁴

When the wave of Islamic controversy struck the Minangkabau world around 1911 and 1912 after the emergence of the Al-Moenir, another trend in modernization of Minangkabau society began to emerge, this time from the women intellectuals of Minangkabau society. Through the press's campaign for greater consciousness among parents of the importance of

101. The Soeara Melajoe appeared on 4th April 1913. It was a bi-weekly.

102. The paper was published by Sidi Maharadja and printed at the Snelpersdrukkerij Orang Alam Minangkerbau in 1912.

103. Soeara Melajoe, No. 1, 5 January 1914.

104. See Hamka, Ajahku, Jakarta 1957, p. 101.

education for girls, and especially from the pen of Datoek Soetan Mahardja himself, whose effort and dedication towards uplifting the morale of women had become well known in his plea for greater feminine consciousness and role in education for their own sex, the women of Minangkabau began to show signs of accepting the challenge of change and modernization. This sign of awakening encouraged Datoek Soetan Mahardja to extend his field of journalism to the ladies of Minangkabau by trying to found a journal or newspaper for women. Thus on 10 July 1912 the first "newspaper for the women of Alam Minangkabau"¹⁰⁵ appeared from the press of Snelpersdrukkerij Orang Alam Minangkerbau. The Soenting Melajoe Malay Ornament, as it was called, began to appear once every eight days.¹⁰⁶ Under the guidance of Datoek Soetan Mahardja, the Soenting Melajoe was meant to be a kind of reformist feminine newspaper through which the Minangkabau women intellectuals could contribute ideas to stimulate interest among their fellow-women to strive for the progress and betterment of their sex. He appointed his own daughter, Zoebaidah Ratna Djoewita, and Siti Rohana of Kota Gedang, Fort de Kock (Bukit Tinggi) to sit on the editorial board of the Soenting Melajoe. Of the two ladies, Siti Rohana was the most active and productive although she was based at Kota Gedang,¹⁰⁷ a rather secluded nagari in the vicinity of Bukit Tinggi. Siti Rohana's role in the spread of education earned her

105. The caption beneath the masthead.

106. The earliest edition available at the Museum Pusat Jakarta was the second issue and was dated 13 July 1912. On the front page was stated that it would appear once in eight days.

107. Kota Gedang seemed to be alive with intellectual activities. It became famous as the home of intellectualism in Sumatra's West Coast. In 1909 an association called the Vereeniging Studiefonds Kota Gedang was established and given the government's legal recognition in 1910. In 1911 the first women's organization, the Keradjinan Amai Setia / Loyal Mothers' Endeavour was founded with Rohana as President. This association was officially recognised in 1915. See Soenting Melajoe, No. 2, 13 July 1912 and Tamar Djaja, "Rohana Kudus, Srikanth Islam sebelum Kartini", in Hikmah, No. 15, 21 April 1956.

the title of "forerunner in women's education in Sumatra".

Siti Rohana or Rohana Kudus¹⁰⁸ was the daughter of Muhammad Rasjad gelar Maharadja Soetan, a Jaksa at Medan. She was born on 20 December 1884 at Kota Gedang. The education she received as a child (which was informal) was essentially Islamic under the tuition of Adiesa, wife of the Jaksa of Alahan Panjang where her father was serving as a native clerk. Through the effort of Adiesa, who having no children of her own had adopted Rohana as her own daughter, Rohana learnt to read and write in both Jawi and Romanised scripts and also mastered the art of lace-making, an important craft in Kota Gedang. Around the turn of the century, after the death of her mother in 1897, Rohana returned to Kota Gedang. It was from that time that she became interested in teaching young girls handicrafts and how to read the Koran. She got married in 1908, at the age of twenty-four, to a cousin, Abdul Kudus gelar Pamuntjak Soetan. On February 11, 1911 Rohana's organizational career began when she initiated the founding of the Keradjinan Amai Setia and managed to get about sixty members. The association aimed at promoting handicrafts which were considered useful to the womenfolk. It also intended to teach reading and writing in Jawi and Rumi characters. Religious and moral teachings were also included in K.A.S. programme and members were taught the art of cookery, home management as well as child-care.

Rohana's interest in education reached the ears of Datoek Soetan Maharadja who was himself keen on seeing education for girls being promoted further by the women themselves. He learnt that the Keradjinan Amai Setia had set up a school at Kota Gedang and that its funds were procured through the launching of a lottery which managed to accumulate

108. Kudus was her husband's name. Unless otherwise stated, sources for Rohana's biography had been taken from Tamar Djaja's series of articles in Hikmah, Nos. 13, 14 and 15, of 7, 14 and 21 April 1956.

a sum of five thousand guilders.¹⁰⁹ He also heard that Rohana was the teacher of the school. It was therefore not surprising that when the publication of the Soenting Melajoe was undertaken, Rohana was selected by Datoek Soetan Maharadja to sit on the paper's editorial board.¹¹⁰ Indeed, the emergence of the Soenting Melajoe opened a new chapter in the women's movement in Sumatra's West Coast for compared to the Poetri Hindia of Tirto Adhi Soerjo in 1908, the Soenting Melajoe was more direct in its appeal to the native women to realize the importance of their role in helping to bring about change and kemajuan in their society. Not only did the Soenting Melajoe publish essays of general knowledge in character but it also dealt in important issues concerning the roles and status of women, especially the expected role of the good mother.¹¹¹ Touching on the question of education for girls, the paper pointed out the advantages of sending one's daughter to school. But questions pertaining to the problems that women faced in a traditional society generally dominated the pages of the Soenting Melajoe. The questions of divorce, polygamy¹¹² and the controversies between adat

109. In 1912 Dr. van Ronkel also gave monetary donation to the K.A.S. See Soenting Melajoe, No. 2, 13 July 1912. Rohana was mentioned by the Soenting Melajoe as the "Directie" of the K.A.S. Hazeu, the Director of Education also extended the government's donation to the K.A.S. See Tamar Djaja, "Rohana Kudus ...", Hikmah No. 14, 14 April 1956, p. 18.
110. According to Tamar Djaja, Rohana had in fact written to Dt. St. Maharadja on the need to start a ladies' journal and the latter had gone to see her at Kota Gedang to discuss the matter. Tamar Djaja however did not cite the source in his essay. Nevertheless, considering the fact that when his article was written Siti Rohana was still alive, it was possible that Tamar Djaja had interviewed Rohana personally.
111. Examples of articles appearing in the paper were: "How to take care of the husband", "on progress", "the suppression of the feminine sex", etc.
112. The question of bermadu / husband-sharing / was the most controversial issue among Minangkabau women of this period. Bermadu is the relationship between women married to the same man. A correspondent in the Soenting Melajoe wrote:
... If the women of the Alam Minangkabau wished to look for solutions to their problem of bermadu in order to bring about innovation they

and Islamic Law regarding the position of women in society were not neglected by the paper either. Like the Poetri Hindia of Java, the Soenting Melajoe's correspondents and contributors of articles were mainly wives of government officials or aristocrats. However, unlike the Poetri Hindia, some of the contributors in the Soenting Melajoe were school girls from Payakumbuh, Pariaman and the surrounding areas.¹¹³ Like the Poetri Hindia, the birth of the Soenting Melajoe had enlivened the activities women's associations. The awakening of the Malay women in Sumatra's West Coast was evident enough when small societies run and managed by women began to crop up sporadically, particularly when one recalls the emergence of ladies' crafts-schools in the villages and small towns.¹¹⁴

The growing awareness of the Minangkabau women with regard to their position in society coupled with the urgent need for the Western-

(continuation of footnote 112)

should first equip themselves with a school as well as religious education. /Knowledge of/ religion would liberate them from the pains of jealousy of their madu /rivals/. They need not therefore seek the aid of a dukun /witch-doctor/...

The writer then asked her fellow-women to be patient and to change the adat. She continued further,

... we should carefully weigh our deliberation and not be rushed into hasty judgement in trying to change the customary adat which happened to concur with the Syara' /Canon law based on religious revelation/ ... it is nevertheless true that the Europeans abhor the practice of polygamy but yet in spite of being married to one woman there were those who kept mistresses or seek pleasures elsewhere ... which then is more honourable? To allow polygamy or to tolerate such infidelity?

She concluded by saying that in her opinion, it would be more painful for a woman to continue suspecting that her husband was having a secret affair with another woman.

Soenting Melajoe, No. 25, 21 December, 1912.

113. Ibid.

114. Unfortunately not many of these associations have been known to us. Many of the copies of the Soenting Melajoe and the newspapers managed by Dt. St. Maharadja are either destroyed or as yet not located. However, the few associations known through the existing newspapers were all run and managed by women. Such associations

type of education felt by the literate sector of Minangkabau society sharpened the conflicts in values already made acute by the incessant polemics between the kaum tua and the kaum muda. Unavoidably for the Minangkabau people who were undergoing a process of adjustment to the impact of modernization, an atmosphere of cultural tension was prevalent in the period between the first two decades of the twentieth century.¹¹⁵ This conflict in cultural values was clearly reflected in the religious versus adat controversy. While the religious kaum muda favoured the puritanical Islamic dogma as an ideological basis for modernization, the adat group as represented by Datoek Soetan Maharadja saw the Western secular education plus the retention of the ceremonial adat as the means towards that end.¹¹⁶ The outspoken attitude and pro-Western stance of Datoek Soetan Maharadja added to his contempt for the religious modernists had earned him few friends in the journalistic field.¹¹⁷

(continuation of footnote 114)

were the Amai Setia and the Andeh Setia Sulit Air. In 1912 the Sekolah Tenun [weaving schools] were opened in Kota Gedang, Tanjung, Pariaman and other places, all through the initiative or assistance of Dt. St. Maharadja. See Soenting Melajoe, No. 19, 9 November 1912.

115. Taufik Abdullah rightly pointed out this in his article, "Modernization in the Minangkabau World" in Claire Holt, (ed.), op.cit., pp. 179-245.
116. So intense was his hatred for the ulama group that he even went to the extent of raising objection to the government's intention to include Islamic religious subjects in the time table of native schools. He asserted that such a thing was impracticable and should be left to the private initiative of the people. See "Press Review" (March-April 1913) in Koloniaal Tijdschrift, 1912-1913, pp. 1031-1032.
117. He also hated the arrogance of Abdul Rivai who, by 1911, had started his medical practice at Padang. Taman Sari, No. 76, 2 April, 1911. Dja Endar Moeda of Pertja Barat was also considered as one of his enemies. Dt. St. Maharadja's character was besmirched when six months after he assumed the editorial chair of Oetoesan Melajoe he landed himself into trouble. He was accused of breach of trust in connection with the Medan [Perdamaian] Minangkabau Laras nan Dua, to which organization he was elected as adviser. He was then expelled from the association and his post as adviser dropped. The Pertja Barat said he was expelled by the kaum muda, allegedly for having failed to furnish a proper account of the membership funds and donations from non-members to the society. See Pertja Barat, No. 69, 13 June, 1911 and No. 77, 1 July, 1911. There was also an accusation that he had misappropriated padi from the Padifonds association. The editor

It was because he was motivated by the desire to have his own newspaper that he started publishing the Oetoesan Melajoe. However, the entrance of the Oetoesan Melajoe into the press business scene at Padang did not form a serious rival or threat to the already existing papers which continued to draw readership from all groups of society. What readers of newspapers at this time wanted was a newspaper that could provide them with a variety of news coverage, not limiting its reporting to Padang or West Sumatra regions only. Because of this the publishing firm of Dja Endar Moeda had thrived well and the Pertja Barat continued to be a popular paper in West Sumatra.

Dja Endar Moeda's newspapers

Dja Endar Moeda's name as a full-time journalist first appeared when he became editor of the Pertja Barat in around 1895. At the beginning of the twentieth century he sat on the editorial board of the journal, Insulinde. Dja Endar Moeda alias Hadji Moehamad Saleh¹¹⁸ was a Batak, born at Padang Sidempuan in 1861.¹¹⁹ He had probably attended a Dutch school which enabled him to study in the Teachers' Training School at Padang Sidempuan. He qualified in 1884 and was posted to Air Bangis as assistant teacher. He was later promoted to become head teacher at Batahan in the district of Natal. It was while holding this post that he became correspondent-editor for the monthly pedagogical journal Soeloeh Peng-adjar which was founded at Probolinggo in 1887. From Batahan he was

(continuation of footnote 117)

of Pertja Barat did not seem to have much liking for Datoek St. Maharadja. Any reference to him was made by using the initials D.B. and the Pertja Barat editor seized every opportunity to snipe at him in the press. See also Pertja Barat, No. 74, 24 June 1911.

118. See Bintang Barat, No. 186, 14 August 1894.

119. Materials for the biography on Dja Endar Moeda were mostly obtained from the Bintang Hindia, No. 15, 25 July, 1903. In 1903 Dja Endar Moeda's age was given as "about forty two years old".

transferred to Singkil in Sumatra's West Coast. He left for Mecca to make the pilgrimage in 1892. On his return from the hajj in 1893, Dja Endar Moeda decided to reside at Kota Padang. By this time he had retired from the government service and had begun to start his own private school. At about the same time he took a job as editor of the Pertja Barat which was founded in 1890 by some Dutchmen.¹²⁰ In 1900 when the Snelpersdrukkerij published the Insulinde and the Tapian na Oeli Dja Endar Moeda sat on the editorial boards of both publications as editor-in-chief. Through the Pertja Barat Dja Endar Moeda made a name for himself as a bold editor. His writings and his honest criticisms of the B.B. officials earned him respect from Dutch journalists who were serving under the Sumatra Courant.¹²¹ Gradually, from his position as editor he managed to gain foothold in the Insulinde press by becoming one of its shareholders. In 1905 when the printing press was to be sold, Dja Endar Moeda bought it and the press thus became the first to be native-owned in Sumatra. Dja Endar was not only sharp as a journalist but also calculating in his business. When the Pertja Barat's popularity was established Dja Endar Moeda expanded his business into the retailing trade by setting up a shop which he named "Toko Pertja Barat".

Dja Endar Moeda's interest in business of the press led him to venture into founding other newspapers. In 1906 he started the twice-weekly Pemberita Atjeh¹²² [Atjeh Gazette] which was published at Kuta

120. One of them was probably L.J.W. Stritzko who was mentioned as one of the former owners of the Pertja Barat. In 1898 the paper came to be published by the Sumatra Courant and one year later I.N.A.H. Chatelin Sr. took over its publication. In 1900 however it was published and printed by the Snelpersdrukkerij Insulinde which also published the journal, Insulinde.

121. Selompret Melajoe, No. 14, 3 February 1898.

122. This was the first native paper ever published in Aceh. It was published in the Malay language with Dja Endar Moeda as editor. While serving the Pemberita Atjeh he travelled up and down between Kuta Raja and Padang.

Raja, Aceh and in 1908 he re-published the Warta Berita which had collapsed the year before.¹²³ His printing press also published in that same year the monthly periodical, Minangkabau, with himself as chief editor. However, the periodical appeared only for a short period. Business didn't seem too good for Dja Endar because by the end of 1909 the Pemberita Atjeh was forced to cease publication. Its existence must have been rather difficult because Kuta Raja had another newspaper circulating in 1907. The paper, Sinar Atjeh, was published by the Sinar Atjeh Company under the editorship of Lim Soen Hwat, a peranakan. But the Sinar Atjeh itself managed to survive only up to 30 July 1908.¹²⁴ The Pemberita Atjeh existed for three years only. Like the Sinar Atjeh [Ray of Atjeh] it was never really successful in attracting readers so as to acquire a sufficient number of regular subscribers to support its existence.

Having failed in Aceh, Dja Endar Moeda went to Medan to set up the Sjarikat Tapanuli, another printing house, together with some Batak businessmen. This publication firm had a press of its own and in January 1910 the company published the Pewarta Deli [Deli Reporter] which also had Dja Endar Moeda as its editor-in-chief with Kamarudin, his son, as sub-editor. Prospects for the Pewarta Deli appeared bright because following the death of the Pemberita Atjeh, Kuta Raja was left without a newspaper of its own. Thus the Achenese readers could only subscribe to the Pewarta Deli. But for reasons unknown to us, Dja Endar Moeda seemed

123. Sinar Atjeh, No. 22, 19 March 1908. There is however no evidence to show that the paper survived longer than a year. The Warta Berita's name was mentioned in Koloniaal Verslag of 1910. This means that it expired sometime in 1909.

124. The paper collapsed because many subscribers had not paid up their subscription-debts. See Sinar Atjeh, No. 56, 30 July 1908.

to have fallen out with the major shareholders of the company. His relationship with the Sjarikat Tapanuli became strained¹²⁵ and after a brief stay with the company he left Medan together with his son. Next, he was heard to have made a second attempt to found another newspaper in Aceh. On 1 June 1911 the Bintang Atjeh [Star of Atjeh] made its maiden appearance in Kuta Raja bearing Dja Endar Moeda's name as editor-in-chief.¹²⁶ As to how long the Bintang Atjeh managed to exist, one is unfortunately kept in the dark. However, it could not have survived beyond 1913 for reference to its existence had ceased by then. Dja Endar Moeda's untiring efforts in the native press industry earned him the reputation of being one of the pioneers of the indigenous press in Sumatra. Like Datoek Soetan Maharadja, Dja Endar Moeda had a deep interest in journalism, so intensely deep that both men decided to give up their government posts in order to indulge in the press business, not only as founders of their own printing houses but also as dedicated editors and bold social critics.

If one were to compare the roles of Datoek Soetan Maharadja and Dja Endar Moeda as editors and publishers, there is no doubt that while Datoek Soetan Maharadja was more of a social reformist, Dja Endar Moeda was more deeply involved in journalism and the native press industry. At the same time, Dja Endar also wrote propagandistic articles calling upon the indigenous people to strive for Western education and progress, even though he was not as active in the organizational work as Datoek Soetan Maharadja. Of all the newspapers edited by Dja Endar Moeda, the

125. This was apparent from the contents of the Pertja Barat when referring to the Sjarikat Tapanuli in late 1911. The impression given is that the editor of the Pertja Barat was not on the best of terms with the editor of the Pewarta Deli and the Tapanuli Company.
126. Pertja Barat, No. 65, 3 June 1911. The subscription rate of the Bintang Atjeh was fl.6 per annum which meant that it was a twice-weekly newspaper. The paper was said to contain "articles on politics and stories of ancient times".

Pertja Barat remained the most influential and had the longest existence. The paper was not only popular in Padang but also in Java. Its pages were filled with news not only of events in and around Padang, but also those occurring in Java. Reports on the formation of the Journalists' Union and the Teachers' Union in Sumatra were also published. The paper's financial strength could be ascertained from the large number of columns allocated for advertisements.¹²⁷ To attract readers, the Pertja Barat serialised short stories or hikayat. That its circulation was relatively big was indicated by the fact that it had two editors in 1911 and several correspondents contributing articles or news.¹²⁸ While Dja Endar Moeda's name appeared as chief editor and owner of the paper, his brother, Dja Endar Bongsoe became the representative editor.¹²⁹

The Pertja Barat's attitude towards the other papers in Padang was predictably unfriendly because of the competitive market all native newspapers had to face. Its role as a propaganda maker for Indonesians was however similar to the others. The question of education for native girls and indigenous people in Sumatra in general provoked discussions and polemics among its readers.¹³⁰ While urging the native people to adopt the industrious habit of the Chinese in order to pursue progress, the Pertja Barat, like the Oetoesan Melajoe, was racially hostile towards

127. Out of four pages, more than two were allocated for advertisements.
128. Its circulation could be roughly estimated to be around one thousand copies for each edition, which was the average circulation for a popularly-read paper.
129. This was because Dja Endar Moeda had moved to live in Aceh (Kuta Raja). See Pertja Barat, No. 51, 29 April 1911. His brother, Abdul Kahar gelar Dja Endar Bongsoe was also an able journalist. He was educated at the Government school at Padang Sidempuan. Lim Soen Hin, the editor of Sinar Sumatra, was a schoolmate of his. Pertja Barat, No. 103, 2 September 1911.
130. Selompret Melajoe, No. 60, 19 May 1906. See also Pertja Barat, No. 56, 11 May 1911 and No. 94, 10 August 1911.

the Chinese at times.¹³¹ As late as mid-1911 the Pertja Barat still appeared three times weekly. It had not undergone many changes, except that on July 1, 1911 it began to publish its first printed pictures. Everything was going on smoothly with the Pertja Barat press when finally Dja Endar Moeda became victim of the press law.¹³² Following this incident with the press law, the Pertja Barat announced in its No. 88 edition on 27 July 1911 that a Journalists' Union would be formed soon at Padang. The aim, as revealed by the paper, was to encourage editors to write articles "which would expose the corrupt and immoral behaviour of the priyayi [officials] in dealing with the people".¹³³ In the proposed union, the representative editor of Pertja Barat, Dja Endar Bongsoe was supposed to be its first President because he was one of those who mooted such an idea.¹³⁴ However, on August 11, 1911, Dja Endar Bongsoe died suddenly. His death not only shattered the idea of forming the Journalists' Union but was a tremendous blow to Dja Endar Moeda who had lost a dear brother and a reliable assistant to run his business and newspaper in Padang.

