

HARMONY AS IDEOLOGY: POLITICS AMONG THE DUTCH COMMUNITY IN SOLO, 1900-1915*

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Introduction

Small in number, the Dutch community in Solo, 1900-1915, enjoyed a splendid life. They had everything European at that time had. Jobs, technology, facilities, faith, and leisure time activities were all available for them. They were at ease with the local community. The Dutch style of life was partly adopted by the upper layer of the native.

They were in harmony with the authorities (the Dutch administration and the two Javanese principalities: the Kasunan and the Mangkunegaran) and the Javanese. When the Indische Party (IP) was established in 1912 in Bandung, they accepted the party but not the ideology of radicalism. They refused the idea of an independent state offered by the leadership of IP, promoted instead an autonomy under the Dutch. In Solo they preferred an autonomy under the Dutch, because in fact they had lived in harmony with the Javanese, and reversely, the Javanese themselves looked happy with the Dutch, culturally and politically.

When the IP was not legalized by the Government the IP Solo went to be a social

and local organization. They would like to live harmoniously with the Javanese and the Dutch authority. Their ideology became clearer, they were populist and loyalist.

Celebration of the New Year of 1900 for the Dutch community in Solo was a happy one, if not early in the day at 2:00 o'clock in the morning the community in the Dutch compound Lojiwuring had to be awake. A native shouted loudly, "The house of Meneer Rusche is burning!" Soon, just like an electric shock, cards and bottles in the Rusche Hotel nearby were laid down and people flocked to the site. Unfortunately, the Rusche family were still asleep unaware of what had happened, that the door and window had to be opened by force. There came the Europeans, the Chinese, and the natives from all directions. The piano, the cupboards, and the desks were soon brought outside the house cum the shop. The casualty of the shop only was f 10.000. So the news published in the only Dutch newspaper, *De Nieuwe Vorstenlanden* (DNV)¹

The news in the DNV² in general revealed that the Dutch lived happily, nothing to fear of, except the natural calamity such as the fire. The Dutch stayed in their own *wijk*—

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1 De Nieuwe Vorstenland (DNV), 3 January 1900

2 was the only local Dutch newspaper. It was the official publication of the Solosche Landhuurder Vereeniging (Solo Planters Union). Until 1904 it was published three times a week (Monday, Wednesday, Friday), but beginning in 1905 it appeared also on Saturdays. It had four pages (official section [Javanese, local Dutch, Netherlands-Indies governments], news [Surakarta, Solo], news+advertisements, advertisements).

developed into four *wijk* in 1915—headed by their own *wijkmeester* (neighborhood chief). In 1900 the European in Solo numbered 1,973, the Chinese 5,129, the Arab 171, the Other Eastern Foreigner 262, and the Native 101,924, making the total population 109,459. However small in number, the Dutch in the city had everything the European in the motherland enjoyed: advanced technology, contemporary services, and modern leasures.³

The Dutch Community and the Javanese Elite

There was no doubt that culturally the Dutch was phenomenal—though the Dutch had to share with two Javanese cultural centers, the Kasunanan and the Mangkunegaran. The feasts, festivals, and ceremonies of the two Javanese palaces always showed Dutch cultural traits, such as music, food, dance, and toast (*kundisi*). The Mangkunegara House was completely westernized: accepting guest, *thee dansant*, and horse race. Eversince Mangkunegara IV in the mid-nineteenth century palace auditions had used chairs—just like western palaces—no longer people had to sit on the floor.⁴ The Sunan (Pakubuwana X) was reportedly an expert in the Western

dance. A book called *Serat Wedhomadyo* (House of Knowledge) described his expertise in the polonaise dance in which he skillfully hold the hands of the wife of the Dutch Resident.⁵ The Sunan used to receive Dutch guests on Saturday at 9:00 PM, the Dutch inhabitants had only to read the announcement in the local Dutch newspaper DNV and registered to the royal Dutch translator.⁶ Members of the royal house were friends of the Dutch.⁷ The families of the Sunan were often made commissioners in Dutch business enterprises.⁸ The Kepatihan Orchestra which belonged to the Kasunanan was completely a Dutch music group, using Dutch instruments, playing Western musics, and often having joint productions with Dutch singers.⁹ The Dutch culture also shared by the *sentana* (close relatives of the King), the *priyayi* (the bureaucrats), and the *abdi dalem* (the retainers and lower officials). An association of the *priyayi* and *abdi dalem*, Abiproyo, besides the *gamelan* also used to invite the Kepatihan Orchestra which played western musics, such as Mozart, Verdi, Beethoven, and Bellini.¹⁰