On 15 August 1911, Dja Endar Moeda's son, Kamaruddin,¹³⁵ assumed

- 131. In No. 137 (date unknown), the Chinese were accused of being extortioners of the natives. The Pertja Barat also lamented on the fact that there were not many native organs (newspapers). See "Press Review" in Koloniaal Tijdschrift, 1911-1912, pp. 105.
- 132. It is now known on what charges he was prosecuted but most likely on grounds of defamation of character or sedition. Dja Endar Moeda was remanded in jail for two months. Other editors facing similar offence were: Sidi Maharadja, Maharadja B. and Soetan Radja nan Gadang. They were all detained "like criminals". See Pertja Barat, No. 82, 13 July 1911.
- 133. Pertja Barat, No. 88, 27 July 1911.
- 134. Pertja Barat, No. 99, 22 August 1911.
- 135. He was previously editor of Pewarta Deli. Pertja Barat, No. 96, 15 August 1911.

the post of sub-editor for the Pertja Barat, but things were never the same again for the press of Dja Endar Moeda. Following the loss of Dja Endar Bongsoe, the management of the Pertja Barat had slackened.¹³⁶ In order to inject new life into the paper, Dja Endar employed Sidi Maharadja to serve as editor of Pertja Barat commencing from 1 November 1911.¹³⁷ Kamaruddin bin Dja Endar Moeda was to assist him. But things did not fare any better for the Pertja Barat. By 1912 the paper had ceased to appear in Padang. Its life span of a little longer than two decades had finally ended, thus terminating the story of a vernacular newspaper that saw the passing of the old and the dawning of the new centuries.

The Vernacular Press in other Sumatran Towns

By 1913, Padang had become a flourishing centre of the Malay-language press. The existence of such a large number of newspapers confronted publishers with a very competitive market. This compelled them to rely heavily on advertisements in order to have strong financial support for their papers. It was therefore not unusual for a newspaper to have a greater number of pages allocated for advertisement than for news and articles.¹³⁸ Newspapers which failed to woo a sufficient number of advertizers could easily be forced out of circulation. That was exactly what happened to the newspapers which catered solely for native readership and sectarian groups. The most viable and financially most stable newspapers were inevitably the Chinese-controlled press whose sources of

136. This was admitted by Dja Endar Moeda himself. See Pertja Barat, No. 127, 31 October 1911.

137. Sidi Maharadja's full name was Marah Mohammad Joenoes gelar Sidi Maharadja. His title Sidi implies that he was of Arab descent. He was formerly editor of Bintang Tionghoa but had resigned. Pertja Barat, No. 127, 31 October 1911.

138. The Warta Hindia, for example, had eight pages but only two were allocated for news and articles, while the rest were reserved for advertisements. The same situation applied to Sinar-Sumatra, another Chinese-owned newspaper.

advertisements were many and guaranteed because of the existence of a large community of Chinese businessmen and traders. As for the indigenous press, competition with the Chinese-backed press was extremely stiff and it was not unusual for them to suffer from financial setbacks whenever subscription dues were not promptly paid by readers and hence the native newspapers were always faced with threat of their circulation being strangled. In 1913, out of a total of ten newspapers circulating in Padang,¹³⁹ only the Oetoesan Melajoe and the Soenting Melajoe could be said to be strong enough to withstand competition from the Chinese press which was heavily subsidized through advertisements. The Al-Moenir, the organ of the radical ulama, was forced to stop publication temporarily in 1913¹⁴⁰ and when it was re-established it survived only up to 1915.¹⁴¹ The Soeara Melajoe lingered on for a while until 1914, having existed only for a year following the death of Soeara Rakjat which it succeeded.¹⁴² The same fate was suffered by the Soeloeh Melajoe whose existence was brought about as a means to counter the kaum muda ulama from the Al-Moenir group whose teachings the publisher Datoek Soetan Maharadja disagreed with. An attempt to start another religious periodical was made in 1913 when the Al-Achbar¹⁴³ was produced on 8 April 1913 from the printing press of Al-Moenir. It was a weekly periodical that appeared on every Tuesday and

139. See Appendix

140. According to the Koloniaal Verslag of 1914 the Al-Moenir was out of circulation in 1913.

141. Mahmud Junus, op.cit., p. 47. A journal of the same name was started at Padang Panjang in 1918. Ibid., p. 48.

142. The Soera Melajoe had racial undertones vis a vis the Chinese in the articles it had published and because of that it had to rely only on the native readership, thus limiting its market.

143. There is no evidence to support Taufik Abdullah's contention that the Al-Achbar was published by the anti-modernist orthodox ulama. See Taufik Abdullah, "Minangkabau ...", p. 89. The Al-Achbar was in fact produced at the Al-Moenir press.

was edited by Abdul Majid gelar Bagindo Sinaro, with Haji Alias of Java as its correspondent-editor. Although Islamic in orientation, it was less radical if compared to the Al-Moenir or Al-Imam of Singapore.¹⁴⁴ However, its tiny circles of readership due to its sectarian appeal, did not help to prolong its existence, and it was not until 1918 that Padang saw another religious journal.

In the other towns, namely Medan, Kuta Raja, Sibolga and Palembang, the native press was less concerned about racial polemics or propaganda-making. In Medan by 1913 there were only two newspapers in circulation. Unlike Padang, Medan did not seem to attract publishers of newspapers. In the nineteenth century there was never an attempt to found a vernacular paper there. Its first vernacular newspaper was the Pertja Timoer [Eastern Sumatra] which made its appearance in August 1902 from the press of J. Hallerman.¹⁴⁵ Among those who served as editors for the Pertja Timoer until its cessation in 1912 were: Chatib Radja Soetan [1902], Mangaradja Salambowe [1904],¹⁴⁶ Soetan Maleng-gang and Moesa. Appearing on Monday and Thursday of each week, the Pertja Timoer was for almost a decade the only paper catering for the Malay-speaking readers in East and North Sumatra. It had four pages, two

144. Its motto was: Long live the government of Holland.
May the Indies have fame
May the natives progress
May Islam live forever.

Its articles ranged from the question of education and moral behaviour, to news about Islam in different parts of the world and about Europeans. The war between Turkey and Bulgaria was also closely reported. The periodical was also ornamented with literary articles such as poetry.

145. J. Hallerman was of German-descent. He was founder of the Dutch newspaper, De Sumatra Post at Medan in 1899. He served as publisher and printer of the Pertja Timoer in its infant stage. Muhammad Said, "Sedjarah Persuratkabaran di Medan dan Peranannya", in Merdeka, 20 May, 1972.

146. Mangaradja Salambowe first served as administrator of the Pertja Timoer but this post was taken over by J. Hallerman in 1904 when Salambowe himself became editor.

of which consisted of advertisements.¹⁴⁷ The paper had columns for stories, readers' letters and news from Europe. Cable news was taken from the Sumatra Post.

In late 1909 on the initiative of Dja Endar Moeda a printing press called Sjarikat Tapanuli was set up in Medan. By January 1910, the first newspaper from the printing house, Pewarta Deli, began to appear on every Wednesday and Saturday of the week.¹⁴⁸ Dja Endar Moeda assumed the post of chief editor while Soetan Malenggang was administrator of the paper.¹⁴⁹ As was mentioned earlier, Kamaruddin, Dja Endar Moeda's son, became sub-editor. The Pewarta Deli seemed to have readers even outside the Indies. This could probably be due to its commercial-orientation. Situated in an area of tobacco and coffee plantations, Medan was a busy centre of commerce for the European planters and importers as well as exporters. The Pewarta Deli therefore served the interest of these people in so far as to act as a medium for advertisement of goods or produce be they for export or import purposes. It provided opportunities for those potential investors and exporters in Europe to study the market in Sumatra through the advertisements it displayed. Because of this, the Pewarta Deli had agents as far away as Amsterdam, France and Belgium and they were all exporters.¹⁵⁰

147. The subscription rate was fl.6 per year of 7½ cents per copy. For subscribers outside the Indies the rate was fl.8 per annum. The rate for one advertisement was seventy five cents for 1-5 lines with an addition of ten cents if it appeared more than once.
148. Pewarta Deli, No. 19, 8 March, 1910.
149. After Dja Endar Moeda had left, he assumed the post of editor.
150. In Amsterdam the exporters B.I. Rubens & Co. became the Agent while in Paris there was John F. Jones & Co. Readers in Singapore who wanted to read the Pewarta Deli could contact Osman Sirat, a familiar name in the business of newspaper distribution in British Malaya. Perak, a state in the Federated Malay States, had Tengku H.M. Yacob acting as Agent for the Pewarta Deli.

It is interesting to note that the Pewarta Deli was run by "outsiders", that is, not by the local Deli people themselves. Its shares were monopolised by Mandailings and Angkola-Sipirok, who had had a share in the lucrative business in Deli.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless, Dja Endar Moeda's involvement with the Sjarikat Tapanuli had lapsed in late 1911 for in that year Haji Mohamad Tahir, a clerk working under the wealthy Chinese trader, Tjong A Fie, took over as Director of the publishing company together with the newspaper, Pewarta Deli.¹⁵² Others who came to dominate the company were Haji Ibrahim penghulu pekan, Haji Abdul Hamid panjang janggut, Haji Osman and others --- mostly batik dealers.¹⁵³

Unlike the Malay press in Padang, the Pewarta Deli did not have to face serious competition from many rival papers. Its only rival in Medan was the Chinese-owned newspaper, Pelita Andalas / Light of Andalas / which came into existence in 1911.¹⁵⁴ In 1913 the Pelita Andalas was succeeded by Andalas, soeara publiek, produced by Sumatrasche Handel-sdrukkerij, Medan. Appearing three times a week, the Andalas soeara publiek was edited by T.B. Choo, who was chief editor and assisted by Phoa Ban Leng.¹⁵⁵ The subscription rate was fl.10 for readers outside the Netherlands Indies. The charge for advertisement was five cents per word or twenty cents per line. It had eight pages, with five pages of

151. See Muhammad Said, "Sedjarah ..." in Merdeka, 20 May, 1972.

152. By 1911 Dja Endar Moeda apparently had quarrelled with the other shareholders of the company. In his Pertja Barat he lashed out at the management and was very critical of the Pewarta Deli. See Pertja Barat, No. 143, 5 December, 1911. After his breakaway from the company, his son, Kamaruddin also left the Pewarta Deli.

153. Muhammad Said, "Sedjarah ..." in Merdeka, 20 May, 1972.

154. Nothing much is known about the paper Pelita Andalas, except that it was published by the drukkerij Andalas and on its editorial board were Th.H. Phoa and Hie Fock Tjong. According to Adi Negoro it first appeared in 1908. This date is however incorrect.

155. See Andalas soeara publiek, No. 39, 8 May, 1913 Tahoen 1. The paper appeared on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday of the week. The Director-Administrator was Lim Kie Poen who could possibly be the principal shareholder.

advertisements. Like most of the Chinese-owned newspapers, the Pelita Andalas placed more importance on advertisements than on news in its pages. When the Andalas replaced it in 1913, its Chinese identity was emphasized further by having the masthead in Chinese characters as well. The Andalas therefore saw no need of portraying a multi-racial image and confidently felt that Chinese advertisers and readers alone were enough to promote its circulation. All those who sat on its editorial board were Chinese.

Unlike the Padang newspapers, both the Pewarta Deli and the Andalas were also less inclined to dabble in propaganda-making with regard to projecting the questions of native welfare, education and the general well-being of the population. These two advertisement-oriented newspapers also stayed clear of ethnic politics as far as possible. Nonetheless they remained the only two circulating vernacular newspapers to serve both East and North Sumatra since Kuta Raja, Aceh had not seen another newspaper since the demise of the Bintang Atjeh in 1912.

Indeed, since the beginning of the twentieth century, Aceh had proved to be a less fertile ground for the vernacular press to grow and develop. As had been shown earlier in the discussion on Dja Endar Moeda's press, all attempts in producing the Pemberita Atjeh /1906/, Sinar Atjeh /1907/ and the Bintang Atjeh /1911/ failed after making a short appearance in Kuta Raja. With the exception of Pemberita Atjeh, none of them lived for more than a year. By 1913, therefore, Aceh had no newspaper of its own and its limited circle of readers had to depend on news provided by the Pewarta Deli and Andalas from Medan.

In the other towns, namely Sibolga and Palembang, the newspaper industry was not very advanced either. Sibolga first saw its own provincial newspaper only in 1907 when the Bintang Pesisir /Star of the Coast/ was published and printed by the firm Tiong Hoa Ho Kiok Co. Ltd.

The editor of this twice-weekly paper¹⁵⁶ was Lim Boen San. But the Bintang did not have a long life either. In January 1911 it was replaced by Salendang Sibolga /Shawl of Sibolga/ which also had Lim Boen San as editor.¹⁵⁷ It is interesting to note that even though these papers were provincial papers, and were meant for the people of Sibolga in Tapanuli residency, they were nevertheless produced, printed and edited by Chinese.¹⁵⁸

Palembang, the residency in Sumatra's East Coast, had a population of over seven hundred and fifty thousand in 1913. Of this figure the Chinese constituted about seven thousand and the Europeans about a thousand. The Arabs and Indians /Klingalese/ made up just under four thousand.¹⁵⁹ The capital city of the residency saw its first newspaper in 1912 when the fortnightly paper, Warta Palembang,¹⁶⁰ was produced by the society, Tjahaja Boedi, as its organ. It was edited by a certain Raden Nongtjik. Like the rest of the provincial papers, its market was limited and since it was only an organ of a society its circulation was not likely to go beyond the residency. Palembang had had its share of organizational activities. In 1908, the teachers and officials founded

- 156. It appeared on every Monday and Thursday. The subscription rate was f.4,10 per six months. See Pemberita Betawi, No. 202, 5 September, 1908. Its existence was also mentioned by E.F.E. Douwes Dekker in his article, "The Press" in Twentieth Century Impressions of Netherlands India, London, 1909, p. 264.
- 157. Pertja Barat, No. 19, 14 February 1911. Nothing much is known about the Salendang Sibolga, except that while being editor, Lim Boen San was also administrator which indicated that he was the principal runner of the paper and that it had limited circulation since only one person managed its running. Adi Negoro believed that the Salendang Sibolga was originally using the name Tapanuli. But there is no evidence to support this view.
- 158. They were of course peranakan who had had native schooling, e.g. Lim Soen Hin who was educated in Padang Sidempuan.
- 159. These figures were based on the breakdown of population in Palembang, given by the Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië, 1919.
- 160. Or Pewarta Palembang /Palembang Reporter/. See Oetoesan Melajoe, No. 1, 3 January, 1914. The Warta Palembang appeared on 11 March 1912. Indische Gids, Vol. 33, Part I, 1911, p. 527. See also Taman Sari, No. 72, 28 March 1912.

the society, Kaoem Setia,¹⁶¹ followed by the founding of the Tjahaja Boedi. But like many other native associations, they tended to be provincial and functioned more as social clubs than anything else. Nevertheless, it was the trend of such clubs or societies to encourage members to set up libraries and promote reading of newspapers and magazines. The existence of Warta Palembang up to as late as 1914 proved that the society, Tjahaja Boedi, was quite active.

By 1913 only the towns mentioned above had been exposed to press activities in Sumatra. The growth of the Boedi Oetomo and the Sarekat Islam in Java had in certain respects influenced the local people in various parts of Sumatra to form associations. As was always the case, it was the journalists and the vernacular press who took up the initiative to urge the indigenous educated group to form such organizations but their impact in so far as to generate a big-scale socio-cultural movement was very little indeed. Although commercial and socio-cultural associations did emerge in Padang, Medan, Benkulen and Palembang, they never took off as fast as the Sarekat Islam or the Boedi Oetomo in Java did. The principal role of the native press in urging the Indonesians to change and to seek for progress by way of giving Western secular education to their children seemed to have had a positive result in implanting such awareness among many indigenous parents. By 1913 too the growing awareness of the native population had promoted the sale of newspapers among the literate sector of native society. The Chinese by this period had also begun to strengthen their hold over the vernacular press which they utilised fully to express their dissatisfaction over certain policies of the government wherever Chinese interests were affected. Apart from that the press became a medium for them to advertise their goods and their trade.

161. Sinar Atjeh, No. 43, 15 June 1909.

The Vernacular Press in the Minahassa, Celebes, Ambon and Borneo

Outside Sumatra, the history of the vernacular press in the Outer Possessions underwent a slow growth. As in Java and Sumatra, the places that saw the emergence of the vernacular press were those which had been exposed to Western-type education, especially in the towns where schools and teachers' training schools had been set up by either the missionaries or the government. Up to the period when the first World War broke out, the vernacular press in the possessions outside Java and Sumatra managed to emerge only in the islands of Celebes, Ambon and Borneo, particularly in the towns of Menado, Totok, Gorontalo, Tondano, Makassar, Ambon and Banjarmasin. The nature of its growth and the orientation of its contents in these places were also different when compared to the press in Sumatra or Java. Not only did the press in these territories fail to draw involvement of native businessmen and journalists in the press industry, it also failed to create an interest for journalism among the native literati. On the other hand, the vernacular press in these areas was pioneered by Europeans, missionaries, Christian natives and Chinese whose interest in the press was either missionary-motivated or as a furtherance of their commercial venture. When compared to the vernacular press in Java and Sumatra, the press in Celebes, Ambon and Borneo showed a glaring deficiency of variety in the news coverage as well as in the quality of articles published. Unlike the press in Java and Sumatra, the press in these islands was less involved in whipping up indigenous social awareness or in indulging in polemics about modernization and social progress, as were often the themes of the vernacular press in Java and Sumatra.

The reasons for the lack of quality of news and absence of reformist characteristics in the vernacular press of the possessions outside Java and Sumatra could be attributed to the widespread illiteracy among native inhabitants in those places. Although Western education

via the missionaries had made an early start in the Minahassa and Amboinese islands as early as the first half of the nineteenth century, the content and form of education did not ensure its widespread acceptance by the native population. Its heavily Christian-bias and strong anti-Islam content had given rise to suspicion of the mission schools by Muslims; while even among the Christian natives, education was merely to enable them to read the Bible and sing the hymns. On top of this, not many of the indigenous people in East Indonesia were familiar with the Malay language. Schools were set up by the missionaries with the view of spreading Christianity. Even the type of education given was low in standard because the aim was not to raise the standard of education but rather to ensure that education would adapt itself to the structure of a tribal society which was "just about to enter upon a further stage of development".¹⁶² Furthermore, the majority of these schools were situated in the capitals of the Residencies or Districts; outside these places the population at large remained illiterate and alien to the Western school education.

It was in the Minahassa and the Amboinese islands that Western education, albeit missionary in content and form, had an impact on native society. It was thus not surprising that the first ever vernacular paper to be circulated outside Java and Sumatra was printed at Tondano¹⁶³ in the Minahassa. The paper, Tjehaja Siang had its specimen numbers circulated in late 1868 and made its regular appearance as from January 1869. The Tjehaja Siang, a fortnightly paper, was a missionary organ. The paper was published not only for the purpose of disseminating Christian teachings, but also as reading material for the Christian natives

162. H. Kroeskamp, Early Schoolmasters in a Developing Country, Van Gorcum, Assen, 1974, p. 140.

163. Later towards the end of the nineteenth century its printing was done at Tanawangko a small town situated northwest of Tondano.

in the teachers' training school at Tondano¹⁶⁴ and the pupils in the mission schools at Amurang and Tanawangko. The paper's contents were mainly religious in nature and one would expect that its readers were the preachers and Christian natives.

By 1902 when the Tjehaja Siang was in its thirty third year, its place of publication and printing was shifted from Tanawangko to Menado. It was then published by C. van der Roest Jr. and edited by J. Ten Hove who succeeded E.W.G. Graffland.¹⁶⁵ Its printing was done at the mission press. Two years after the Tjehaja Siang had set foot in Menado, the Pewarta Menado / Menado Reporter / made its appearance. Published by the Que Bros. Menado Press as a weekly from 31 August 1904,¹⁶⁶ the paper was edited by J.A. Worotikan.¹⁶⁷ But the presence of two newspapers in Menado both competing for the same circle of readership was a problem especially for the less stable paper. Since the Tjehaja Siang had had a longer history and thus a more solid foundation, the Pewarta Menado found it extremely difficult to compete especially when its financial support was lacking. The Tjehaja Siang was subsidized by the church and it was sold at a relatively low subscription rate of fl.4,- per annum inspite of the fact that it had twice the number of pages the Pewarta Menado had. Although the Tjehaja Siang was a missionary paper it nevertheless had support from the advertizers in Menado. The Pewarta Menado did not have much news even though it called itself "soerat tjerita and soerat chabar" / periodical and newspaper /. Its editor, J.A.M. de

164. Ibid., p. 229.

165. Regeerings Almanak, 1902-1903, Part I. pp. 207-209.

166. Bintang Hindia, No. 23, 1904. E.W.G. Graafland came from the Netherlands as a second class assistant predikant / clergyman / in April 1888.

167. J.A. Worotikan was a native teacher at the Native Officials' children's school in Menado since 1879. See Almanak Bahasa Melajoe 1892, edited by Tan Tjiook San, Djokjakarta, 1892.

Winter, appeared incompetent. Only religious articles were published. Appearing weekly at the subscription rate of fl.6,- per annum, the Pewarta Menado had very little to offer to its readers.¹⁶⁸ Only one out of its four pages was allocated for advertisements thus showing its lack of financial support. Failing to win such support and because of its dwindling readership, the Pewarta Menado was forced to cease publication by 1909.

The disappearance of the Pewarta Menado was soon replaced by another Malay-language newspaper which appeared in Gorontalo in the residency of Menado. The paper, Tjahaja Gorontalo [Light of Gorontalo], was published in October 1909 by the Gorontalo Drukkerij. The paper was edited by Jo Im Ann and appeared weekly. Nothing much is known about this paper but according to the Regeerings Alamanak it did exist right up to 1913 and perhaps ceased publication much later than that. Menado had another newspaper after that when on January 10, 1912, the first number of the Matahari Terbit [Rising Sun] began to be circulated at Totok.¹⁶⁹ It was edited by A.T. Najoan, and was joined later in around March by J.A. Worotikan who after the collapse of the Pewarta Menado was left unemployed.

Apart from the Minahassa, Amboina also had a newspaper circulating at the beginning of this century. The paper, Penghentar [Messenger] was founded in 1894 at Amboina. It was published first by L.M.H. Thorig and printed at the Amboina Press. But in 1898 the ownership of the printing press fell into the hands of a Chinese, Ong Kie Hong, who published and edited the paper until it was taken over by the assistant clergymen in

168. Pewarta Menado, NO. 3, 17 January, 1907, Tahoen ke 3.

169. Koloniaal Tijdschrift, 1911-1912, 1e jaargang, p. 227.

Ambon in 1900. The Penghentar, however, managed to live only up to 15 October, 1902, its last edition being issue number 193.¹⁷⁰ After the cessation of the Penghentar, Ambon did not see the emergence of another vernacular newspaper until sometime in the thirties.

It was in Makassar that the vernacular press showed some signs of resilience. As the capital of the Government of Celebes, Makassar was an important business and shipping centre in Eastern Indonesia. Its port was frequently visited by trading vessels carrying import as well as export merchandise. Its population was around 26,000 in 1905, with about a thousand Europeans, 4,600 Chinese and around 200 other foreign orientals and the remainder making up the native population.¹⁷¹ The city had a teachers' training school which was set up in 1876.¹⁷² Up to 1882 the school trained teachers as well as native administrators. From then onwards only teachers were trained. The fact that Makassar was an important trading and commercial centre gave good prospects for a potential publisher to start a vernacular newspaper. Although an attempt had already been made in the nineteenth century to found a vernacular press in Makassar, it had proved unsuccessful because it existed only for a year.¹⁷³ But with the dawn of the twentieth century when the Ethical Policy was the cornerstone of the Netherlands government's policy in the Indies and education was the big issue of the period, some businessmen in Makassar envisaged a good future for the vernacular press. The press industry was after all not alien to the inhabitants of Makassar. Prior to 1900, Makassar had had six various Dutch-language newspapers

170. The date 1904 given by Raymond Nunn in Indonesian Newspapers on International Union List, Taiwan, 1971, is incorrect. A copy of the last issue which is kept in the Museum Pusat, Jakarta was dated 1902.

171. Encycopaedia van Nederlandsch Indie, Vol. II, Leiden 1918, p. 645.

172. H. Kroeskamp, op.cit., p. 366.

173. The paper, Matahari Makassar, was published by W. Eekhout in 1882.

published and printed in the city.¹⁷⁴

Unlike the Minahassa, the inhabitants of Makassar were largely made up of Muslims. A missionary paper with a strong Christian-inclination would not have fetched substantial support from Muslim readers. The Chinese community in Makassar who were by and largely involved in trade and commerce would also welcome a newspaper that could cater for their interest, not only for business purposes but also for amplifying their voice in their demand for better treatment from the government. That the Chinese in Java had organized themselves under the banner of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan founded at Batavia in 1900 was not left unnoticed by the Chinese in the Outer Islands.

It was in 1903 that the second Malay-language newspaper was produced in Makassar. The Pemberita Makassar /Makassar Reporter/⁷, as it was called, was published and printed by the N.V. handelsdrukkerij en Kantoorhandel Celebes, Makassar. It appeared twice weekly, on every Tuesday and Friday.¹⁷⁵ It was essentially an advertisement newspaper; out of its four pages, two were allocated for advertisements.¹⁷⁶ It was in 1904 only that the name of the editor was given. B.W. Lasut was probably one of the pioneer native editors in Makassar. About a year after the Pemberita Makassar came into existence, the Sinar Matahari /Ray of the Sun/⁷ began to appear in Makassar. Published by Brouwer & Co., the Sinar Matahari came out on every Monday and Thursday.¹⁷⁷ Not much is

174. The papers were: Makassarsch Weekblad (1861), Makassarsch Handels-Advertentieblad (1861), Makassarsch Handelsblad (1868), Dagblad van Celebes (1868) and the Celebes Courant (1880?).

175. Later, in 1907 it appeared on every Monday, Wednesday and Friday.

176. Among the things advertised were: stationery goods, life insurance, medicinal pills, time-table for the departure of ships, services of a European dentist, etc. Pemberita Makassar, No. 80, 12 July, 1904.

177. Taman Sari, No. 142, 24 June 1904. The subscription rate was fl.6,- per annum.

known about this paper except that it became a rival to the Pemberita Makassar. In 1907 the correspondents from both newspapers wrote derogatory articles against each other's newspaper.

The readership of both papers, or at least of the Pemberita Makassar, were substantially peranakan Chinese. According to a correspondent of that paper the Chinese constituted seventy five percent of the subscribers of the Pemberita Makassar.¹⁷⁸ The Russo-Japanese War had apparently drawn much interest from among the Chinese readers. Judging from the readers' letters, the Japanese example was taken as an inspiration for the Chinese to unite themselves and strive for progress.¹⁷⁹ Indeed, the victory of the Japanese over a European race had been much deliberated in the Chinese press of Java and Sumatra as well, thus bringing into surface latent Chinese resentment over the way the Chinese people throughout the Indies had been treated by the Dutch government.

Chinese nationalism in the Indies had found expression in 1900 with the formation of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan at Batavia.¹⁷⁹ Apart from striving for Chinese unity, the organization emphasized the importance for Chinese to promote their customs and tradition and their language, in keeping with the teachings of Confucius.¹⁸⁰ This revival of Confucianism was not only found in the Indies but rather had started towards the end of the nineteenth century in the British Straits Settlements and Singapore.¹⁸¹ The period at the turn of the century saw close connections

178. Pemberita Makassar, No. 64, 17 May, 1904. 18. See Ibid.

179. On the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan see Chapter Four.

180. See Kwee Tek Hoay, The Origins of the Modern Chinese Movement in Indonesia. Ithaca, 1969, pp. 4-16.

181. Ibid., The "father" of Chinese "awakening" in the Indies and Straits Settlements was Dr. Lim Boen Keng. See Yen Ching Hwang, The Overseas Chinese and the 1911 Revolution, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1976. See also, Khor Eng Hee, "The Public Life of Dr. Lim Boen Keng", B.A. Academic Exercise, University of Malaya, Singapore, 1958.

between the Chinese in the British colonies and the Indies. Although these connections were mainly cultural and educational, there was nonetheless a rapport among Chinese immigrants and local born in Southeast Asia to project their cultural identity as Chinese in order to further their demands for better opportunities of livelihood in their countries of adoption. There was an active campaign among peranakan on the need to learn and practise the teachings of Confucius in their pursuit for progress. Confucian classics such as the Ta-hsueh and Chung-yung were translated into Low Malay.

Although the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan spread its wings only in Java and to as far as Sumatra, nevertheless its message that the Chinese should unite and form associations was taken; in Makassar, the society, Tiong Hoa Hok Tong, existed in 1903. The Chinese in Borneo too were aware of the "Chinese awakening" in the Indies. Like their brothers in Batavia and Sumatra, the Chinese entered the press business with the view towards creating organs for their community as well as trying to advertise their trade or commercial goods in the newspapers. Although in the first few years of the existence of the Pemberita Makassar the Chinese were merely readers of the paper, nevertheless they soon became much more involved in the vernacular press when they became correspondents and even editors of the paper. Gradually, by the 1930s the Pemberita Makassar came to be Chinese-oriented.

In Borneo however, where the Chinese population formed quite a significant number,¹⁸² the first Malay-language newspaper was started by

182. Particularly in West Borneo, where the Chinese population made up 8.5 percent (48,000) of the total population in 1905. See G. William Skinner, "The Chinese Minority" in R. McVey, (ed.), Indonesia, New Haven, 1963, p. 100.

Ong Keng An who owned a printing press and a bookshop at Banjarmasin. The paper, Sinar Borneo / Light of Borneo / was produced in early 1907 and was edited by Ong Keng Lie and Lie Kooij Gwan. The type of language used was also Low Malay.¹⁸³ The Sinar Borneo must have had some success so as to have induced Rob Henneman and Company to publish another newspaper, the Pewarta Borneo / Borneo Reporter / in 1908 also at Banjarmasin. Edited by M. Nys, the paper appeared twice weekly (Monday and Thursdays) in the hope of competing against the weekly-produced Sinar Borneo. The specimen issue of the Pewarta Borneo appeared in May 1908 and the paper began to appear regularly as from July 1908.¹⁸⁴ As was expected, the existence of the Pewarta Borneo soon provoked hostility from the Sinar Borneo, just two months after the Pewarta Borneo's appearance. Both newspapers began to indulge in incessant mud-slinging against each other.¹⁸⁵ Nevertheless, in the competition for readership, it would appear that the Sinar Borneo could have had more influence. The fact that the Pewarta Borneo's correspondents were Christians and possibly Europeans or Eurasians, might have given the Sinar Borneo the edge over its rival.¹⁸⁶ It should be mentioned here that after the emergence of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan the hostility towards Christian missionary activities among the Chinese began to surface.¹⁸⁷ The fact that the THHK was calling for a revival of Chinese customs and belief in Confucian teachings, while the missionaries were trying to dissuade Chinese from such "heresy" strengthened the suspicion towards missionaries.

183. Djawi Kando, No. 50, 30 April 1907. The subscription rate was f.6,- per year. It appeared on every Wednesday.

184. Perniagaan, No. 146, 30 June 1908. The specimen number appeared on 21 May 1908. Pemberita Betawi, No. 224, 20 October 1908.

185. Pemberita Betawi, No. 224, 20 October 1908.

186. The correspondents were missionaries or "goeroe indjil".

187. See Bintang Hindia, No. 123, 4 June 1902, p. 1.

However, both the Sinar Borneo and the Pewarta Borneo seemed to have survived each other's war of words and smearing campaign against one another, for by 1913 both papers were still in circulation. But the Sinar Borneo remained wholly Chinese in character, with Chinese serving as editors and correspondents.¹⁸⁸ By 1911 the paper was published twice weekly, thus indicating that it was making good business. The relatively stronger position of the Sinar Borneo in its finance could also be judged from the fact that while the Pewarta Borneo had only four pages (two of which were allocated for advertisements), the Sinar Borneo had a total of eight pages, out of which six were devoted to advertisements. In spite of its wholly Chinese character, however, the Sinar Borneo did in fact publish articles and reports which concerned the indigenous people, the Dayaks and the Malays. Like many other vernacular papers, the Sinar Borneo welcomed the setting up of more schools for natives and Chinese. The initiative of missionaries such as those from the Barmen Missionary Society to set up schools for Dayaks was praised.¹⁸⁹ The paper also commended the establishment of missionary teachers' training college in Borneo. It should be mentioned that between the Pewarta Borneo and the Sinar Borneo, the Sinar Borneo had a larger circulation and more extensive readership. Not only was the paper circulated in the various parts of Borneo (namely Amuntai, Tanjung, Nagara and Samarinda) but it also reached its readers in places as far as Java, Sumatra and Singapore. In all these places it had its distributing agents.¹⁹⁰ Although it was less concerned about the indigenous "awakening" after the rise of Boedi Oetomo, it never-

188. Its editor in 1911 was Lim Kie Sioe. Koloniaal Tijdschrift 1911-1912, p. 103.

189. Ibid., p. 105.

190. The agent in Singapore was Haji Mohd. Sirat.

theless followed the activities of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan in Batavia and reported such activities in its pages.¹⁹¹

By the end of 1913, the vernacular press activities in East Indonesia centred only in Makassar, Banjarmasin and Menado. Only in these places could the press survive for various reasons discussed above; its growth however was slow and gradual. The major problem faced by all newspaper publishers was the question of lack of subscribers. The absence of interesting articles of literary quality reflected the impoverished state of intellectual activities. Another reason could be due to the fact that the Malay language was not the mother tongue of many of the native societies of East Indonesia. Very rarely could one come across discussions or polemic among readers or correspondents regarding various issues of the day. With the exception of the Sinar Borneo one could not expect the readership of the papers to extend beyond a thousand readers for one newspaper. The history of the vernacular press in this part of Indonesia went hand in hand with the history of the Protestant missionary movement in East Indonesia since the middle of the nineteenth century. Therefore it is not surprising that the contents of the early vernacular press in this region were missionary in orientation. It is also significant to note that up to 1913 there was not a single newspaper that was published and managed solely by the indigenous people. The belated rise of native journalists in this part of the Outer Islands had perhaps accounted for the slow and late emergence of Indonesian national consciousness in this region.

On the other hand, in Java, where the vernacular press had ex-

191. Sinar Borneo, No. 35, 11 December, 1907.

perienced a much earlier start, the emergence of indigenous socio-economic consciousness had given impetus to the birth of an Indonesian political consciousness. In fact this politico-economic awareness in Java later spread to the Outer Islands following the formation of the Sarekat Islam and the Indische Partij in 1912. The following chapter will examine in detail the rise of Indonesian political consciousness and the role of the vernacular press in nurturing it.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GENESIS OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN INDONESIA

This chapter examines the events that followed the emergence of the Sarekat Islam at Surakarta from 1912 to the end of 1913. The discussion will focus on the rise of Indonesian political awareness that manifested itself in the birth of quasi-political associations, such as the Sarekat Islam and the Indische Partij which professed to strive towards the betterment of the general welfare of Indonesians. The chapter will then conclude by looking at the ideological development of Indonesian society as reflected by the press prior to 1914. It is the contention of this chapter that by 1913 there was a dialectical relationship between the emergence of a modern Indonesian political consciousness and the growth of the vernacular press, each reinforcing the other and making it more militant.

As discussed earlier, the period between 1911 and 1913 saw the beginning of a widespread awakening within the Indonesian literati. It also witnessed the emergence of a variety of native associations both in Java and those parts of Sumatra where literacy had had some impact. As pointed out several times earlier in this thesis, this development was very much intertwined with the growth of indigenous-run newspapers and periodicals, whose contents were generally educational and propagandistic in nature. By 1911, the native publishers and editors of newspapers were already fully aware of the need to make "national unity" (that is, indigenous unity) the important message in their writings in newspapers and periodicals. The once powerful hold that the Eurasian or European-edited Malay newspapers had on the Indonesians was by this time on the decline, and not surprisingly this sounded the death toll of many a newspaper. Even the venerable and once mighty and longest surviving

Selompret Melajoe was not spared this sudden upsurge of Indonesian political consciousness, ceasing in October 1911 after a span of 51 years.¹

The years 1911 and 1912 saw events resulting from the creation of the nucleus of an indigenous middle class.² There was the phenomenal rise of an awareness among Indonesian Muslims to become involved in the pursuit of economic progress through the establishment of commercial associations and trading companies. More importantly, a milestone in the political history of modern Indonesia was passed with the beginning of organizational politics. Finally, these years also marked the beginning of a politically-oriented press, which became the mouthpiece of Indonesian organizations and Indonesian nationalism.