In cases of *kundisi* (toast, oat) they clearly adopted Dutch style ceremonies. Master of the guests gave a speech, praising someone in honor, the sound of small

3 See my paper for the conference on "The Modern Economic History of Indonesia", Yogyakarta, 24-26 August 1998. The paper was edited and retitled "Making an Old City a Pleasant Place to Stay for Meneer and Mevrouw" to be published in the UGM's journal, *Humaniora*.

4 Darmo Konda (DK), 27 October 1910, Amarma adat-wiradat ing Mangkunegaran (On the Manners of the House of Mangkunegaran).

5 Sosro[dij]ningrat, *Serat Wedhomadyo* (Soerakarta: Albert Rusche, 1898).

6 See, e.g., DNV, 3 June 1910

7 When Pangeran Ario Mataram held a party for his son and the bride, many of his Dutch friends came to the house—which was splendidly decorated, including aerogeengas lamps. Hyman van Anrooy who was an *abdi dalem* (official) physician of the Sunan gave him a toast, and he answered in Dutch. DNV, 22 April 1901.

8 Four persons of the Sunan's families and *priyayi* (bureaucrat), for instance, were made commissaries of the Handel Maatschappij Soerakarta (Fanoy-Soerakarta)—an export-import company—in 1915. See, *Handboek van Cultuur en Handels-Ondernemingen in Nederlandsch-Indie, 1915* (Amsterdam: J.H. de Bussy, yearly), p. 999.

9 As an illustration, for instance, the DNV 2 April 1900 reported that the the Kepatihan Orchestra had a joint production with a Dutch singer, Mrs. Valkenburg, performing o.a. "Egmond", "De Bolero van Ravina", and "Robert de Diabli", piano by Mrs. D and Mrs. N. After the concert there was dance.

10 See, e.g., DNV, 24 January 1906.

glasses was heard: *ting, ting, ting*. The servants filled up the glasses in front of the guests with wine, *jenewer*, or *ciu*. When the second sound *ting, ting, ting* was heard, people would stand up with glasses in the hands—as was known at that time people were sitting on the floor—the master of the guests announcing the intention of the toast, shouting, *hib, hib, hib*. The guests answered by shouting again and again, *hure, hure, hure*, drinking. When the toast was up, it was followed by *gamelan* music and songs, while the guests were chatting and eating. After midnight there would be *nayuban* (Javanese social dance).¹¹ Furthermore their sense of decency was Dutch dominated. In the *Serat Subasito* (Book of Conducts) Ki Padmosusastro who was a *priyayi* mentioned that if Javanese code of conduct contradicting the Dutch code of conduct, it was the Dutch that was to be followed.¹² In the eyes of the *priyayi* who would like to preserve the hierarchy in the society and in the language (*kromo*) the Dutch ranked first. Two out of four Javanese newspapers ever published in the city, the *Bromartani* and *Djawi Kando*, which were certainly *priyayi*'s ones had Dutch personnels as their editors.¹³ In 1912 Dutch language instruction was included in the curriculum of the three Royal Javanese Schools (Kepatihan, Mangkunegaran, Palace) and one HIS (Holandsch-Inlandsche School).¹⁴ There was a new private Javansch-Hollandsche School¹⁵, and a private lesson in Dutch language was

opened by a Javanese—teaching Dutch for the Javanese and Javanese for the Dutch—a year before.¹⁶ In addition also in 1912 a committee was established in order to set up a Neutraal [religion free] Hollandsh-Inlandsche School,¹⁷ but apparently only in 1915 it was materialized.¹⁸