While Indonesian consciousness of the need to promote education and trade ushered in new intellectual themes in this period, these were reinforced and given a particular religious aspect by the simultaneous upsurge of Islamic consciousness among Muslims in Java and parts of the Outer Islands. Its resurgence was inspired by both Islamic modernist and Pan-Islamic ideas brought by pious Indonesian Muslim intellectuals returning from the Middle East. Such consciousness ultimately led to the founding of Islamic unions or clubs with a strong emphasis on Muslim unity, mutual help and the promotion of Islamic teachings and practices. Batavia saw the emergence of the Djaja Oepaja /Successful Endeavour/ in 1911 and the Al Hellal Al Ahmar /Red Crescent Society/

1. The Selompret Melajoe's demise marked the end of the oldest surviving vernacular newspaper of the 19th century. Although its nearest rival, the Bintang Soerabaia (the former Bintang Timor), continued, it had become a Chinese-owned paper and was in fact an organ of the peranakan Chinese movement.
2. Such a nucleus, it seems, was already in the making in the special region of Yogyakarta at the turn of the century. See Mitsuo Nakamura, The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree: A Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Central Javanese Town, Gadjah Mada University Press, 1983, pp. 36-38.

in 1912, both with a mission to promote Islamic religious education and development. Imbued with a Pan-Islamic vision, the two organizations even launched a campaign in 1912 to collect donations for the Turkish war victims on hearing of the outcome of war between the Ottoman Empire and Italy.³ Other Islamic-oriented organizations that flourished around this period in Batavia were the Djamiatoel Chair / Association for the Good /,⁴ Itmatoel Hairiah / Perfection of Welfare /, Derma Ichlas / Devoted Charity / and Sumatra-Batavia Al Chairiah / Sumatra-Batavia Charitable Association /.⁵ In Makassar, the Badji Minahassa / Minahassa Welfare /,⁶ and Majitil Islam / Islamic Funeral Welfare Association /, all formed by haji, aspired for the upliftment of native welfare and the promotion of mutual help and cooperation among Muslims. In Sumatra a

3. Italy declared war on the Ottoman Empire on 29 September 1911 by invading Turkey's African dependency of Tripoli. The invasion which inflicted heavy losses on Turkey was followed by another war in 1912 when the allied Christian Balkan states attacked Turkey in the Balkan War. The effect of these wars upon Muslims throughout the world was tremendous. The Pan-Islamic implication was clear, especially as Turkey was seen by many Muslims as the successor of the Caliphate. On Turkey and Pan-Islam, see W. Milner, The Ottoman Empire and its Successors, 1801-1917, Cambridge, 1923; Deliar Noer, The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1973.
4. The association, also known as Djamiyat Chair, was set up in 1905 but its membership was made up mainly of Arabs. In the early 1910's however, it began to draw support from Indonesian Muslims and became active in the propagation of Muslim solidarity and the promotion of Muslim education and welfare. On the history of the association see Deliar Noer, The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesian 1900-1942, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1973, pp. 58-64. See also "Kebangkitan Dunia Baru Islam di Indonesia" an additional chapter in L. Stoddard (Indonesian edition), Dunia Baru Islam, Jakarta, 1966. The writer of this chapter, Abubakar Atjeh, claimed that the Djamiyat Chair was founded around 1900 and first applied for legal recognition in 1903 but was only granted the corporate body status in 1905.
5. The Vereeniging Sumatra-Batavia Al Chairiah founded in 1909, was re-activated in 1912 with the aim of promoting Islamic education among Muslims and looking after the general welfare of Muslims. See Pantjoran Warta, No. 231, 12 October, 1912.
6. The Badji Minahassa restricted its membership to Muslims only. Its activities were mainly educational. See Sinar Djawa No. 92, 23 April, 1914.

group of young ulama who had returned from the Middle East was advocating religious reforms among the adat-bound Minangkabau of West Sumatra. Through their periodical, Al-Moenir, they launched a campaign to oppose un-Islamic practices in the customary adat and urged the Muslims to purify Islam by returning to the Koran and the Prophet's hadith as their legitimate source of the religion. In Surabaya a group of haji formed the Setia Oesaha [Faithful Endeavour] and the Podo Roso [Mutual Experience], two commercially-inclined associations. Indeed, the early 1910s witnessed a hive of activities among Muslims, busily engaged in founding organizations.

While commerce and trade remained the prime motives of the Islamic-oriented associations which cropped up following the setting up of the Sarekat Dagang Islam in 1911, Islam as a religion remained a basic factor in galvanizing indigenous solidarity vis a vis other groups perceived as aliens or outsiders to the circle of the Islamic ummah.⁷ Islam provided the Indonesian Muslims an identity and a rallying point when cornered by outside forces both economically and socially. In this connexion, although the Sarekat Islam started as a commercial organization it soon developed a religious aura that developed into a kind of Muslim nationalism, speaking for the Indonesian masses in the name of Islam. Its ability to attract the common men, especially the peasants, the religious santri and the urban workers underlined its Islamic characteristic - that it was open and not discriminatory (in so far as class and racial origins were concerned) in the recruitment of members. It appealed most to the non-priyayi who, hitherto, had been shut out from the more

7. The Koranic word for people or community.

exclusively priyayi-dominated Boedi Oetomo. Its meteoric rise between 1911 and 1912 was so unprecedented in the history of native movement in the Dutch East Indies that it easily became suspect when troubles between Chinese and Arabs and between the former and Indonesians erupted in the form of racial clashes.⁸

Indeed, by the end of 1912 the Sarekat Islam had proven to be the first Indonesian organization, with a membership strength of no less than 100,000.⁹ By this time too the organization had already spread its wings throughout Java. Local S.I. branches emerged in places like Semarang, Kudus, Malang, Sepanjang, Madiun, Ngawi, Ponogoro, Bangil, Sidhoarjo, Surabaya, Yogyakarta and Solo.¹⁰ The rapid rise of the S.I. movement could be attributed to several main factors. Apart from its opposition to the economic structure of the colonial system, the Sarekat Islam was also an organizational device in voicing resentment to the order of the colonial administration and its trappings: Dutch superiority, priyayi arrogance and the social barriers imposed on the native society. In a racially-based colonial order, the native population found itself pressed to the wall by the domination of foreign capital and the lack of opportunities for the natives to accumulate capital. Religious renewal intensified and directed these resentments against the colonial government.

Native resentment towards the Dutch also increased with the

8. Sino-Arab clashes broke out in Tuban in May 1912, Parakan near Wonombo in June, Bangil and Surabaya in October and Sukorejo in November 1912. See Pantjoran Warta, No. 107, 13 May 1912, No. 247, 31 October 1912, No. 258, 13 November 1912 and No. 260, 15 November 1912. See also Tjahaja Timoer, No. 91, 11 November 1912.
9. The membership fee was only thirty cents per annum.
10. T. Th. Petrus Blumberger, De Nationalistische Beweging in Nederlandsch-Indië, H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, Haarlem, p. 58. The principal aims of the Sarekat Islam remained the same: a) to promote native trade; b) to maintain mutual assistance; c) to promote native welfare and d) to adhere to Islamic teachings and practices.

the growth of Christian missionary bodies in the Indies. Towards the end of 1911 the vernacular press had given much prominence to the debates in the Dutch Parliament regarding the question of missionary activities, for some government members of the Tweede Kamer had openly suggested the intensification of efforts to Christianize the Javanese, while opposition members criticised what they saw as the Christianizing polices of Governor-General Idenburg's administration. They had it seems also proposed that the Muslims be discouraged from making the pilgrimage to Mecca.¹¹ Rumours were also rife that the Resident of Solo was openly calling on the local Muslims to change their faith to Christianity.¹² Towards the end of 1912 many Muslims in Java were incensed over the circular of 27 November by Mr. C.C. van Helsdingen, an officer of the judiciary and temporary teacher at the Willem III Gymnasium, a prestigious secondary school, sent to all the Regents in Java which questioned them as to why there should not be non-Muslim Regents or Bupati. The circular, which was published in the Soerabaiaasch Handelsblad of 2 December 1912, also questioned the prerogative of Regents as heads of the Islamic religion, as laid out by clause 17 of Article 124 in the Regeerings Reglement / Government Regulation¹³. To add insult to injury, shortly after the issuance of the circular a resolution was passed by a group of forty Dutch Protestant clergymen in a congress at Bogor to intensify the propagation of Christianity in Java.¹⁴ When news came of a proposal by the Nether-

11. See Pantjaran Warta, No. 268, 28 November 1911, quoting the Tjahaja Timoer. See also Pantjaran Warta, No. 293, 29 December 1911.

12. Pantjaran Warta, No. 255, 9 November 1912, quoting the Oetoesan Melajoe.

13. The circular was however withdrawn when Helsdingen finally discovered that it contradicted the government's official policy of non-interference in matters of religion. However, the Tjahaja Timoer questioned how such a circular could have appeared. It asked, "Did the government know about it? If it did and pretended to close one eye, then it had better do it in the open. The Javanese have already understood its motive!" Tjahaja Timoer, No. 100, 12 December 1912.

14. Tjahaja Timoer, No. 98, 5 December 1912. See also Tjahaja Timoer, No. 100, 12 December 1912. See also S.L. van der Wal, De Opkomst van de Nationalistische Beweging in Nederlands-Indië, J.B. Wolters, Groningen, p. 188.

lands Missionary Society to build a mission hospital costing about fl. 80,000,-, of which fl. 60,000,- was to come from the government and the remainder to be provided by the society, the editor of the Tjahaja Timoer, sarcastically remarked "That's fine, so long as it does not come from the pockets of the Javanese!"¹⁵ A similar suspicion of Dutch motive was also voiced by the editor of the Tjahaja Timoer on the setting up of the girls' school for Sundanese at Sukabumi, which he saw as largely motivated "by the Christianization spirit".¹⁶

This resentment did not go unremarked by the colonial authorities. Rinkes, the Advisor for Native Affairs, noted the Christianization factor as one of the sources of popular resentment which had made the S.I. a mass movement.¹⁷ It had also contributed to the founding of another Muslim association, for it was fear of success of the kerstening politiek¹⁸ that drove Kijai Haji Ahmad Dahlan to found the missionary-oriented Muhammadiyah on 18 November 1912.¹⁹ A member of the Sarekat Islam chapter at Yogyakarta, Kijai Haji Ahmad Dahlan was subsequently elected to the central committee when the S.I. was revamped following

15. Tjahaja Timoer, No. 99, 9 December 1912.
16. Tjahaja Timoer, No. 103, 23 December 1912.
17. Rinkes mentioned about the resentment towards the missionary action in Surakarta over the establishment of a missionary (Calvanist protestant) hospital in that city. See Geheime Missive van den Adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken aan den Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlandsche Indië, Gedagteekend Weltevreden, 24 Augustus 1912 No. 191, Beschieden Betreffende de vereeniging "Sarekat Islam", Batavia Landsdrukkerij, 1913, p. 1.
18. For a discussion on native suspicions and fear of the "Christianization activities" of the missionaries, see Het beleid van den Gouverneur-Generaal Idenburg aan de feiten getoetst, (reprinted from "De Nederlander", D.A. Daamen, The Hague, 1913, passim).
19. On the Muhammadiyah, see Howard M. Federspiel, "The Muhammadiyah: A Study of an Orthodox Islamic Movement in Indonesia", Indonesia, No. 10, October 1970, Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Ithaca. See also A. Jainuri, Muhammadiyah Gerakan Reformasi Islam di Jawa Pada Awal Abad Kedua Puluh, PT. Bina Ilmu, Surabaya, 1981.

the shifting of its base at Surabaya.²⁰ His main aim in establishing the Muhammadiyah was "to promote temporal or secular education based on a religious / Islamic / foundation and to strengthen the unity and force of Islam". Like many other Islamic-oriented organizations of the day, the Muhammadiyah saw itself as the champion of Muslim education. More than any others, it acted to provide modern education on an Islamic basis, setting up schools and teachers' colleges for the benefit of Muslims in the Indies, especially in Java, who sought to provide their children with much learning while not endangering their faith.²¹

The centrality of education to the ferment of 1911-1912 reflected the fact that education for natives had been an on-going issue since the last decades of the nineteenth century. Evidently there was a demand for Western-language education for it was only through such education that positions in the civil service which most Indonesians aspired could be attained. Lack of opportunities due to a limited number of Western-type schools had always been raised by various quarters of the native population. When the Boedi Oetomo was set up, one of its main programmes was to look into the question of educational opportunities for Javanese children. This was also the concern of the native teachers who in early 1912 rallied to found the Perserikatan Goeroe-Goeroe Hindia Belanda

20. Haji Ahmad Dahlan was a member of the delegation to see the Governor-General regarding the S.I. on 29 March 1913. See Bintang Soerabaja, No. 75, 3 April 1913.
21. There was a feeling of concern among Muslims that owing to the limited opportunities in getting admission to the Dutch schools, native children were forced to seek places in missionary schools which the Islamic leaders in particular, and Muslim parents in general, considered as a threat to their children's Islamic faith. The prevalent opinion then was that the Christian missionaries were sparing no effort in propagating Christianity and gaining conversion among the native (Muslim) population. Such a situation was also pointed out by a member of the Second Chamber in the Dutch Parliament. See Pantjoran Warta, No. 267, 23 November, 1912.

/ Association of Teachers in the Indies /.²² Even the Indische Partij viewed the extension of Western secondary education to the Indonesians as vital for it felt only through intellectual development could "the fraternization of the Indies races and subgroups" be made possible.²³ Early in 1912 E.F.E. Douwes Dekker, the founder of the party, raised the question of lack of educational opportunities for native children. He attacked the pluralistic nature of the colonial education system which perpetuated the existence of separate schools for Europeans, Chinese and natives.²⁴

The Rise of the Indische Partij

The emergence of Douwes Dekker, a Eurasian, had played a seminal role in the indigenous movement since 1908, when he had inspired the students of the STOVIA to found the Boedi Oetomo.²⁵ His journalistic experience, first as a correspondent with the Locomotief and then with the Soerabajasche Handelsblad and Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad had exposed him broadly to the life and conditions of the Indies, and he was sensitive to the racial inequality on which colonial policy hinged. He realised that the Indonesians did not entirely trust the Eurasians, but he thought that the fact that the majority of the Eurasians lived in the lowest economic stratum of colonial society meant there was in fact not that

22. The association was founded by K.N. Soebroto, Mas Boediardjo and Mas Ngbehi Dwidjoesewojo, three active leaders of the Boedi Oetomo. In May 1912 the membership strength of the P.G.H.B. was 1,042 members. Its financial strength was at fl.1,776.40. See Pantjaran Warta, No. 159, 16 July 1912. It aimed at uplifting the standard and welfare of native schools as well as looking into the welfare of native teachers. See Taman Pengadjar, No. 8, 15 March 1912.
23. See Chr. L.M. Penders (ed. & trns.), Indonesia: Selected Documents on Colonialism and Nationalism 1830-1942, University of Queensland Press, Queensland, 1977, p. 229.
24. Dekker was sued for an article that he wrote in De Express on 26 May 1912 in which he called for the abolition of the Section B of the Gymnasium. See Pantjaran Warta, No. 146, 1 July 1912.
25. On his role in the formation of the Boedi Oetomo, see Akira Nagazumi op.cit.

much difference between the natives and those who were only partly Indonesian. It became Dekker's obsession to see native and Eurasian united in order to shape a common political destiny and to fight for equality before the law.

Dekker was also moved by the emergence of various native organizations at this time, for he realized that the Eurasians also needed to have an organization that could give expression to the needs of the community. They had already had the Indische Bond [Indies League], but this did not have an appeal which extended to all levels of the Eurasian community.²⁶

Dekker's first attempt to propagandize his ideas for a common indigenous-Eurasian cause and to communicate with the Indonesian intellectuals commenced with the publication of his newspaper De Expres, which began its circulation on 1 March 1912 at Bandung. Edited by Dekker himself, with the assistance of H.C. Kakebeeke,²⁷ this Dutch-language daily provided a forum for the discussion of issues pertaining to the current political situation in the Indies. More importantly it became the nursery bed for Dekker's ideas on Indies nationalism and inter-racial unity and cooperation. He first attempted to establish rapport with native organizations which were non-religious in character, holding discussions with them in September 1912 during which he propagated his idea of forming the Indische Partij.²⁸ The result was the foundation,

26. The Indische Party's branch at Bandung nevertheless originated from the Indische Bond. Tjahaja Timoer, No. 75, 16 September 1912.

27. Pantjaran Warta, No. 41, 21 February 1912.

28. On 15 September 1912 Dekker held a meeting with the Boedi Oetomo at Yogyakarta. This was followed by another meeting with the Kartini Club at Surabaya on 16 September. On 18 September he met leaders of the priyayi association, Mangoenhardjo at Semarang; and on the 19th, 20 and 21st September he held meetings with native leaders at Pekalongan, Tegal and Cheribon consecutively. See Tjahaja Timoer, No. 75, 16 September 1912.

in Semarang on 5 October 1912, of the Indische Partij [Indies Party], which aimed to arouse the patriotism of all who considered the Indies their motherland.²⁹ In this fashion, Indonesia's first real political party began.

After the party was formed Dekker approached Tjipto Mangoenkoe-soemo to sit on its central committee as well as inviting him to the editorial board of De Expres in order to be given training in the field of journalism.³⁰ Tjipto accepted and about the middle of December 1912 he moved to Bandung to sit on the editorial board of De Expres and became a leader of the Indische Partij.

The Indische Partij soon began to have branches in Surabaya,³¹ Bandung³² and in other towns. Within a short time it spread to Sumatra, where the first branch was set up on 19 November, 1913 under the chairmanship of Dr. Abdul Rivai.³³ However, with the exception of some

- 29. About two hundred people were reported to have attended the meeting which discussed the party's would-be constitution. See Pantjaran Warta, No. 227, 8 October 1912.
- 30. Tjipto's image as a liberal and highly-principled champion of the Javanese people was well established, and no doubt Douwes Dekker sought him for these qualities as well as from the need to have a prominent Indonesian in the party's leadership. On Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, see M. Balfas, Dr. Tjipto Mangkusumo Demokrat Sedjati, Djambatan, Jakarta, 1952. See also Savitri Prastiti Scherer, "Harmony and Dissonance: Early Nationalist Thought in Java", M.A. thesis, Cornell University, Ithaca, 1975.
- 31. In Surabaya the party was formed in October, at a closed meeting, with a certain Tropee elected as President. See Pantjaran Warta, No. 229, 10 October 1912.
- 32. In Bandung the I.P. was formed on 13 October 1912. H.C. Kakebeeke was elected President of the Provisional Committee with W. van Dijck as Secretary General-cum-Treasurer. Other Committee members were F. Williams, R. Gobee, Dr. Salleh and Soeradji. Pantjaran Warta, No. 234, 16 October 1912.
- 33. Abdul Rivai, a naturalised Netherlander, was the only native on the Committee. The others were all Eurasians. See Tjahaja Timoer, No. 94, 21 November 1912.

westernised and politically liberal Indonesian intellectuals, the response of the indigenous population was relatively cool. Given the long-standing distrust of the Muslim Javanese towards the Eurasian community it was difficult for the Indische Partij to make inroads among the native population at large. Despite the untiring campaign that Dekker launched to attract natives to join the party's fold, the Indische Partij continued to be viewed as a sinjo- / Eurasian / party. This led, at times, to a paradoxical endorsement of colonial caution regarding native emancipation. A reader of the Tjahaja Timoer wrote that the party's aim "to acquire the reins of power in the East Indies" was rather premature:

It is too soon to talk of self-government. The natives are still unable to participate in discussing political matters. Furthermore, would the Indos be willing to accept as fact if more than ninety percent of parliament's membership consist of native people? The call for unity by the Indische Partij is futile. They / the Indos / had long planted hatred towards the natives; and now they want to co-operate. How could that be possible?³⁴

Nor was the I.P. welcomed by the Sarekat Islam. Dekker's stand on non-interference with religion³⁵ was viewed with scepticism by many Muslims, especially in the light of the current controversy regarding the role of the Christian protestant missionaries. Dekker's quarrel with Tirto Adhi Soerjo, the founder of the Sarekat Dagang Islam at Solo, and with M. Anggawinata, the former editor of the Soeloe Keadilan over the issue of Dekker's defamation of the two gentlemen also did not help to promote Dekker's image among close acquaintances of Tirto and Anggawinata

34. Tjahaja Timoer, No. 92, 14 November 1912.

35. Douwes Dekker wrote: "The Indische Partij does not support any particular religion. The Indische Partij is of the opinion that religion should remain outside the scope of our and any other political organizations ..." See Chr. L.M. Penders, op.cit., p. 230.

who were now among the leaders of the Sarekat Islam. Tjokroaminoto himself did not see any good in associating the S.I. with the I.P., declaring against the Indische Partij at a meeting of the S.I. at Surabaya in January 1913 and asserting that the S.I. had nothing to do with it.³⁶ He did not specify the reasons for his rejection, but we can imagine that he saw little reason for associating the Sarekat Islam with what was in effect a Eurasian party.