The Dutch Community and the Public Culture

The Dutch culture in general contributed a lot to the formation of the city public culture. However, not all of the important cultural events in the motherland were becoming city culture. Christmas and New Year were celebrated only among the Dutch. Yet special for the celebration of New Year a rather formal occasions was done; the two Javanese principalities's Kings and dignitaries visited the Resident as a token of homage and loyalty. Coronation Day and Independence Day were observed by the Dutch community. But it was the royal events in the motherland, such as the birthdays of the Queen, the Queen's Mother, the prince, and the princess that were celebrated by the whole city dwellers. In such cases local committees were established. The famous ones were the birthdays of Her Majesty the Queen's Mother. In 1909, for instance, on August the 2nd there were flower festival (*bloemencorso*) competition with prizes, and military parade by the Dutch troop, the Mangkunegaran

11 The toast can be seen in Cod Or 6757 (Leiden University).

12 Ki Padmosusastro, *Serat Subasita* (Surakarta: Budi Utomo, 1914).

13 *Bromartani* had Ch. Moedij (died in 1906), while *Djawi Kando* had Albert Rusche, Jr. as editor (together with Raden Dirdjo Atmodjo as chief editor). The other two Javanese newspapers were *Darmo Konda* and *Djawi Hisworo*. It was not known who replaced Ch. Moedij, but in 1911 *Darmo Konda* referred it as "Javanese newspaper owned by the Dutch, protected by Javanese authority" (DK, 30 October 1911).

14 DK, 29 July 1912. There were also several government and private lower Javanese schools without Dutch instruction.

15 DK, 8 June 1912. The school was under M. Ng. Sastrapradata who had been in Holland for three years.

16 Advertisement in DK, 18 January 1911.

17 DNV, 8 October 1912. The committee's President was the famous medical doctor Radjiman Wediodiningrat and the Vice President was a Dutchman, the Headmaster of the local Neutraal Hollandsch-Chineesche School.

18 Mr. 2774/1915, Vb. 29-4-'16. It contains a request to the Department of Education for a permit to establish a Hollandsch-Javansche School met den Bijbel.

Legion, the Dutch palace guards of the Sunan, and salvo from the Dutch military camp (*benteng*). The flower festival was started in the office of the Resident, marched through the protocol road, escorted by music corp of the Kepatihan, and finished in the Sriwedari royal garden. The Sriwedari itself was decorated with lamps.¹⁹

Other important event to remember was the birth of the Oranje Princess in 1909 with lengthy report in the DNV.²⁰ As soon as the news of the expected birth reached Solo, on Friday evening, 30 May 1909, through telegram of the Semarang newspaper, *De Locomotief*, it was directed to the Dutch association *Societeit de Harmonie* (Society "Harmony").²¹ That very evening the Society hoisted Dutch flag, decorated the building with electric lamps and burnt fireworks. The following day, Saturday at 11:00 a.m. the cannon of the *benteng* sounded, people—including the native—on the street shouted *hurah* for a long time, schoolboys were freed and flowed the streets, and champagne was distributed in the fully attended Societeit. The Sunan who happened to be in his summerhouse returned to the city. The Resident sent the message via the Commandant of the Palace Guard—who was a Dutchman—to formally inform the Sunan, and the Sunan asked a prince to congratulate the Resident. The Resident received the delegation of the Sunan in the Societeit, where Dutch, princes, and the Prime Minister (*Patih, Rijksbestuurder*) had already come. (Later the Sunan presented the Resident with Oranje plaque from gold with the picture of Her Majesty and the Baby Princess). Houses of the Dutch, the Chinese, and the Javanese were decorated with three-color flags (Red, White, Blue). In a Dutch compound a Gate of Honor was erected. In the Society there was music, Orchestra of the Kepatihan. The real celebration was started on Monday, 3 May 1909. There was

a military parade of the Mangkunegaran Legion in the Kasunanan palace square—the Mangkunegaran's square was being used for people feast. There was music in the Resident House. There the native school-children were singing Dutch national anthem the *Wilhelmus* in Javanese language with violin from the Kepatihan Orchestra, while the Dutch children sang royal children songs, and the bigger children sang *Wilhelmus* and other nationalistic songs. Successively the Dutch and the Chinese youths in their own language declared their loyalty to the Netherlands and the Queen. After singing, the Javanese and the Chinese children went to the back gallery to get syrup and cookies. The first day of the celebration was closed in the late afternoon with speeches in the Societeit.

The second day, Tuesday 4 May 1909, was started with parade of the Sunan Javanese troops in the southern palace square. The Sunan in Major General dress, the Resident, and the princes sat down in the tribune, while the Regents (*bupati*) were sitting down on the floor. In the tribune there was a Gate of Honor with writings in Javanese and Dutch, "Heil aan Nederlandsch en Oranje". Upon the parade was over the dignitaries went to the great veranda (*pendopo*) to make toasts for the Queen and the Princess of the Netherland. At 11:00 o'clock there was music and dance. In late afternoon there was flower festival with prizes for adults and children. In the night, the Society held dance with variety costumes (*bal costumee*), the Sunan came in with Major General uniform then changed it into a black, criminal suit (*ombertje*). He was there until 1:00 o'clock, while people continued the celebration with dancing. The northern palace square (*alun-alun lor*) played an important role in the formation of public culture and in the encounter of the two culture, the Dutch and the Javanese. It was here that

19 DNV, 3 August 1909.

20 DNV, 3, 7 May 1909.

21 Established in 1874 (Staatsblad 1874 No. 267). The Societeit was erected by Indischlandbouwgenootschap te Soerakarta (established by Staatsblad 1871 No. 119) which was changed into Solosche Landhuurdersvereeniging (Staatsblad 1882 No. 127).

the *sekaten* (commemoration of the birthday of the Prophet) feast and other performances (movies, circuses, comedy house) were observed. The most important thing in the *sekaten* was the playing of the special Javanese music (*gamelan sekaten*) for a full week, day and night except Friday. The *sekaten* itself was held in the day and the night times for two weeks or more. As an illustration, in the *sekaten* of 1900—one among the most splendid—there were shops (*toko*), restaurants, drinking bout, merry-go-round, and sport house (*krampjes*). The performance section had comedy house, acrobatics, and movie inside a great tent. Petroleum-pumped lamp, which was a new thing at that time, was also in sale.²² The Dutch were active as vendors, performers, and visitors. The *sekaten* was visited by the nobilities, the Dutch, the Arab, the Chinese, and the Javanese. There were reports of daily visitors of the *sekaten* in 1911. A report of visitors on one Sunday night showed that there were 270 nobilities, 400 Dutch, 500 Arab, 800 Chinese, and 75,000 Javanese.²³

The *alun-alun* was not only for the *sekaten*, so that it was practically never vacant. When there was no *sekaten* in 1906—possibly because of epidemic—the local Dutch newspaper commented: "It is a pity for shopowners!"²⁴ So, in addition to the cultural, the *sekaten* had also economic function. Dutch companies made use of the palace square for business in popular entertainments: movie, circuses, theatre (*komidi stambul*), and entertainment variety (magics, illusion, comedy, jugglery, acrobatics). The information of the programs could be seen in the advertisement section of the local newspapers, Dutch and Javanese.

How the palace square had an important cultural function could be illustrated by the performance of *komidi stambul* of the Komedi Opera Vereeniging, as the following.²⁵ The language of the *komedi stambul* usually Malay, but no doubt that the performers spoke Dutch for it was called also *komidi peranakan* (half-blood Dutch). The performance would take four weeks, with different title everyday. The stories were taken from 1001 Night, such as "Abu Hasan", "Siti Jariah", "Saharear Scherazadee", "Syah Harun Alam", "Sultan Gardi", and "Kamaral Saman." The story of "De Bruid daar Boven" (The Bywife) was so successful among the Dutch spectators that they asked the story be played again.

The prices of the tickets varied, and there were always low prices for the natives. Ticket for circus was the highest. The tickets of the Circus Ott owned by Emil Ott which was in the city in 1906 were respectively 20, 4, 3, 2, 1, and 0.50 (native only) guilders.²⁶ Meanwhile, the tickets for movie, variety of entertainment, and the *komidi stambul* were almost the same. Tickets for movie were respectively 1.50, 1, 0.50, 0.25, and 0.15 (native only) guilders.²⁷ Tickets for variety of entertainment were respectively 1.50, 1, 0.50, 0.15 (native only) guilders.²⁸ Ticket for *komidi stambul* were respectively 1.50, 0.75, 0.40, and 0.20 (native only) guilders.²⁹ Thus, in the *alun-alun*, the two races and two culture met each other.