The Indische Partij's first general assembly, held on 26 December 1912 at Bandung,³⁷ was forced to reconsider its constitution for the government had rejected its initial bold demands for reform and self-government. The Governor-General also rejected its application for legal recognition in March 1913,³⁸ arguing, on the basis of Article III of the Regeerings Reglement, that it was a political organization and therefore a threat to public order.³⁹ In retrospect, the government was unrealistically apprehensive about the possibility of the leaders of the I.P. acquiring leadership of the popular movement, but at the time the authorities were seriously concerned over its potential for influencing the S.I.⁴⁰ In the eyes of the government, the presence in the I.P. of Abdoel Moeis, Soewardi Soerjaningrat and Amir Hassan Wignjadisastra, all

36. Pemberita Betawi, No. 25, 30 January 1913.

37. Taman Sari, No. 1, 2 January 1913.

38. See Bintang Soerabaja, No. 53, 6 March 1913.

39. The said Article III of the Regeerings Reglement of 1854 prohibited "assemblies and meetings of a political nature or by which public law is threatened". See Paul van der Veer, "E.F.E. Douwes Evangelist for Indonesian Political Nationalism", Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. XVII, No. 4, August 1958, p. 556 f.19 and p. 558.

40. Ibid., p. 559.

stalwarts of the Sarekat Islam, and intellectuals by nature of their educational background and political leanings, might adversely influence the Muslim association's course in spite of the hostility of many top S.I. leaders for Douwes Dekker and his party.⁴¹ Dekker's use of De Expres to propagandize his radical ideas and his intention to produce a Malay edition of the paper only strengthened this government suspicion. The final straw on the camel's back was the founding in July 1913 of a Comité Boemipoetra / indigenous committee / which was headed by Tjipto Mangoekoesoemo, Soewardi Soerjaningrat and Abdoel Moeis but was ultimately under Dekker's inspiration. The aim of the committee, as stated by its broadsheet, was "to celebrate the centenary of the Netherlands government", though in actual fact it was formed to protest the official collection of gifts and money from the native population to celebrate the centenary of Holland's liberation from French rule.⁴²

The comité Boemipoetra declared its own intention to raise public donations, which it would use to publish pamphlets and brochures for sale to interested persons.⁴³ The first pamphlet that appeared was entitled "Als Ik Nederlander was" / if I were a Dutchman / by Soewardi Soerjaningrat. In the article Soewardi sarcastically stated:

Indeed I would like the coming independence celebration to be observed as widely as possible, but I would not permit the population of this country to join in the celebration. I would curb desire for festivities, even more I would prefer the ceremony to be closed to them so that none of the natives would be able to see our

41. For an expression of S.I. dislike of Douwes Dekker and the Indische Partij see Taman Sari, No. 287, 17 December 1913.
42. Paul van der Veur, op.cit., p. 559. The centennial celebration was to be held from 27 November until 1 December 1913.
43. The pamphlets would be sold at twenty five cents each. Readers who wished to subscribe to four different copies were requested to pay a guilder. See enclosure in Vb. 25 September 1913, No. 56.

happiness while we are celebrating our independence. In my opinion, there is sometimes out of place ... something indecent ... if we (I still being a Dutchman in my imagination) ask the natives to join the festivities which celebrate our independence ... Does it not occur to us that these poor fellows are also longing for such a moment as this ... it is not only unfair but also improper to order the natives to give donations to the celebration fund ...⁴⁴

This rather excruciating sarcasm from the pen of an inlander was interpreted as an attempt to incite hatred towards the Government and was followed by swift action by the Dutch police and military personnel. On July 30, 1913, the Dutch detained Tjipto Mangoekoesoemo and Soewardi Soerjaningrat.⁴⁵ Also arrested but later released were Abdoel Moeis, the proof reader of the newspaper De Preanger Bode, and Wignjadi-sastra, the editor of Kaoem Moeda for complicity in printing and disseminating the said article. The man the authorities regarded as the evil genius of this insubordination, Douwes Dekker, had been away in Europe at that time and only learnt about the arrests on his arrival at Batavia on 1 August. He promptly protested with an article in De Expres, which gave the government cause to arrest him too. On 18 August 1913 the government ordered the triumverate / tiga serangkai / of Tjipto, Soewardi and Douwes Dekker to be exiled to the Outer Islands,⁴⁶ but as a special favour they were allowed to leave for the Netherlands if they so desired --- which the three did.

44. Translation quoted from Savitri Prastiti Scherer, op.cit., Appendix I, pp. 298-304. "Als ik eens Nederlander was" appeared in De Expres, 19 July 1913. Cf. Chr. L.M. Penders, op.cit., pp. 232-234.
45. Pemberita Betawi, No. 180, 8 August 1913.
46. Tjipto was first to be exiled in Banka but later went to the Netherlands. About a year later, however, he was allowed to return to Java owing to his poor health. See Taman Sari, No. 287, 17 December 1913. See also Savitri Scherer, op.cit., p. 106.

The Spread of the Sarekat Islam

Meanwhile, the Sarekat Islam was rapidly gaining strength in its membership. By January 1913 the S.I. at Solo alone claimed a membership of 60,000.⁴⁷ Most members, it was reported, were from the non-priyayi group.⁴⁸ It appeared that the commercial motives of the S.I. drew many a haji to its fold beside the fact that it was perceived as an Islamic organization. In the whole of Java it was estimated that 100,000 people had joined the S.I. giving it twice the membership of the Boedi Oetomo.⁴⁹ Yet it made slow headway in the most solidly Muslim part of Java, for outside Batavia it had little success in the province of West Java.⁵⁰ With the exception of Batavia, Ceribon and Bandung,⁵¹ West Java towns and villages did not send any representative to the 1913 congress at Surabaya.

The spread of the S.I. movement was not smooth sailing, for its efforts to redeem its promise of improving its adherents' lot often met frustration. The S.I.'s efforts to promote indigenous trade had led to the opening of small retailers' shops, particularly in Surabaya,⁵² where Sino-S.I. animosity was at its peak since the 1912 incidents. Chinese

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- 47. Taman Sari, No. 2, 3 January 1913.
 - 48. Taman Sari, No. 26, 31 January 1913. The Committee members at Madiun were made up of well-to-do people.
 - 49. Taman Sari, No. 31, 5 February 1913.
 - 50. The Taman Sari attributed this to the fact that there were suspicion and mistrust towards the S.I. among the government officials and priyayi in particular following the revolts at Cilegon and Cikande. See ibid. On the Cilegon and Cikande affairs, whereby the S.I. was implicated, see Sartono Kartodirdjo, Protest Movements in Rural Java, Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1973.
 - 51. The S.I. branch at Bandung was set up with Soewardi as the Chairman on 8 February 1913 and had 200 members. See Taman Sari, No. 36, 11 February 1913. Previous to that in November 1912 following the temporary ban at Solo Haji Amir had set up the S.I. with a membership of 700 people. See Tjahaja Timoer, No. 92, 14 November 1912.
 - 52. The S.I. had 14 shops at Surabaya with capital ranging between a thousand to five thousand guilders for each shop and distributed into shares of a guilder each. Taman Sari, No. 177, 30 July 1913.

shopkeepers in that city jointly lowered the prices of their commodities in order to force the closure of S.I. sponsored shops,⁵³ and anti-S.I. phobia was propagated not only through Chinese newspapers but also among Chinese businessmen.⁵⁴ Whenever racial quarrels erupted, the S.I. was blamed even though the natives involved in fights with the Chinese were not necessarily S.I. members.⁵⁵ But it also had its negative results. Moreover, its aura and impact on the people were such that there were occasions when people took advantage of its standing. There were instances of youths who behaved like bullies and of customers who did not pay for their drinks at stalls claiming themselves to be S.I. members.⁵⁶ But in the eyes of most Javanese, the S.I. was a new phenomenon that provided them with self respect and enabled them to compete with Chinese who had become arrogant after the birth of the Republic. The S.I. itself took on the role of moral guardian of the Javanese, launching a campaign against their most common vices.⁵⁷

Among the Dutch officials, few had a good word for the S.I.⁵⁸ Even the Javanese priyayi were generally abusive towards S.I. members, and village officials such as the carik and lurah were sometimes relieved

53. Taman Sari, No. 73, 28 March 1913.

54. Taman Sari, No. 90, 15 April 1913.

55. Taman Sari, No. 131, 6 June 1913. See also Taman Sari, No. 219, 23 September 1913 and Taman Sari, No. 252, 31 October 1913.

56. Taman Sari, No. 117, 21 May 1913.

57. In one of its programmes the S.I. launched the eradication of the seven vices -- more commonly known among Javanese as "7 M (madat, maling, main, minum, madon, modo, makan) or opium-smoking, stealing at night, gambling, drinking, adultery, vilification and excessive eating. See Taman Sari, No. 287, 17 December 1913 and "Peristiwa dan Tokoh dari Sedjarah Pergerakan Nasional" in Lembaran Sedjarah, No. 2, August 1968. On the seven "M", see Pewarta Theosophie, No. 7, 3 July, 1910.

58. J.G. Mellius, President of the Landraad at Tuban regarded the S.I. as an expression of jihad. Van Geuns, the editor of the Soerabajasch Handelsblad was also anti-S.I. See Oetoesan Melajoe, No. 16, 28 February, 1914 which reported the incident in which the S.I. members at Karangasem had clashed with the police. See also Taman Sari, No. 73, 28 March 1913.

of their posts by unscrupulous superiors on account of being S.I.

members.⁵⁹ Among the Dutch-language newspapers, the Soerbaajasch Handelsblad which represented the sugar producing group, was noted to be very anti-Sarekat Islam.⁶⁰

This opposition at least gave the S.I. the advantage of notoriety. By early 1913 the movement had been much discussed by the vernacular press, whether by newspapers owned by the non-indigenous or those run or edited by the Indonesians themselves. On 23 March 1913 the S.I. successfully held its first all-Java congress at the Sri Wedari Park, Surakarta; about 2,000 delegates from all over Java attended this meeting. At the congress new amendments to the constitution were discussed which seemed to open the door to non-Indonesian membership.⁶¹ Nonetheless, it was already clear that the Sarekat Islam was essentially a nationalist organization of Muslim Indonesians and one which also put nationalism above Islam as an ideology. When the composition of the central committee was discussed by the delegates, the majority of the Javanese, led by Soewardi Soerjaningrat proposed that no non-natives be elected to hold any of the top three posts, namely those of the President, Vice-President and Secretary. It was conceded that a non-Indonesian could become an ordinary committee member, but only one of these was allowed.⁶² Although

59. See Taman Sari, No. 263, 12 November 1913; see the reference made by "Pardon 't is zoo" in Djawa Tengah, No. 262, 20 November 1913.

60. See Taman Sari, No. 116, 20 May 1913 which reported the opposition of the Soerabajasch Handelsblad in the application for corporate status by the S.I.

61. Among them were the articles which allowed all Muslim natives to be members as well as foreign Orientals and Europeans if they served the interests of the natives. Non-Muslims were allowed to become donors. The three divisions of the S.I. would be administered each by a hoofdbestuur which would be subjected to a central committee situated at Solo. See Hindia Serikat, No. 4, 27 March 1913, p. 61.

62. See "Congress Sarekat Islam di Solo", Hindia Serikat, No. 4, 27 March 1913, p. 61.

the Arabs represented by Hassan Ali Soerati, objected to this the Indonesian majority nevertheless carried the motion through.⁶³ The congress also witnessed a heated debate over the question of whether to allow priyayi administrators to hold posts in the central committee. It is significant to note that the Sarekat Islam delegates could not reach an agreement over the issue. Members who were unhappy over the prospect observed that if the government priyayi were allowed to hold offices in the S.I. movement the orang kecil would not dare to socialize with them, to the detriment of the organization. Some considered it might bring about a split, quoting examples of problems faced by S.I. branches which had priyayi in their leadership. It was pointed out that the Madiun branch, which had a Regent as its Honorary Chairman, had declared that it wanted to be autonomous and to have no relations with the Central Committee, and that the Semarang branch that had a Patih as its patron had adopted a similar stand.⁶⁴ The question of whether to allow priyayi to sit on the Central Committee was in fact so contentious that it remained unresolved,⁶⁵ Tjokroaminoto giving an undertaking that the matter would be further deliberated.

The unwillingness to allow non-indigenous Muslims to sit on the Central Committee of the S.I. and the scepticism shown to the bureaucratic priyayi reflected the strong consciousness that was shaping the S.I. as

63. Soewardi Soerjaningrat who led the delegates from Bandung stressed that the S.I. must be a full-fledged "native association". His speech received a big applause from the Indonesians and Europeans present. See Hindia Serikat, No. 5, 3 April 1913. Those elected to sit in the central committee were:

Hadji Saman Hoedi (President)
I.S. Tjokroaminoto (Vice-President)
R. Moeh Joesoef (Secretary)
Hadji Abdoellah (Treasurer)

The election of ordinary committee members (commissaris) was left to the executive committee.

64. Hindia Serikat, No. 4, 27 March 1913, p. 62.

65. The Assistant Jaksa of Pemalang strongly opposed the contention that priyayi in the civil service should be disallowed from holding posts in the Central Committee. Ibid.

a mass organization. A new breed of Indonesian middle class consisting of petty traders and urban santri was using Islam as a binding factor and a focus for mass enthusiasm, in order to translate kemajuan or progress into reality by aggressively showing the way to active participation in commerce and trade. Its actions towards the Chinese shopkeepers and community as a whole and its vocal denunciation of the activities of the Protestant missionaries were manifestation of a new aggressiveness in indigenous society. It was precisely this new phenomenon, a characteristic "which one hardly expected" from the "meek Javanese"⁶⁶ that caught Europeans and the government by surprise and led the former to see the S.I. as an incarnation of Islamic fanaticism.

Indonesian nationalism as reflected in the Sarekat Islam's massive appeal among the Muslims in Java had, not unexpectedly, alarmed the authorities, the Europeans, the Chinese and not least the priyayi.⁶⁷ A reader's letter that appeared in the Chinese-owned Djawa Tengah reflected the mood of many who opposed the Sarekat Islam:

The natives who became members of the Sarekat Islam feel as though they have been liberated from the tri-coloured flag and that they are under the rule of Turkey, an Islamic power. Because of this many natives have lost respect of the government officials and espoused enmity towards the Chinese ... It woule be futile if they think that they can stop the Chinese from practising trade and commerce ... the natives

66. Rinkes to Governor-General Idenburg, 24 August 1912. Bescheiden betreffende de Vereeniging "Sarekat Islam", Batavia, 1913, pp. 1-2.
67. There were many criticisms levelled at the Priyayi groups which were accused of bullying and harassing the members of S.I. See e.g. Sinar Djawa issues of January–February 1914.

should be grateful to foreigners for it was they who had civilized the Javanese.⁶⁸

Forays of criticism were also launched by the Dutch-language press, with the Soerabajasch Handelsblad and the Java Bode proposed that the Sarekat Islam be denied the corporate status / rechtspersoonheid / necessary for legal existence.⁶⁹ But the authorities' approach towards the Sarekat Islam was more cautious and placating in tone, but little more forthcoming in concessions. In a meeting with leaders of the Sarekat Islam on 29 March 1913, Governor-General Idenburg reminded Tjokroaminoto that the Sarekat should always work together with the government and not in opposition to it.⁷⁰ Idenburg also said that the S.I. should not merely place importance in the membership drive but should strive to ensure that the organization was properly run at all levels; legal recognition would only be given after the government was satisfied that leaders both at the central committee and the branch levels were able to educate their members and keep them from such violence and lawlessness as had recently occurred in Surabaya and Semarang.⁷¹ In the end the government was only willing to grant official recognition to individual S.I. branches and not the central organization as representative of the whole organi-

68. See "Critiek A", in Djawa Tengah, No. 222, 3 October 1913.

69. Taman Sari, No. 116, 20 May 1913. The S.I. was only granted recognition in 1914, about two years after it submitted its application.

70. Led by O.S. Tjokroaminoto, and accompanied by Dr. Rinkes the S.I. delegation consisted of the central committee members. The delegation sought the Governor-General's recognition of the movement by granting the corporate body status. A report of the meeting was given by the Hindia Sarekat, No. 7, 17 April 1913, quoting the Javasche Courant of 4 April 1913. See also Bintang Soerabaja, No. 75, 3 April 1913.

71. Racial riots between Chinese and S.I. members had erupted in Surabaya in February 1913 and in March 1913. Trouble started when a Chinese threw a piece of pork into a prayer house in Brondongan. An underlying source of the racial conflict began when the S.I. founded a small shop in the village thus causing Lien Mo Seng, a Chinese shopkeeper, to lose his customers. See Sartono Kartodirdjo, op.cit., p. 163.

⁷² zation. Even so, the S.I. continued to expand.

The Sarekat Islam and the Press

The mobilization of the S.I. as a people's movement was helped in no small way by the existing Indonesian-edited vernacular newspapers of Central and East Java. Like their Chinese counterparts they were conscious that they should articulate popular grievances and arouse interest in newly-formed organizations. Perhaps the most important newspaper in 1912 that acted as an unofficial organ of the Sarekat Islam and the Indische Partij was the Tjahaja Timoer of Malang. Its background was not particularly promising in this regard. Owned by a Chinese firm the paper began as the unofficial organ of the Theosophy Union.⁷³ However, under the editorship of R. Djojosoediro, an ardent supporter of the S.I. and an outspoken critic of the Christian missionary movement in Java, it took up the cause of the S.I. and Indische Partij as well. At the same time at Surakarta, where the S.I. appeared to have found its largest following,⁷⁴ the Sarotomo, which was initially founded by R.M. Tirto Adhi Soerjo soon became the official regional party organ. This paper was so critical of the Chinese and the Europeans that it was dubbed a "racist sheet" by a reader of the Djawa Tengah.⁷⁵

72. See Taman Sari, No. 157, 7 July 1913. Such recognition was granted on 30 June 1913.

73. The Theosophy movement was begun in Java in 1905 and had lodges in the principal cities. Its membership was drawn from Javanese, Chinese and Europeans. The Union also published a monthly periodical named Pewarta Theosophie. Many Javanese priyayi were attracted to the syncretic teachings of the Theosophical movement as espoused by Annie Besant and H.P.B. Blavatsky. In Java, the movement tried to blend Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam and its claim to having mystical and religious qualities drew much support from the priyayi group.

74. At the end of 1912 the strength of the membership of the S.I. at Surakarta was given at 64,000 members. See Pemberita Betawi, No. 25, 30 January 1913.