However, sometimes the Dutch wanted to be exclusive. In that case, they did not make use of the *alun-alun*, but a special place for performing arts, the Schouwburg. For instance Haarlemsch Tooneel (Harlem Theatre) which was in the city three times in 1906 (April, June, July) with the famous

22 DNV, 2, 4 July 1900.

23 DK, 15 March 1911.

24 DNV, 20 April 1906.

25 DNV, 26 January; 2, 4, 9 February 1903.

26 DNV, 10 August 1906.

27 Ticket prices of Koninklijke Bioscoop, DNV, 30 October 1903.

28 Ticket prices of Denny's Entertainment Co., DNV, 27 December 1909.

29 Ticket prices of the Komedi Opera Vereeniging, DNV, 26 January 1903.

grandmaster Louis Bouwmeester. It was performed there with tickets for f 4 and f 3. The plays performed were exclusively European, such as *Shylock* and *Merchant of Venice*.³⁰ But, such occasions were much less frequent than the all-race culture done in the *alun-alun*.

There were two elitist sport organizations intended for all races, the Dutch, the Chinese, the Arab, and the Javanese. In actual, only the Dutch and the Javanese were actively participated. Those were the *Wedloop Societeit der Vorstenlanden* (Society for Horse Race of the Principalities) and *Solosche Hippische Sportvereniging* (Horse Sport Union of Solo). Both seemed to have their own specialities. The *Wedloop Societeit* was for horse races, while the *Solosche Hippische* society was for horse competition. Illustration would give glances of how the two organizations worked. In 1900 the *Wedloop Societeit* held a two-day event, in the *Balapan* horse track owned by the House of *Mangkunegaran*. The participants came from *Yogyakarta* and *Surakarta*, the Dutch, the Javanese dignitaries (the houses of *Kasultanan Yogyakarta*, *Kasunanan*, and *Mangkunegaran*), and one Javanese *haji*. The 56 horses participated 56, competing for six prizes (cups, prizes, and plate) on the first day, and eight prizes (cups and prizes) on the second day. The Sunan attended all the two day races.³¹ In 1902 the *Solosche Hippische* society held a horse competition (the esthetics not the speed) for commemoration of the birthday of the Queen. The competition comprised of the best body, the best walker with two, three, or for wheeled carriage, and best walker in

two, three, or four pairs. In this occasion the Dutch, the Chinese, and the Javanese got together.³² It was even reported that in 1903 competition observed by the *Solosche Hippische* society Dutch and Chinese women came and dressed in *kebaya*, just like the Javanese women.³³

It seemed that the Sunan himself was very happy with Dutch culture, that he was willing to sponsor the "flying machine" show in 1 September 1911. The cost of the show was 6,000 guilders, the local committee had collected 3,500 guilders and the Sunan paid the rest. The show was held in the sport field of *Kadipiro*, attended by the Sunan, the Resident, and the Assistant Residents³⁴. The Sunan was so satisfied with the show, that upon finishing the job the Sunan rewarded the pilot a wood walker-stick with gold, diamond-decorated, holder.³⁵

The Interfaith Relationship

In matter of deeper world view the Dutch and the Javanese of Solo met each other. Just as *Yogyakarta* was famous for its *Vrijmetselarij* (Freemasonry), Solo was a center of Theosophy. It was as yet not known when the movements was first introduced but in 1904 it seemed that many of the Javanese elites were Theosophists. In 1904 the Javanese newspaper *Darmo Konda* published a continued article, *Wedosatmoko* (Knowledge of Life), in 1904.³⁶ It wrote about the soul or the second body, or "Pranamaikasa", or "Lingasharira", or "Roh Rochani", or "Etherisch lichaam". Theosophy and the Javanese leaning toward "the mystery of life" seemed

30 DNV, 4 April, 23 June, 30 July 1906.

31 DNV, 7 May 1900.

32 DNV, 1 September 1902.

33 DNV, 5 October 1903.

34 DK, 23 August 1911; 2 September 1911

35 DK, 4 September 1911.

36 Among others, see DK, 2 May 1904.

to match very well. The central terminologies of Theosophy were soon be Javanized. The keywords "kawruh nyata" (the real knowledge), "pakeming ngagesang" (the holy doctrine of life), and "dat badening manungsa" (the material that would be man). The composition of man was also completely Javanese. A man was composed of two dimensions: the higher (*luhur*) and the lower (*andhap*). In its turn the higher dimension comprised of three parts: the *atma* (spirit), the *budi* (the will of the spirit), and the *mana* (the will of man); while the lower dimension comprised of the *kama* (the animal drive) and the *prana* (the life drive). The *atma-budi-mana* was just identical with sufic concepts of *nur muhammad* (the light of Muhammad) and *sirullah* (the God's mystery).³⁷ By using Javanese and Islamic concepts easily Theosophy was accepted by the ordinary Javanese. Indeed, Theosophy was considered to be identical with sufisme (*sufiyah*). A Dutchwoman spoke on the principles of Theosophy that a pious man has no evil intention and has become a saint, his memory is none other than to serve man and God".³⁸ The vocabulary of Theosophy was already in the heads of the Javanese for a long time, who had been once Hinduized. In 1915 there was a lecture by a Dutchman from Yogya, "Karma en Genade" (payment of moral debt and higher insight).³⁹ As was

known the word *karma* was already also a Javanese concept.

But, rumors had it that Theosophy was spread out through the use of power. An open letter in *Darmo Konda* reported that the newspaper *Bromartani*—formal publication of the Kasunanan—accused that all the *abdi dalem* (official) of the House of Mangkunegaran were instructed to join the theosophic movement.⁴⁰ It was possibly true and possibly not, yet in fact the Centrum Theosophie was in Mangkunegaran,⁴¹ in Kampung Timuran, at the house of its President, Raden Mas Ngabei Mangundipuro.⁴²

Theosophy was formerly well accepted by the educated people of both Mangkunegaran and Kasunanan, before it was widely propagated. Theosophy even grew up contiguously with Budi Utomo (BU), the association of the learned.⁴³ The house of the Theosophy President was used also for the meetings of the BU.⁴⁴ That Theosophy grew up hand to hand with BU was proven when in 1913 the movement chose a physician, Radjiman Wediodiningrat as President (together with a Dutchman as Secretary and a Chinese as Treasurer).⁴⁵ Radjiman was an *abdi dalem* medical doctor of the Sunan. By combining the profession and the social function in one hand, Theosophy and BU had to have the same cultural and political philosophy; both in a very good terms with the Sunan, the Mangkunegara, and the Dutch.⁴⁶

37 DK, 27 April-1 May 1905.

38 DK, 9 July 1910.

39 DNV, 22 February 1915.

40 DK, 11 January 1906.

41 DK, 24 September 1906

42 DK, 9 July 1910; DK, 31 October 1913. This *raden mas* (a title denoting that the owner is the member of the royal house) was apparently an activist for his house was the place for propagating new ideas. DNV 1 October 1906 reported that one Mr. Nijland, a founder of Arbeidsleger (Army of the Laborer), gave a lecture in the house.

43 A certain Raden Ngabei who was *panewu* (the district chief) of Delanggu—Kasunanan region—wanted to join the Theosophy and the BU. DK, 10 October 1910.

44 DK, 31 October 1910.

45 DNV, 11 February 1913. In 1915 Radjiman was elected an acting chairman of BU.

46 In other words, both Theosophy and BU had what is now called an affirmative culture with regard to the authority. See, John Brenkman, *Culture and Domination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).