75. Djawa Tengah, No. 222, 3 October 1913.

The Sarekat Islam leaders moved aggressively to gain press outlets in the major cities. On 1st January 1913 the Oetoesan Hindia / Indies Courier ⁷⁶, a daily, began to appear as an official organ of the Sarekat Islam. Edited by O.S. Tjokroaminoto himself, the Oetoesan Hindia was published at Surabaya by the firm N.V. Setia Oesaha, which had been set up under the inspiration of Hassan Ali Soerkati. Two months later, on 6 January 1913 a weekly periodical called Hindia Serikat began to appear at Bandung ⁷⁷ under the editorship of Abdoel Moeis, Soewardi Soerjaningrat and Lembana Wignjadisastra. ⁷⁸ This weekly functioned as the organ of the S.I. at Bandung. ⁷⁹ In Batavia the N.V. Java Boekhandel en Drukkerij Sedio Leksono, owned by the Sarekat Islam, was able to purchase the Pantjaran Warta, from the Chinese owner of the Seng Hoat publishing company on 21 June 1913. ⁸⁰ It became the S.I.'s Batavia organ under the editorship of Goenawan, Chaiirman of the local S.I. chapter. In Semarang, the local branch of the S.I. managed to clinch a deal with the Chinese firm Hoang Thaiij and Co.. towards the end of 1913 to purchase the firm's printing press and the newspaper Sinar Djawa. To ensure the economic viability of this daily, Raden Moehamad Joesoef, its chief edi-

76. The specimen issues of the paper first appeared on 5 December 1912.
77. It was printed by the firm Voorkink v/h G. Kolff & Co., Bandung.
78. Soewardi's sister, Soewartiijah Soerjaningrat was editor at Yog-yakarta, while Zoebaidah Rätna Djoewita was named editor at Fort de Kock.
79. Bandung already had a Malay-language newspaper edited by Indonesians: The Kaoem Moeda / Young Gemeration ⁷, which appeared on 2 April 1912, edited by Amir Hassan Wignjadisastra and R.S. Wigno Darmodjo, appeared three times weekly. It had earlier been called Sinar Pasoendan / Sundanese Radiance ⁷ and as such emerged on 5 December 1911. See Taman Sari, 9 April 1912.
80. The West Java division of the Sarekat Islam bought the printing press and the Pantjaran Warta at the cost of fl.9,000. Pemberita Betawi, No. 141, 23 June 1913.

tor and also the Vice-President of the Sarekat Islam Semarang, launched the sale of shares in January 1914 in order to form a trading company to run the paper.⁸¹

The emergence of the S.I. organs in the main cities of Java marked a turning point in the history of vernacular journalism. Compared to the Medan Prijaji of Tirto Adhi Soerjo, which had concentrated on disclosing graft, inefficiency and laxity in the performance of the priyayi officials, the newspapers of the Sarekat Islam were more fundamentally critical, devoting themselves to issues pertaining to the general welfare of the little people --- the peasants, who made up the bulk of the Sarekat Islam's membership. This new mood in native journalism could be attributed partly to the socio-political atmosphere of Java itself following the rise of the Sarekat Islam and its branches. Of great importance was the presence of young S.I. cadres, most in their early twenties, who had assumed the role of propagandists by becoming editors of the various organs of the S.I. and who saw themselves as champions of the common people against the privileged, aristocratic priyayi.

In the eyes of these editors, the backwardness of the people were the doings of the so-called leaders of the people, the priyayi. Further, the priyayi were seen to have deliberately hindered the cause taken up by the S.I. Among the most outspoken editors of this period were Mas Marco Kartodikromo⁸² of the Sarotomo and his colleague Sosro

81. The company, N.V. Handel Maatschappij en Drukkerij Sinar Djawa, sold shares to members of the S.I. at fl.5,- each. See Sinar Djawa, No. 19, 24 January 1914.
82. Mas Marco Kartodikromo began his career in journalism when he became correspondent and later assistant editor for the Medan Prijaji under the guidance of Tirto Adhi Soerjo around 1910 and 1911. In 1912, he served as correspondent for the Darmo Kando. In 1913 Marco joined Sosro Koornio, another mercurial character in Indonesian journalism, to sit on the editorial board of the Sarotomo as assistant editor. Outspoken in his writings, Marco first tasted the wrath of the government's press laws in 1915 when he was detained for two years for having been accused of writing articles defaming the Dutch government in the July and August issues of Doenia Bergerak / Moving World /,

Koornio, Tirtodanoedjo of the Oetoesan Hindia, Djosoediro of the Tjahaja Timoer, and Goenawan of the Pantjaran Warta at Batavia. The writings of these young firebrands were often sharp and caustic, the most radical and daring being Marco of the Sarotomo. His article in that paper of 10 November 1913 drew the wrath of Dr. Rinkes, the Adviser for Native Affairs for its attack on commission initiated by the government in an effort to study the causes of declining native welfare. Marco had taken to task its composition, pointing out that European officials and priyayi (including two Bupati) were not likely to get an accurate picture of the poverty of the Javanese.⁸³

For people of Mas Marco's generation the Javanese custom of obeisance and cringing before superiors was obsolete and ought to be discarded, to them the first step toward progress was liberation from such 'feudal' practices.⁸⁴ A reader making his observation of contemporary Javanese society in the Sinar Djawa noted:

With the change of times a new type of bangsawan had risen, namely the bangsawan fikiran. But if the bangsawan fikiran were merely the offshoot of the bangsawan oesoel then changes will not occur and no associations could be born. But if the wong cilik / little people / were to get out of the milieu of their race for reasons of not willing to be exploited by their original aristocrats then this would be the beginning of the movement ...⁸⁵

(continuation of footnote 82)

in the preceding year. For further information on Marco see Henri ChamberLoir, "Mas Marco Kartodikromo (c. 1890-1932)", Literatures Contemporaines de L'Asie du Sud-Est, 1974.

- 83. See Rinke's letter to Hajji Samamhoedi and Marco's reply to Rinkes in Sinar Djawa, No. 33, 10 February 1914.
- 84. See the writing entitled 'Kemerdekaan' / freedom / in Sinar Djawa, No. 82, 8 April 1914, in which the writer lashed out at priyayi who had not followed the instructions laid out in the Government circular No. 2014 which discouraged people of the lower ranks from paying respects to their superiors with the sembah / gesture of salutation and subordination / and jongkok / squatting positions which ensured one's head remained lower than a superior's /.
- 85. See Sinar Djawa, No. 52, 4 March 1914.

The obsession to be freed of the priyayi cultural matrix of Javanese society was constantly drummed in by the press and editors of the Sarekat Islam. The antagonism towards the feudal aristocratic group that had first surfaced at the turn of the century had by this time found greater fervour and a more positive response from the new breed of young intellectuals.⁸⁶ It served their spiritual needs to support the Sarekat Islam, an organization which by nature of its religious platform could claim to fear and to submit to no other being but God. It seemed to them the battle to free the minds of the rising intellectuals in the Sarekat Islam could best be carried out through the medium of the press, for through the newspapers the new generation of Indonesian could pour out their ideas and opinions freely. They also had no fear of having to reveal their identities if they chose not to, for they commonly used pseudonyms instead of their real names when criticising the Dutch authorities or the priyayi officials.

The Press and "Indonesian" Consciousness

This development, needless to say, was not welcomed by the government. The birth of party media and the rising tide of native political and socio-economic consciousness were beginning to threaten the very foundation of colonial rule. The example shown by Douwes Dekker and the native leaders of the Indische Partij had opened the eyes of the government to the danger of the press "freedom" given by the relaxation of the Indies press laws of 1906. The government revised the Printing Press Regulation of 1856 (after fifty years of implementation)

86. In Dec. 1913 the S.I. members at Surabaya demonstrated their jubilation by marching through the streets over the announcement that in future the post of Regent could be held by ordinary Javanese and not necessarily by hereditary priyayi. See Oetoesan Melajoe, No. 4, 14 Jan. 1914.

to accommodate with certain demands made by the press community both in Holland and the Indies. Thus by the Royal Decree / Koninklijk Besluit 7 of 19 March 1906 the government revised the Press Act for the Indies by having some of the articles in the old Act withdrawn.⁸⁷ Induced, perhaps, by the spirit of the Colonial Ethical Policy, the government gave a semblance of freedom to publish though in actual fact the changes of 1906 did not really alter the Act's system of preventive censorship and repressive control. Article 13, for example, was amended to give the printer or publisher the onus of sending a copy of his publication to the Head of the Local Government within twenty four hours of publication.⁸⁸ The fine imposed for violation of the regulation was reduced from the sum of 50 - 1,000 guilders to 10 - 100 guilders. Article 24 stipulated that attacks on the laws and regulations of the government were punishable by an imprisonment term of six months to three years. Acts of libel, slander and defamation were liable to either a fine of 10 to 100 guilders or an imprisonment of one to twelve months or both.⁸⁹ However, these provisions in the Indies press laws were considered insufficient to check the growing tide of political awareness and it was felt that the contents of the vernacular press needed closer scrutiny by the General Secretary of the Government as well as by the Department of Native Affairs. By the end of 1913, therefore, the government was seriously considering tightening further the press regulations of the Indies, especially in regard to political expression. It was proposed that the British Press Act as

87. Articles 1-10 were withdrawn.. For more details, see "Persreglement baroe" in Soeloeh Keadilan, No. 3, March 1908.
88. Before the amendment, the printer had to send a copy each to the Head of Local Government, Officer of Justice and General Secretary.
89. On the Press Regulations of 1906 see Vb. 30 December 1905 No. 36; see also Tirto Adhi Soerjo, "Persreglement baroe" Soeloeh Keadilan, No. 3, Vol. 2, March 1908, pp. 114-120; Djawi Kando, No. 88, 30 July 1907; Medan Prijaji (3), 1909, pp. 229-230 and Kabar Pernia-gaan, No. 24, 31 January 1906.

applied in India should be used as a model in revising the Indies Press Laws.⁹⁰ The Minister of Colonies in his despatch to Governor-General Idenburg, however, contended that Article 110 of the Regeerings Reglement,⁹¹ was not incompatible with the object of the Indian Press Act 1910, which was to "check the growth of political literature while not interfering detrimentally with the general literary output of the country".⁹² Nonetheless, in 1914 the government introduced further amendments to the Printing Press Regulation of 1856. Armed with both the provisions in the Act and Articles 154 - 157 of the Penal Code,⁹³ the government continued to suppress political dissent in the vernacular press which had begun to look more radical after 1913.

Even before this, the press regulations had been used to disable the Indonesian movement, for Soewardi Soerjaningrat's essay "Als ik een Nederlander was" had transgressed the article which forbade the printing and circulation of articles defamatory in character and containing suggestions of hatred towards the government, and this provided the excuse for exiling him and other I.P. leaders. By the end of 1913 he was already in the Netherlands, spending his period of exile with his

90. See mailr. No. 1798/13, Vb. 17 December 1913 No. 1.

91. See Chapter I, p. 38.

92. The Indian Press Act of 1910 conferred powers on the government to confiscate the security money of a printer or publisher if the treatment of political subjects exceeded "the limits of legitimate criticisms"; if a second offence was committed the printer's or publisher's printing press would be confiscated. See S.L. van der Wal, op.cit., p. 240, f.1.

93. Article 155 imposed a prison term of maximum four years or a fine of three hundred guilders on persons found guilty of expressing "feeling of enmity, hate or disdain towards the Government of the Netherlands or that of the Netherlands East Indies" in a written or printed form meant for public circulation. See Oey Hong Lee, Indonesian Government and Press During Guided Democracy, Zug, Switzerland, 1971, pp. 7 and 305 fn. 20.

colleagues, Dekker and Tjipto Mangoekoesoemo.⁹⁴ Upon his arrival in that country Soewardi had taken up with the Indische Vereeniging, an Indonesian students' association which had been in existence since 1908;⁹⁵ and he also established contacts with the nationalistic newspapers of Java by volunteering to act as correspondent for the Oetoesan Hindia, Tjahaja Timoer and Kaoem Moeda. With the assistance of the students at the Hague, Soewardi pioneered the establishment of the first Indonesian Press Bureau, the Indonesisch Persbureau, to disseminate news obtained from the native press of the Indies among fellow Indonesian students in Holland and among some interested parties which supported socialist-leaning periodicals and newspapers in the Netherlands.⁹⁶ This propaganda wing of the Indische Vereeniging was able to procure newspapers from the Indies; and its reading room at 473 Fahrenheitstraat in the Hague served as a meeting point for Indonesian students who were hungry of news from home.⁹⁷ Soewardi's exile, therefore, had little effect in reducing his activities on behalf of Indonesian consciousness.

By the end of 1913 the development of indigenous political awakening in Java was having a marked effect on the vernacular press and had thrown the non-indigenous newspapers into confusion. While the Chinese press could still rely on the support of the peranakan Chinese readership, the Eurasian-edited and Dutch-owned Malay newspapers were forced to admit that things were fast changing and that if they wished to sustain their business they had to reassess their reporting of news.

94. For an account of the trio's exile see E.F.E. Douwes Dekker, Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, and R.M. Soewardi Soerjaningrat, Onze Verbanning / Our Exile, Schiedam, 'De Indier', 1913.

95. On the Indische Vereeniging, see John Ingleson, Perhimpunan Indonesia and the Indonesian Nationalist Movement 1923-1928, Monash Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Melbourne, 1975.

96. Ki Hadjar Dewantara / Soewardi Soerjaningrat /, Dari Kebangunan Nasional Sampai Proklamasi Kemerdekaan, J-karta, 1952, p. 98.

97. Ibid.

This meant that a more objective reporting style was necessary, even if it was not sympathetic to the native political movement.

The new mood prevalent among the native readers forced many vernacular newspapers run by the Eurasians to close. At the beginning of this chapter we noted the demise of the Selompret Melajoe, one of the most popular papers of the 19th century. By 1913 more of the smaller Eurasian papers disappeared. Even the once popular Taman Sari and the Pemberita Betawi, which were rather pro-Indonesian, were finding it difficult to compete with the native-run newspapers that mushroomed in 1912 and 1913.⁹⁸ Indeed, the proliferation of newspapers owned and managed by Indonesians was a clear sign that things were changing rapidly in the Dutch East Indies. A number of the papers and presses were, as we have seen, previously Chinese.⁹⁹ Some Chinese publishers, realizing that their papers could no longer address both a peranakan and native audience began to sell off their printing equipment. The emergence of printing firms which produced newspapers and periodicals which in content and spirit were characteristically political indicated that the call for kemajuan and modernization was at last finding a response. Significant, too, for this period was the fact that the average circulation of a vernacular newspaper reached the figure of 2,000 or more.¹⁰⁰ There were now

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98. The Taman Sari ceased publication in 1914. In 1916 the Pemberita Betawi was forced to close after thirty two years of circulation.
99. In addition to the S.I. - sponsored purchases noted earlier, the Boedi Oetomo had purchased the Darmo Kando in 1911 from Tjoa Tjoe Kwan of Surakarta.
100. In 1912 the Indonesian publisher of the monthly Poesaka Doenia claimed that since the readership of the said periodical had reached 2,000, he was able to reduce its price from eighty cents to fifty cents. In mid-1914 the Tjhoen Tjhioe, a newspaper whose readership was most likely to be confined to Chinese, was reported to have acquired no less than four thousand subscribers. In that same year, the Per-niagaan (also owned by Chinese) was said to have only about 1,600 readers. This shows that people in the Indies had, by this time, begun to be more aware of the importance of the newspapers. See Poesaka Doenia, No. 1, July 1912. See also Sin Po, No. 230, 11 July 1914 and Sin Po, No. 228, 11 July 1915.

clearly three components to the Indies press world, based on ownership and orientation rather than on language; the "white" or European, the "yellow" or Chinese and the "brown" or Indonesian. Although the relationship between the native press and the Chinese-run Malay newspapers in Java was less than cordial, they both shared one common characteristic, a hostile attitude towards the so-called "white press".

By 1913 the vernacular press in the Dutch East Indies was thus no longer a monolithic industry. The birth of the Indonesian national consciousness had produced almost simultaneous to its own emergence a true indigenous press that became the mouthpiece of the pioneer nationalists. This led to an attempt by Mas Marco Kartodikromo to found the first native journalists' union called Inlandsche Journalisten Bond at Surakarta, in early 1914.¹⁰¹ The spread of the Sarekat Islam to the Outer Islands which began in 1913 when branches of the organization appeared in Achæh, Palembang, Deli, Serdang and Langkat as a result of visits by O.S. Tjokroaminoto and Goenawan,¹⁰² gave the newspapers of this region a new character combining both roles as news carriers and political organs.

The growth of a politically-oriented press had finally awakened the Indies to a new political awareness. A new era was opened in the modern history of Indonesia as seen in the struggle for political expression and the rise of anti-colonial movement in the Netherlands East Indies. Towards the end of 1913 the term "Indonesische" began to be

101. Although the Native Journalists' Union was officially set up in March 1915, moves to form the union had already been made up by Mas Marco from as early as December 1913. A circular pertaining to the aims of the association was issued in January 1914. However, it was only in early 1915 that the proposed union was able to draft a constitution. Elected to head the interim committee were: Marco Kartodikromo (President), Darnakoesoema (Vice-President) and Sosro Koornio (Secretary-cum-Treasurer). See Sinar Djawa, No. 22, 28 January 1914; Goentoer Bergerak, No. 4, 20 March 1915, and Goentoer Bergerak, No. 7, 10 April 1915.

102. Tjahaja Sumatra, No. 31, as quoted by A.H.J.G. Walbeehm, "Persoverzicht", Koloniaal Tijdschrift, Vol. I, 1911-1912, p. 1030.

used by a printing firm at Weltevreden, namely the Indonesische Drukkerij en Translaat Bureau [Indonesian Printing Office and Translation Bureau] at Gunung Sahari.¹⁰³ This printing house, which published the newspaper Pemitrans,¹⁰⁴ edited by the Minangkabau Mara Soetan, campaigned during 1914 to popularise the new term, to give the indigenous population of the colony an identity of its own. "Indonesian" consciousness was thus truly becoming established.

103. See Sinar Djawa, No. 77, 2 April 1914.

104. Ibid.

CONCLUSION

From mere broadsheets functioning as news and advertisement papers /nieuws en advertentieblad/ and periodicals of a cultural or missionary orientation, which were initiated and managed by Europeans and Eurasians in the mid-nineteenth century, the vernacular press of the Dutch East Indies had by the 1910's grown to maturity, providing news and opinions which reflected the social, economic and political development of the colonial society. Its growth was nurtured by the dynamic changes of that society,, prompted by the institution of both the Liberal and Ethical policies of the Dutch colonial government.

In tracing its growth from the early stages to maturity two approaches have been used, the chronological and the thematic. The first approach focused on key turning points in the history of its development namely those represented by the years 1855, 1870, 1884, 1901, 1906, 1911, 1912 and 1913.. The second approach examined the important factors that contributed to the growth of the vernacular press and the emergence of a modern Indonesian consciousness as seen in the early impetus given by the non-indigenous elements, namely the Europeans, the Eurasians and the Chinese; the experiences derived through multi-ethnic participation; the presence of missionary and socio-cultural motives; the facilitating urban environment; the rise of an intellectual class through a western-type education and the beginnings of political consciousness and expression.

The year 1855 marked the beginning of the press when the Javanese-language Bromartani and Poespitamantjawarna emerged in the royal city of Surakarta from the printing press of the Harteveld Brothers. The emergence of these two pioneer journals was a result of the promulgation of the Press Act of 1854,, which, encouraged by the spirit of the

new constitution of the Netherlands East Indies, the Regeerings Reglement, promised a more flexible attitude towards the press. The types of publications that emerged between 1855 and 1870 could be categorized into three: cultural and leisure-oriented periodicals introduced by people with altruistic motives; commercial-oriented advertisement papers and full-fledged missionary newspapers edited and run by Calvinist Protestant ministers. Until 1870 the management and running of the press rested entirely in the hands of the Europeans and Eurasians.

1870 represented the next benchmark in the history of the vernacular press; the development of the newspaper industry for the next fourteen years became more concerned with profit-making motives. It was during this time that the Eurasians dominated the vernacular press enterprise. Marked by the introduction of the Liberal Policy which encouraged the flow of outside capital to the Indies and the opening of the colony to a laissez faire economy, this period also saw the development of schools and teachers' colleges following the announcement of the Fundamental Education Decree in 1871. When the question of education began to command the attention of the priyayi, the image of the newspaper as a source of knowledge started to take hold. Interest in reading among the literate Indonesians and the shortage of reading material in schools and teachers' training colleges contributed to an increasing awareness of the importance of the newspaper. This in turn resulted in the competitive growth of the vernacular press in the seventies and eighties.