The Dutch Community and the Dutch Authority

Actually the Dutch at that time had nothing to fear of. The Mangkunegaran house was completely in control. The Dutch bureaucratic, judicial, and landownership reforms were successfully implemented in the Kasunan, making it was easier for the Dutch capitals to flow in.⁴⁷ The Dutch community in Solo did not consider the Javanese authorities and the Javanese as a threat to their existence. However, the Dutch administration seemed to have thought otherwise. The administrators suspected the Sunan. The reason was that the Javanese always regarded the Sunan as their legitimate ruler—even the greatest ruler of Surakarta—not the Dutch. The Sunan was a potential threat. A Dutch Resident told his successor that the title of the Sunan as the *panotogomo* (the ruler of religion) made it easier for him to become an agent of Pan Islamisme.⁴⁸ Another Resident asked his successor to watch the Sunan for he liked to go out of the palace *incognito*—without the required permission of the Resident—claiming to be “the king of king of Java”, and sympathizing with the Germany in World War I.⁴⁹ But, the community did not share the view.

That the administration was fear of the possible nationalistic awakening could be seen as early as 1905 when the war broke out between Russia and Japan. The Resident invited the editors of all the existing newspapers (1 Dutch, 2 Javanese, 1 Malay, 1 Chinese) to the office. The Resident told them that the Government would apply

censorship. Two hours before printed the newspapers had to be shown to the Dutch authority. The Dutch newspaper—expressing the sentiment of the general Dutch population—made a comment that the administration's fear of the “Yellow Danger” was ungrounded. The Chinese press could easily escape the censorship by putting the news in Chinese character and language.⁵⁰ It proved that the fear had no reason. Only three and a half months later, a movie with Russia-Japan war was advertised.⁵¹ The *Ik-Po*, the Chinese newspaper commented on the defeat of Russian by expecting that the Empire of China would rise up and promoted “Asia for the Asian”, and “soon the whole world will tremble with fear of the Asiatic movement”.⁵² But, the strong voice of the newspaper had no political impact to the community.

So, the Dutch administration and the Dutch community had different perception of the social reality, of the nation-wide and the city issues. As an example was the case of the reward of medals of loyalty (*Payung Srinugroho*, Umbrella of Honor) to two Dutch employees—a horse keeper and an *ordonnans* (mercenary)—of the Sunan in the years of 1903-1906. The Dutch administration considered it to be an insult to the Dutch for both were not subjects of the Sunan but of the Dutch. Sunan change his position, the medals were not in the form the usual umbrella but in the form of insigne (*emblem*) to be worn on the left-side of the breast. Nevertheless, the Resident protested the Sunan, and asked the Governor-General to abrogate the presentation.⁵³ But, the case

47 C. Ch. van den Haspel, *Overzicht en Overleg: Hervormingen van Justitie, Grondgebruik, en Bestuur in de Vorstenlanden op Java (1880-1930)* (Dordrecht-Holland: Floris Publication, 1985).

48 C.Th. Schneider (1905-1908), “Memorie van Overgave” (MvO).

49 F.P. Sollewijn Gelpke (1914-1918), MvO.

50 DNV, 17 February 1905.

51 DNV, 2 June 1905.

52 *Ik-Po*, 6 June 1905.

53 See, Letter of Decision of the Sunan dated 3 February 1903 which named the medal receivers; Letter of Decision of the Sunan dated 16 September 1904 that changed umbrellas into medals; Letter of Protest of Resident Schneider to the Patih, 5 November 1906; Letter of Resident Schneider to the Governor General dated 15 December 1906

seemed to have no real attention of the Governor-General; the case was closed. Also, there was no news in the local Dutch and Javanese newspapers with regards to the problem.

The closure of the "medal case" showed that the case was only an intra-administration issue, and had no effect at all to the social relationship between the Dutch and the Javanese in the city. The other case was an issue of Islamic awakening. The Dutch government was very suspicious to the rise of Sarekat Islam (SI, Islamic Union) in 1911 for it saw that public opinion in Europe consider it an anti-European movement. The Government refused to recognize it as a nation-wide organization.⁵⁴ Instead, in 1914 the Government recognized it as local organization. However, reversely, the Dutch community—expressed by the Dutch newspaper—never talked bad about SI, especially as an anti-European movement. The DNV said that SI was not against the Dutch, the Government, and the Christianity, but it was against the Chinese and the Christian mission (*zending*).⁵⁵ The newspaper even reported that SI used Dutch building, Schouwburg, to do a meeting.⁵⁶ There was no sign at all that the Dutch community had some ill-feelings to the native.