The next turning point in the development of the press took place in 1884. In that year relative economic prosperity of the Dutch East Indies was severely shaken by the collapse of the sugar prices in the world market, thus affecting the newspaper trade in the Indies. Many a newspaper was forced out of circulation for lack of subscribers. The depression also brought financial trouble to one of the biggest newspapers owners, the Gimberg Brothers' company at Surabaya, publishers of

the Bintang Timor, a popular and widely circulated daily newspaper. In 1886 the said Company was forced to sell all of its printing house, equipment and newspapers to Tjoa Tjoan Lok, a Surabaya peranakan Chinese. Around the same period, another peranakan Chinese, Lie Kim Hok successfully bought a missionary printing press and in 1886, in partnership with W. Meulenhoff, a Eurasian, he took over the publication of the Pemberita Betawi. The period also saw other Chinese acquiring ownership of printing presses, though not indulging in the newspaper trade,

The emergence of the peranakan Chinese in the newspaper business opened up a new era in vernacular journalism. Not only did the Chinese see in newspapers a profitable business venture but they were also becoming more conscious of the role the newspaper could play as a medium for wielding public opinion. This resulted in the widespread growth of newspapers in the last decade or so of the past century. General dissatisfaction towards the colonial government's allegedly unfair treatment of the Chinese community in the social and economic spheres was expressed in the press, ultimately to produce a modern Chinese consciousness and the formation in 1900 of the pan-Chinese association Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan. While advocating a return to Chinese identity through practising the teachings of Confucius, this association also called upon the Indies Chinese community to accept modernization and "preserve" national unity.

In 1901 the Ethical Policy was implemented by the Dutch colonial government, with important implications for the growth of the vernacular press. The dawn of the new century saw the beginning of the emergence of Chinese newspapers using Low Malay as organs of Chinese associations. Seeing this development among the Chinese, a tiny group of young Indonesians intellectuals -- among them Abdul Rivai, R.M. Tirto Adhi Soerjo and Dja Endar Moeda, also began to call for the modernization of their society.

They were also stimulated in their pursuit of kemajuan by the Ethical Policy, which the government introduced in 1901 with the lofty aim of uplifting the indigenous population of the Indies. Through the Bintang Hindia, the fortnightly periodical which he edited in Amsterdam, Abdul Rivai launched a campaign urging his fellow-Indonesians to pursue progress by following the ways of the Europeans and through a Western-type education. He urged them to discard the cumbersome old adat and swell the ranks of the bangsawan fikiran, or intelligentsia. The spirit of Abdul Rivai was shared by many others in the Indies and they too amplified the call for modernization and progress through writings in the press.

The next important phase in the history of the vernacular press and the emergence of modern Indonesian consciousness began in 1906, when R.M. Tирто Adhi Soerjo, following his tour around Java to meet priyayi officials, formed the Sarekat Prijaji [Priyayi Association] which aimed at founding a scholarship bureau to promote education for native children in Java and also to start a newspaper that could act as its organ. The weekly Medan Prijaji which began on 1 January 1907, served as a forum for native readers and others to express their views and to discuss issues pertaining to the general welfare of the Indonesians.

A new high point in the growth of the vernacular press and the emergence of modern Indonesian consciousness occurred in 1911, when Haji Samanhoedi of Solo sought the help of R.M. Tирто Adhi Soerjo, to form an Islamic merchants' association, the Sarekat Dagang Islamiah. Datoek Soetan Maharadja, founded the Perserikatan Orang Alam-Minangkerbau [Union of the People of Minangkerbau]. 1911 also witnessed the emergence of various types of trading associations and cooperative bodies especially in Java, while in Sumatra Datoek Soetan Maharadja founded the Perserikatan Orang Alam Minangkerbau [Union of the People of Minangkabau]. Almost all these organizations emphasised the need

for native participation in trade and commerce, and they founded newspapers which were to act as their organs.

The new entrepreneurial awareness among Indoensians soon led to the birth of the associations that showed an interest in issues of politics, as well as matters affecting the relationship between the Indonesian people and groups they now saw as aliens, the Europeans and Chinese. The increasingly vocal expressions of Indies Chinese nationalism during this period and the intensification of European missionary activities led to racial confrontation with the former and religious competition with the latter. Thus when the Sarekat Dagang Islamiah was replaced by the Sarekat Islam in 1912, racial clashes between Indonesians and Chinese occurred in many parts of Java. The formation of the Muhammadiyah in 1912 was also indicative of the unhappiness and suspicions of the Muslims in Java over increasing Christian missionary activities. The new consciousness that resulted from such tensions brought the birth of the Indische Partij in the same year. A project involving both Eurasians and Indonesian intellectual leaders, this party was ahead of its time in declaring its intention to strive for Indies independence, but out of it in its call for equal status for all who regarded the Indies as their homeland. The exile of its chief leaders in 1913 did not impair the progress of a modern Indonesian consciousness, for by that year the Sarekat Islam had already spread its wings to the Outer Islands. A new idea of Indonesianness was emerging based on the unity of the indigenous people of the archipelago.

All these changes brought a great transformation to the vernacular press, with many Eurasian-run newspapers being forced to close owing to their loss of indigenous readership. The emergence of Indonesian-run newspapers and periodicals with a characteristically political content was indicative of the new mood that pervaded Indonesia and was to mark the vernacular press through the final period of colonial rule.

Another important theme was that the newspaper was a product of an urban, cosmopolitan cultural milieu. The emergence of schools in the urban centres, the existence of a relatively modern infra-structure following the advent of the Liberal Policy coupled with the benefits of the telegraph, telephone, postal system and the fact that the Malay language was a lingua franca of the archipelago as well as the official language of communication with natives in the Dutch East Indies contributed immensely to the steady growth and development of the vernacular press.

The next important theme is that the process of modernization which included intellectual growth and newspaper development was a direct inheritance from the European presence. The peranakan Chinese who occupied the middle-rung of the colonial society's social hierarchy were the first to emulate the ways of the Europeans in founding social clubs, libraries, newspapers and associations. But it was their ability to break the monopolistic hold of the Europeans and the Eurasians over the press industry in the 1880s that provided them with the jumping board to more meaningful achievements, namely the formation of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan and the birth of Chinese nationalism. This opened the eyes of the Indonesians. However, due to their economic weakness they were not able to organize and found their own press until the early years of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, once they had acquired a press of their own, their awakening to the various problems of a colonised society gave them further impetus to remedy their backward situation. This brings us to the more important theme, that the intellectual development of the Indonesians which resulted in the birth of their socio-economic and political consciousness was inter-woven with its role in the growth and development of the vernacular press. By 1912, a host of native organizations emerged, among which the Sarekat Islam and the Muhammadiyah were possibly the most important.

The rise of these organizations together with their organs, all run by Indonesians, were expression of the socio-economic and political awareness of the Indonesians. This development was not confined only to Java but also spread elsewhere. This was clearly seen in 1913 when a similar awareness was felt in the Outer Islands following the spreading of the vernacular press and the rise of indigenous socio-political organizations, in particular the Sarekat Islam.

GLOSSARY

<u>adat</u>	custom
<u>Adipati</u>	high title
<u>adjunct</u>	assistant, deputy
<u>administrateur</u>	administrator, manager
<u>advertentie</u>	advertisement
<u>ambtenaar</u>	official, usually salaried and appointed by the Dutch
<u>Andeh Setia</u>	Loyal Mother
<u>Ario</u>	an honorific of the very highest class
<u>Assistant Wedana</u>	lower level of native official between Wedana and village heads
<u>bangsawan</u>	nobility
<u>bangsawan pikiran</u>	intellectual nobility
<u>bangsawan usul</u>	original aristocrat
<u>bermadu</u>	sharing one's husband with another wife
<u>Binnenlandsch Bestuur</u>	Interior Administration, the European Civil Service
<u>bintang</u>	star
<u>Bupati</u>	Regent, highest administrative official in Dutch-ruled areas of Java
<u>carik</u>	clerk, secretary
<u>commies</u>	custom house officer, exciseman
<u>Controleur</u>	Dutch official below Assistant Resident
<u>courant</u>	newspaper
<u>dagang</u>	trade or commerce
<u>desa</u>	village
<u>doenia</u>	world
<u>dokter djawa</u>	native doctor, with lower qualifications than a European doctor proponent of the welfare-oriented 'ethical' colonial policy

<u>fatwa</u>	decision or opinion handed down by an Islamic court
<u>hadith</u>	record of actions or sayings of Prophet Muhammad
<u>haji</u>	one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca
<u>handelsvereeniging</u>	trading company
<u>hoofd</u>	chief
<u>hoofdbestuur</u>	central committee
<u>hoofdenschoolen</u>	chiefs' schools
<u>hoofdonderwijzer</u>	head teacher
<u>hormat</u>	respect, honour
<u>hikayat</u>	tale, story
<u>Hindia</u>	Indies
<u>Imam</u>	leader of congregational prayer
<u>Indische</u>	of the Indies
<u>Indo</u>	Indo-European, Eurasian
<u>inlandsche</u>	native, indigenous
<u>Insulinde</u>	the Indonesian Archipelago
<u>jaksa</u>	public prosecutor
<u>jihad</u>	holy war
<u>jongkok</u>	to cringe before, to squat
<u>kabar</u>	news
<u>kabaran</u>	news, report
<u>kaum</u>	group, community
<u>kaum muda</u>	young generation
<u>kaum kuno or kaum tua</u>	old generation
<u>kanjeng</u>	form of address or reference for Javanese nobility of high rank progress, advancement industri
<u>kemajuan</u>	progress, advancement
<u>keradjinan</u>	industri
<u>kweekschool</u>	teachers' training college
<u>laras</u>	district in Minangkabau
<u>lurah</u>	village head

<u>maatschappij</u>	society, company
<u>madu</u>	co-wife
<u>magang</u>	apprentice, unsalaried clerk
<u>mantri</u>	rank of someone higher than a clerk but lower than a subdistrict head
<u>Mas</u>	low priyayi title
<u>Masjid Haram</u>	the name of the mosque of Mecca
<u>medan</u>	field, arena
<u>meester in de rechten</u>	degree in Law
<u>Mufakat Guru</u>	Teachers' Discussion Group
<u>murtad</u>	apostate, renegade
<u>nagari</u>	the basic unit of settlement in Minangkabau, comprising the <u>kota</u> or original village and dependent out-settlements; under the Dutch it became the lowest unit of administration.
<u>ngoko</u>	low Javanese used to inferiors, people of the same rank or intimates
<u>nyai</u>	kept women or concubine of a European
<u>orang kecil</u>	the 'little people', the common people
<u>orang menumpang</u>	boarder, lodger
<u>pantun</u>	quatrain, Malay poetry
<u>passenstelsel</u>	pass system
<u>Patih</u>	native chief minister of Regent
<u>pekerjaan</u>	
<u>partikulier</u>	private occupation
<u>penghulu</u>	adat chief in Minangkabau
<u>peranakan</u>	of local born, Indonesian-born foreigner (usually refers to Chinese)
<u>pesantren</u>	rural Islamic school
<u>pesisir</u>	coastal area
<u>persdelict</u>	offence against the press laws
<u>pewarta</u>	reporter
<u>predikant</u>	clergyman
<u>priyayi</u>	Javanese aristocrat or native official

<u>Raden</u>	priyayi title
<u>Raden Adjeng</u>	aristocratic title for unmarried Javanese girl such as Regent's daughter
<u>Raden Ayu</u>	title of noble married woman
<u>rechstspersoon</u>	corporate body, legal status
<u>redacteur</u>	editor
<u>Resident</u>	Dutch colonial official between Governor and Assistant Resident
<u>roemah bola</u>	club house
<u>santri</u>	devout Muslim
<u>sarekat</u>	association, union
<u>schrijfbehoefthen</u>	stationery
<u>sembah</u>	act of obeisance
<u>sinar</u>	ray
<u>sinjo</u>	title for Eurasian (form of address)
<u>soeara</u>	voice, organ
<u>soldadoe</u>	soldier
<u>soeloeah</u>	torch
<u>soerat kabar</u>	newspaper
<u>Soetan</u>	title of nobility in Sumatra
<u>staatsblad</u>	statue-book
<u>surau</u>	small mosque devoted to religious or quasi-religious purposes
<u>syair</u>	story related in verse form using quatrains
<u>tambahan</u>	supplementary
<u>taman</u>	garden
<u>tembang</u>	sung or recited Javanese poetry
<u>Temenggoeng</u>	title of high ranking administrative official
<u>tijdelijk</u>	temporary
<u>timor</u>	eastern
<u>tjahaja</u>	light
<u>totok</u>	pure, full-blooded

<u>ulama</u>	Islamic religious teachers or scholars
<u>ummah</u>	community of Muslim believers
<u>Venootschap</u>	partnership, company
<u>Vorstenlanden</u>	Principalities, the four indirectly ruled states of Central Java
<u>Wedana</u>	district chief, native official in charge of districts under the supervision of Regent or Patih
<u>weeskamer</u>	court of Chancery, orphans' court
<u>wijkenstelsel</u>	zoning system, the arrangement which obliged Chinese to live in segregated areas of certain cities in the Indies
<u>wijkmeester</u>	ward-master
<u>wong cilik</u>	the 'little people', the common people
<u>zending</u>	mission
<u>zendingsgenoot-schap</u>	missionary society

APPENDIX A

DUTCH NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED BEFORE 1856

<u>Publications</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Year of Publication</u>
<u>Bataviasche Nouvelles</u>	Batavia	1744
<u>Vendu Nieuws</u>	Batavia	1776
<u>Bataviasche Koloniale Courant</u>	Batavia	1810
<u>Java Government Gazette</u>	Batavia	1812
<u>Bataviasche Courant</u>	Batavia	1816
<u>Bataviaasch Advertentieblad</u>	Batavia	1825
<u>Javasche Courant</u>	Batavia	1828
<u>Nederlands Indisch Handelsblad</u>	Batavia	1829
<u>Soerabaija Courant</u>	Surabaya	1837
<u>Semarangsche Advertentieblad</u>	Semarang	1845
<u>Semarangsche Courant</u>	Semarang	1846
<u>Bataviaasch Advertentieblad</u>	Batavia	1851
<u>Java Bode</u>	Batavia	1852
<u>Locomotief</u>	Semarang	1852
<u>Soerabajaasch Handelsblad</u>	Surabaya	1852
<u>De Oostpost</u>	Surabaya	1853

Dutch Periodicals Published Before 1856

<u>Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië</u>	Batavia	1838
<u>De Kopiist</u>	Batavia	1840
<u>Indische Magazine</u>	Batavia	1844
<u>Indisch Schoolblad</u>	Batavia	1853
<u>De Opwekker</u>	Batavia	1855

APPENDIX B

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS PUBLISHED BETWEEN 1855 AND 1875

No.	Name of Journal	Date of Publication	Date of Closure	Publisher	Orientation
1.	<u>Bromartani</u>	January 1855	December 1857	Hartevelt Bros. Surakarta	enlightening/educational
2.	<u>Poespitamantjawarna</u>	<u>idem</u>	?	<u>idem</u>	<u>idem</u>
3.	<u>Soerat Kabar Bahasa Melajoe</u>	January 1856	December 1856	E. Fuhri, Surabaya	commercial
4.	<u>Bintang Oetara</u>	1856	1857	H. Nygh, Rotterdam	enlightening/educational
5.	<u>Soerat Chabar Betawie</u>	April 1858	December 1858 <u>/?/</u>	Lange & Co., Batavia	commercial
6.	<u>Selompret Melajoe</u>	August 1860	October 1911	G.C.T. van Dorp, Semarang	commercial
7.	<u>Bintang Timor</u> (Later <u>Bintang Soera-baja</u>)	May 1862	1887	Gimberg Bros. & Co., Surabaya	commercial
8.	<u>Bintang Timor</u>	January 1865	1865	Van Zadelhoff & Fabritius, Padang	commercial
9.	<u>Djoeroemartani</u> (Later <u>Bromartani</u>)	January 1865	1871	De Groot-Kolff & Co., Surakarta	commercial
10.	<u>Biang-Lala</u> (Later <u>Bintang Djohar</u>)	Setpember 1867	1873	Ogilvie & Co., Parapaten Press, Batavia	missionary
11.	<u>Mataharie</u>	1868	1870	Bruining & Wijt, Batavia	commercial

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No.	Name of Journal	Date of Publication	Date of Closure	Publisher	Orientation
12.	Tjehaja Siang	January 1869	1925	H. Bettink, Tondano	missionary
13.	Bintang Barat	1869	1899	Ogilvie & Co., Batavia	commercial
14.	Bintang Parnama	August 1871	1872	Cattelin Press, Padang	commercial
15.	Bromartani	1871	1932	Vogel van der Heyde & Co., Jonas Portier & Co., Surakarta	commercial
16.	Hindia Nederland	1871	1910	H.M. van Dorp, Batavia	commercial
17.	Bintang Djohar	January 1873	1886	Parapattan Press, Batavia	missionary

VERNACULAR NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS BETWEEN 1875 AND 1900

No.	Name of Journal	Date of Publication	Date of Closure	Publisher(s)	Frequency
1.	<u>Bentara Melajoe</u>	<u>/?/ 1877</u>	June <u>/?/ 1878</u>	Arnold Snackey, Padang	weekly
2.	<u>Wazier Hindia</u>	26 June 1878	<u>/?/ 1883</u>	W. Bruining, Batavia	weekly
3.	<u>Darmowarsito</u>	<u>/?/ Jan. 1878</u>	<u>/?/ 1880</u>	H. Runing, Yogyakarta	weekly
4.	<u>Pembrita Bahroe</u>	2 April 1881	<u>/?/ 1896</u>	Thieme & Co.; P.C. Halkema & Co., Surabaya	2 X weekly; then daily
5.	<u>Tjahaja India</u>	5 January 1882	<u>/?/ 1888</u>	A. Bijschop, Semarang	3 X weekly
6.	<u>Mata Hari</u>	28 October 1882	<u>/?/ May 1883</u>	W. Eekhout, Makassar	weekly
7.	<u>Tjahaja Moelia</u>	1 July 1883	<u>/?/ 1884</u>	Donker Bros. & Co., Surabaya	daily
8.	<u>Dini Hari</u>	22 September 1884	<u>/?/ 1885</u>	G. Koliff & Co., Batavia	2 X weekly
9.	<u>Pembrita Betawi</u>	22 December 1884	30 December 1916	W. Bruining & Co., Karseboom & Co., Albrecht & Co., Batavia	daily
10.	<u>Batara-Indra</u>	1 April 1885	<u>/?/ December 1888</u>	Van Duren & Co., Surabaya	daily
11.	<u>Sinar Terang</u>	1 January 1886	<u>/?/ December 1886</u>	Vogel van der Heijden & Co.	daily

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name of Journal</u>	<u>Date of Publication</u>	<u>Date of Closure</u>	<u>Publisher(s)</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
12.	<u>Palita Ketjil</u>	1 March 1886	1895 <u>?</u> <u>J</u>	R. Edwards van Muijen, Padang	2 X weekly
13.	<u>Chabar Hindia Olanda</u>	<u>?</u> <u>J</u> 1887	<u>?</u> <u>J</u> 1897	Karseloom & Co., Batavia	daily
14.	<u>Bintang Soerabaja</u>	15 July 1887	<u>?</u> <u>J</u> 1924	Tjoa Tjoan Lok, Surahaya (Gimberg Bros. & Co.)	daily
15.	<u>Soeloeh Pengadjar</u>	<u>?</u> <u>J</u> January 1887	December 1893	P. Schuitmaker, Probolinggo	monthly
16.	<u>Tamboor Melajoe</u>	30 January 1888	1889 <u>?</u> <u>J</u>	Jansz Bros., Semarang	3 X weekly
17.	<u>Sinar Terang</u>	25 June 1888	<u>?</u> <u>J</u> 1898	Yap Goan Ho, Batavia	daily
18.	<u>Pertja Barat</u>	<u>?</u> <u>J</u> 1890	<u>?</u> <u>J</u> December 1911	L.N.A.H. Chatelin; L.J.W. Stritzko; Sumatra Snelpers- drukkerij, Padang	3 X weekly
19.	<u>Djawi Kando</u>	<u>?</u> <u>J</u> June 1891	<u>?</u> <u>J</u> 1919	J.A. Schultz Jr.; Albert Rusche & Co., Surakarta	2 X weekly
20.	<u>Pewarta Boemi</u>	<u>?</u> <u>J</u> 1893		Pijtersen & Nieuwen- huizen, Amsterdam	fortnightly
21.	<u>Chabar Berdagang</u>	<u>?</u> <u>J</u> 1894	1894 <u>?</u> <u>J</u>	Yap Goan Ho, Batavia	?
22.	<u>Penghentar</u>	<u>?</u> <u>J</u> 1894	15 October 1902	Ambonsche Drukkerij; Ong Kie Hong, Amboin	fortnightly

No.	Name of Journal	Date of Publication	Date of Closure	Publisher(s)	Frequency
23.	<u>Sinar Minangkabau</u>	<u>/?_J</u> 1894	1894 <u>/?_J</u>	Baharoedin <u>/?_J</u> Padang	daily
24.	<u>Bintang Betawi</u>	<u>/?_J</u> 1894	<u>/?_J</u> 1906	J. Kieffer; H.M. van Dorp & Co., Batavia	daily
25.	<u>Courant Doeminggae</u>	28 January 1894	<u>/?_J</u> December 1898	Ogilvie & Co.; H. Prange & Co., Batavia	weekly
26.	<u>Retnodoemilah</u>	17 May 1895	<u>/?_J</u> 1909	H. Buning, Yogyakarta	2 X weekly
27.	<u>Warta Berita</u>	<u>/?_J</u> 1895	<u>/?_J</u> 1908	R. Edward van Muijen, Padang	2 X weekly
28.	<u>Matahari Terbit</u>	July 1895	December 1895	P. Shuitmaker; I.K. Harmsen, Proho- linggo	monthly
29.	<u>Tijahaja Sumatra</u>	<u>/?_J</u> 1897	<u>/?_J</u> 1933	P. Baumer & Co., Padang	2 X weekly
30.	<u>Pengadilan</u>	13 November 1897	16 April 1898	De Vries & Fabricus, Bandung	weekly
31.	<u>Pewarta Prajangan</u>	<u>/?_J</u> July 1898	<u>/?_J</u> December 1898	R.L.H.A. Overbeek Bloem, Bandung	weekly <u>/?_J</u>
32.	<u>Taman Pengadjar</u>	<u>/?_J</u> May 1899	1914 <u>/?_J</u>	G.C.T. van Dorp & Co., Semarang	monthly
33.	<u>Hoekoom Hindia</u>	<u>/?_J</u> June 1899	<u>/?_J</u> September 1903	J. Schreutellkamp & Co.; W.P. Vasques	daily

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name of Journal</u>	<u>Date of Publication</u>	<u>Date of Closure</u>	<u>Publisher(s)</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
34.	<u>Sinar Djawa</u>	<u>/?_J 1899</u>	<u>/?_J 1924</u>	Hong Thay & Co., Semarang	3 X weekly
35.	<u>Pewarta Wolanda</u>	<u>1 September 1900</u>	<u>/?_J</u>	Abdul Rivai, Amsterdam	fortnightly
36.	<u>Pewarta Prijaji</u>	<u>/?_J 1900</u>	<u>1902 /?_J</u>	Semarang Drukkerij, Semarang	monthly
37.	<u>Soerat Chabar Soldadoe</u>	<u>15 April 1900</u>	<u>March /?_J 1901</u>	Albrecht & Co., Batavia	fortnightly
38.	<u>Primbon Soerabaja</u>	<u>4 July 1900</u>	<u>/?_J August 1903</u>	Thies & Umbgrove; Tan Kim Siong, Surabaya	daily
39.	<u>Tapian na Oeli</u>	<u>/?_J 1900</u>	<u>/?_J 1903</u>	Snelpersdrukkerij Insulinde, Padang	weekly
40.	<u>Bintang Semarang</u>	<u>/?_J 1900</u>	<u>1906 /?_J</u>	N.V. Semarang Courant	3 X weekly

APPENDIX D

Indies Newspapers and Periodicals in circulation in 1900

Name of Publication	Publisher	Location	Type of Publication
<u>Pembrita Betawi</u>	Albrecht & CCo.	Batavia	daily newspaper
<u>Bintang Betawi</u>	H.M. van Dorrp & Co.	Batavia	daily newspaper
<u>Hoekoem Hindia</u>	J. Schereuteel-kamp & Co.	Batavia	daily newspaper
<u>Soerat Kabar Soldadoe</u>	Albrecht & CCo.	Batavia	fortnightly periodical
<u>Bromartani</u>	Vogel, van der Heijde & Co.	Surakarta	weekly newspaper
<u>Djawi Kando</u>	Albert Ruschhe & Co.	Surakarta	3 X weekly news-paper
<u>Selompret Melajoe</u>	G.C.T. van DDorp Semarang & CCo.	Semarang	3 X weekly news-paper
<u>Taman Pengadjar</u>	<u>idem</u>	Semarang	monthly, pedago-gical
<u>Sinar Djawa</u>	Hoang Thaij & Co.	Semarang	3 X weekly news-paper
<u>Pewarta Prijaji</u>	Semarang Drukkerij	Semarang	monthly priyayi journal
<u>Bintang Semarang</u>	N.V. Semaranng Courant	Semarang	3 X weekly news-paper
<u>Retnodhoemilah</u>	H. Buning	Yogyakarta	2 X weekly news-paper
<u>Bintang Soerabaja</u>	Gebr. Gimberrg & Co.	Surabaya	daily newspaper
<u>Primbon Soerabaja</u>	Tan Kim Sianng	Surabaya	daily newspaper
<u>Pertja Barat</u>	L.N.A.H. Chatelin Sr.:.	Padang	2 X weekly news-paper
<u>Tjahaja Sumatra</u>	P. Baumer & Co.	Padang	2 X weekly news-paper
<u>Tapian Na Oeli</u>	Snelpersdrukkery Indulinde	Padang	weekly periodical

<u>Warta Berita</u>	R. Edwards van Muijen	Padang	2 X weekly newspaper
<u>Tjahaja Siang</u>	C. van der Roest	Anurang	fortnightly missionary periodical
<u>Penghentar</u>	Ambonsche Drukkerij	Anbon	fortnightly missionary periodical

APPENDIX E

VERNACULAR NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS
PUBLISHED IN JAVA 1900-1913

No.	Name of Journal	Date of Publication	Place	Date of Closure
1.	<u>Taman Pengadjar</u>	/?/ Maay 1899	Semarang	1914 /?/
2.	<u>Hoekoem Hindia</u> (Later <u>Taman Sari</u>)	/?/ Juune 1899	Batavia	/?/ Sept. 1903
3.	<u>Sinar Djawa</u>	/?/ 1899	Semarang	/?/ 1924
4.	<u>Pewarta Prijaji</u>	/?/ 1900	Semarang	1902 /?/
5.	<u>Soerat Chabar</u> <u>Soldadoe</u>	15 April 1900	Batavia	March /?/ 1901
6.	<u>Bintang Semarang</u>	/?/ 1900	Semarang	1906 /?/
7.	<u>Primbon Soerabaja</u>	4 July 11900	Surabaya	/?/ Aug. 1903
8.	<u>Bentara Hindia</u>	/?/ 1901	Batavia	/?/ 1925
9.	<u>Li Po</u>	1 April 1901	Sukabumi	/?/ 1907
10.	<u>Bandera Wolanda</u>	15 April 1901	Batavia	1 Dec. 1903
11.	<u>Warna Sari</u>	1 Oct. 11901	Buitenzorg	1903 /?/
12.	<u>Sien Po</u>	/?/ Jaan. 1902	Surakarta	?
13.	<u>Pengadilan</u>	/?/ Auug. 1902	Batavia	1904 /?/
14.	<u>Taman Pewarta</u>	/?/ 1902	Surakarta	1915 /?/
15.	<u>Warna Warta</u>	/?/ 1902	Semarang	/?/ 1933
16.	<u>Kabar Perniagaan</u>	/?/ 1903	Batavia	/?/ Dec. 1906
17.	<u>Taman-Pengata-hoean</u>	15 Jan. 1903	Batavia	15 Dec. 1904
18.	<u>Ho Po</u>	6 May 1903	Bogor	1912 /?/
19.	<u>Soenda Berita</u>	17 Aug. 1903	Batavia	/?/ Oct. 1903
20.	<u>Soerat Koeliling</u>	1903 /??/	Batavia	1910 /?/
21.	<u>Soerat Brita</u> <u>Kepoetoesan</u> <u>Hoekoem</u>	/?/ 1903	Batavia	/?/ 1910

22.	<u>Taman Sari</u>	1 Oct. 1903	Batavia	/?/ 1914
23.	<u>Darmo Kondo</u>	12 Nov. 1903	Surakarta	/?/ Dec. 1910
24.	<u>Browijoto</u>	/?/ 1903	Surakarta	/?/
25.	<u>Pewarta Soerabaja</u>	1 April 1903	Surabaya	/?/
26.	<u>Ik Po</u>	23 Feb. 1904	Surakarta	/?/ 1909
27.	<u>Sienar Betawi</u>	6 June 1904	Batavia	/?/ June 1906
28.	<u>Taman-Hindia</u>	1 July 1904		/?/
29.	<u>Ilome Tani</u>	/?/ 1904	Batavia	/?/ 1910
30.	<u>Bintang Batavia</u>	/?/ Jan. 1905	Batavia	/?/ 1910
31.	<u>Pewarta Theosofie</u>	Sept. 1905	Batavia	/?/
32.	<u>Tiong Hoa Wi Sjen Po</u>	/?/ 1905	Buitenzorg	1920 /?/
33.	<u>Pewarta Hindia</u>	1906 /?/	Bandung	1910 /?/
34.	<u>Djawi Hisworo</u>	/?/ 1906	Surakarta	31 Dec. 1919
35.	<u>Seng Kie Po</u>	1 July 1906	Batavia	/?/
36.	<u>Pantjaran Warta</u>	/?/ 1907	Batavia	1917 /?/
37.	<u>Soeloeah Peladjar</u>	15 Feb. 1907	Weltevreden	/?/ 1908
38.	<u>Bintang Moekti</u>	/?/ 1907	Bändung	/?/ 1909
39.	<u>Medan Prijaji</u>	/?/ 1907	Bandung	/?/ 1912
40.	<u>Perniagaan</u>	2 Jan. 1907	Batavia	/?/ June 1930
41.	<u>Soeloeah Peladjar</u>	15 Feb. 1907	Tjikini Welterreden	1919 /?/
42.	<u>Soeloeah Keadilan</u>	April 1907	Bandung	1910 /?/
43.	<u>Tjahaja Timoer</u>	/?/ 1908	Malang	1918 /?/
44.	<u>Bintang Pagi</u>	22 May 1908	Semarang	/?/
45.	<u>Pedoman Prijaji Dan Anak Negri</u>	/?/ Jan. 1908	Batavia	/?/
46.	<u>Poetri Hindia</u>	1 July 1908	Batavia	1913 /?/
47.	<u>Sinar Tiong Hoa</u>	15 Nov. 1908	Besuki	2 Feb. 1914
48.	<u>Tjahaja Timoer</u>	/?/ 1908	Malang	1918 /?/

49.	<u>Djawa Kong Po</u>	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u> 1909	Semarang	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>
50.	<u>Sri Pasoendan</u>	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u> May 1909	Bandung	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>
51.	<u>Hoa Toh</u>	1909 <u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>	Batavia	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>
52.	<u>Boemipoetera</u>	1 July 1909	Weltevreden	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>
53.	<u>Pewarta S.S.</u>	1 May 1909	Buitenzorg	1911 <u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>
54.	<u>Soeling Hindia</u>	Sept. <u>/</u> ? <u>/</u> 1909	Rengkasbetung	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>
55.	<u>Djawa Tengah</u>	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u> Dec. 1909	Semarang	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u> 1938
56.	<u>Pamor</u>	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u> Jan. 1910	Semarang	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>
57.	<u>Chabar Evolutie</u>	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u> March 1910	Buitenzorg	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>
58.	<u>Kemadjoean</u>	15 May 1910	Buitenzorg	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>
59.	<u>Boedi Oetomo</u>	1 July 1910	Surakarta	March <u>/</u> ? <u>/</u> 1913
60.	<u>Sin Po</u>	1 Oct. 1910	Batavia	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u> 1960
61.	<u>Bintang Tjirebon</u>	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u> 1911	Ceribon	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>
62.	<u>Pewarta Pengadaian</u>	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u> July 1911	Bandung	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u> 1912
63.	<u>Tjahaja Hindia</u>	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u> July 1911	Batavia	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>
64.	<u>Minggoean Perse-koetoean</u>	15 July 1911	Batavia	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>
65.	<u>Darmo-Kondo</u>	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u> Jan. 1911	Surakarta	/ ? / 1933
66.	<u>Asja</u>	3 Sept. 1911	Surabaya	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>
67.	<u>Sinar Pasoendan</u>	5 Dec. 1911	Bandung	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u> March 1912
68.	<u>Soeara Keadilan</u>	Dec. 1911	Bandung	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>
69.	<u>Padoman</u>	1911	Semarang	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>
70.	<u>Militair Djawa</u>	1911 <u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>	Yogyakarta	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>
71.	<u>Padoman</u>	1911	Semarang	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>
72.	<u>Militair Djawa</u>	1911 <u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>	Yogyakarta	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>
73.	<u>Sarotomo</u>	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u> 1912	Surakarta	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u> 1915
74.	<u>Kaoem Moeda</u>	2 April 1912	Bandung	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u> 1942
75.	<u>Poesaka Doenia</u>	July 1912	Weltevreden	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>
76.	<u>Hindia</u>	<u>/</u> ? <u>/</u> 1912	Batavia	19 Sept. 1914 <u>/</u> ? <u>/</u>

77.	<u>Hoa Pit</u>	3 Aug. 1912	Batavia	
78.	<u>Tjahaja Minahassa</u>	30 Sept. 1912	Yogyakarta	<u>/?_J</u>
79.	<u>Sinar Tiong Hoa</u>	<u>/?_J</u> Oct. 1912	Cheribon	2 Feb. 1914
80.	<u>Tjahaja Pasoendan</u>	<u>/?_J</u> 1912	Bandung	30 Sept. 1917
81.	<u>Oetoesan Hindia</u>	5 Dec. 1912	Surabaya	1923 <u>/?_J</u>
82.	<u>Sia Hwee Po</u>	15 Jan. 1913	Surabaya	<u>/?_J</u>
83.	<u>Hindia Sarikat</u>	6 March 1913	Bandung	1914 <u>/?_J</u>
84.	<u>Panoengtoen Kema-jdoan</u>	<u>/?_J</u> 1913	Bandung	<u>/?_J</u> 1922
85.	<u>Anak Negeri</u>	1 April 1913	Buitenzorg	<u>/?_J</u>
86.	<u>Pewarta Boedi Oetomo</u>	April <u>/?_J</u> 1913	Kediri	<u>/?_J</u>
87.	<u>Penghiboer Djoedja</u>	<u>/?_J</u> May 1913	Batavia	27 June 1914
88.	<u>Sinar Djawa</u>	1 Okt. 1913	Semarang	<u>/?_J</u> 1924
89.	<u>Bok Tok</u>	<u>/?_J</u> Okt. 1913	Surabaya	<u>/?_J</u>

APPENDIX F

VERNACULAR NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS
PUBLISHED INN THE OUTER ISLANDS
1900-1913

No.	Name of Journal	Date of Publication	Place	Date of Closure
1.	<u>Tapian Nan Oeli</u>	/?/ 1900	Padang	/?/ 1903
2.	<u>Insulinde</u>	April 1900	Padang	/?/
3.	<u>Pertja Timoer</u>	/?/ 1900	Medan Deli	/?/ 1912
4.	<u>Pemberita - Makassar</u>	/?/ 1900	Makassar	30 Sept. 1941
5.	<u>Wazir Hindia</u>	/?/ 1900	Padang	/?/
6.	<u>Sinar Matahari</u>	/?/ Junne 1904	Makassar	/?/ 1919
7.	<u>Pewarta Menado</u>	31 Aug. 1904	Menado	1909
8.	<u>Binsar Sinondang Batak</u>	2 Decembeer 1905	Padang	/?/
9.	<u>Sinar Sumatra</u>	/?/ Oktt.. 1905	Padang	/?/ 1932
10.	<u>Pemberita Atjeh</u>	16 Octobeer 1906	Koeta Radja	No longer in circulation in 1910
11.	<u>Sinar Atjeh</u>	/?/ 1900	Koetaradja	30 July 1908 No. 56.
12.	<u>Bintang Pesisir</u>	/?/ 1900	Tapian Na Oeli (Sibolga)	/?/
13.	<u>Sinar Borneo</u>	March /??/ 1907	Bandjarmasin	/?/
14.	<u>Minangkabau</u>	/?/ 1900	Padang	/?/
15.	<u>Warta Hindia</u>	/?/ 1900	Padang	/?/ 1928
16.	<u>Pewarta Borneo</u>	21 May 1900	Banjarmasin	/?/ 1910
17.	<u>Tjahaja Grontalo</u>	/?/ Octt.. 1909	Gorontalo	/?/
18.	<u>Bintang Tiong Hwa</u>	/?/ Febb.. 1910	Padang	/?/ 1915
19.	<u>Pewarta Deli</u>	/?/ 1910	Medan	/?/ 1941
20.	<u>Salendang Sibolga</u>	/?/ Febb.. 1911	Sibolga	/?/

21.	<u>Oetoesan Melajoe</u>	<u>1</u> ?_7 1911	Padang	1926 <u>1</u> ?_7
22.	<u>Bintang Atjeh</u>	<u>1</u> ?_7 June 1911	Kota Radja Atjeh	<u>1</u> ?_7
23.	<u>Al-Moenir</u>	1 April 1912	Padang	Ceased circu- lation in 1913
24.	<u>Warta Palembang</u>	11 March 1912	Palembang	<u>1</u> ?_7
25.	<u>Soenting Melajoe</u>	6 July 1912	Padang	<u>1</u> ?_7
26.	<u>Tiong Hoa Po</u>	2 Sept. 1912	Makassar	<u>1</u> ?_7
27.	<u>Andalas</u>	Feb. <u>1</u> ?_7 1913	Medan	<u>1</u> ?_7
28.	<u>Soeara Melajoe</u>	4 April 1913	Padang	<u>1</u> ?_7
29.	<u>Soeloeh Melajoe</u>	<u>1</u> ?_7 April 1913	Padang	<u>1</u> ?_7
30.	<u>Soeara Rakjat</u>	<u>1</u> ?_7 1913	Padang	Dec. 1913 <u>1</u> ?_7
31.	<u>Salendang Sibolga</u>	<u>1</u> ?_7	Sibolga	<u>1</u> ?_7
32.	<u>Matahari Terbit</u>	10 Jan. 1912	Totok, Menado	<u>1</u> ?_7
33.	<u>Al-Achbar</u>	<u>1</u> ?_7 April 1913	Padang	<u>1</u> ?_7 1914
34.	<u>Taman Hindia</u>	<u>1</u> ?_7 1913	Padang	<u>1</u> ?_7
35.	<u>Saudara Hindia</u>	Sept. <u>1</u> ?_7 1913	Fort de Kock	<u>1</u> ?_7

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