The Indische Partij

The Dutch community always saw the positive side of the Javanese, including the authorities. One could imagine harmonious they were; the Dutch elite (planters, urban burger) would visit the two palaces and the houses of nobilities and listen to the *gamelan*, while the hosts would hold glasses to toast,

drink champagne, dance, and speak Dutch. The Dutch also met the city mass in the *sekaten*, the circus, the movie, and the *komedi stambul*. They certainly witnessed only peaceful faces. It was beyond their imagination that the Javanese would appreciate any idea of independence.

The actual social experience, the mutual partnership with the Javanese, and the good relation with local Dutch administration had taught the Dutch community to live harmoniously with outside world. It is understandable then that the Dutch in Solo had their own mind about reality. Several months before the establishment of the political association of the Dutch in Netherlands-Indie, Indische Partij (IP), was declared, the community had made their firm decision. When E.F.E. Douwes Dekker (D.D) wrote in *De Express* promoting the idea of "Indie voor Ons"⁵⁷ or independence, Th. R. Landouw, the editor of DNV argued otherwise. Instead of "onafhankelijkheid" he stood for "zelfbestuur onder suprematie van Nederland" (autonomy under the Netherlands).⁵⁸

However, the difference in idea did not prevent them to found IP in Solo. Dutch, Javanese, and Chinese gathered in the Schouwburg on 13 October 1912. In that opportunity Landouw spoke on the importance of equality before the law for all, just like the Dutch in Holland. Furthermore, he talked about autonomy under the Netherlands, just like the relationship between England and South Africa. Clearly, his definition of Indier—like D.D.—was whoever stayed in the Netherlands-Indies; Dutch, half-Dutch, Javanese, and Chinese. IP was a multiracial, multi cultural, multireligious political organization. It did not matter for the audience when R.M. Soeleiman, the editor

54 In the eyes of D.A. Rinkes, the Adjunct-Adviser of the Office of Native Affairs, the leader of the SI, Samanhudi, was a bad man and "awoke one morning and found himself famous". See, S.L. van der Wal, *De Opkomst van de Nationalistische Beweging in Nederlands-Indie* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1967), 89.

55 DNV, 26 August 1912.

56 DNV, 17 January 1913.

57 D.M.G. Koch, *Om de Vrijheid: De Nationalistische Beweging in Indonesie* (Djakarta: Jajasan Pembangunan, MCL), 32

58 DNV, 15 March 1912.

of the Javane newspaper *Darmo Konda*, spoke in Javanese language.⁵⁹ At the same opportunity, the BU and the SI were invited officially. While the SI could attend the meeting officially—for the Headquarter was in Solo—the BU said that BU Solo was only a chapter and there was as yet no official permit from the BU Headquarter to participate.⁶⁰

The Dutch community went on. In the DNV publication of 15 October 1912, it mentioned that IP Solo had to work towards peace between the Chinese and the Javanese.⁶¹ (As is known, at that time there was an enmity between Chinese and Javanese in Solo). A book entitled *De Strijd der Indiers en de Indische Partij* (The Struggle of the Indiers and the IP) written by Jan van Holland was made available in the local Dutch bookstore.⁶² On 27 October 1912 they succeeded in forming the IP officials. They chose Th. R. Landouw (President), H.A. Dezentje (Vice President), Rusche (Secretary), Zondag (Treasurer), and Tinneveld, R.M. Soeleiman, and Gan Se Han (Commissaries). A committee on the constitution, comprising of H.A. Dezentje, Braam, and Tinneveld was agreed upon. At the time IP Solo had 158 members.⁶³ The members grew into 196 in a matter of two days.⁶⁴ The Javanese newspaper, *Darmo Konda*, owned by BU Solo chapter, following DNV voiced the ideas of IP. It said that all of the Indiers had the same rights on land. As at that time land was already capitalized, the newspaper argued that the purchase of land belonging to the

poor by the rich had to be prevented, so that the lot of Javanese was unlike the Irlandian, in which the rich Englishmen bought the lands of the poor Irlandian.⁶⁵ It was not clear what it meant by "the rich".

In response to the upcoming of D.D. to Solo on his three month-campaign tour—15 September-25 December 1912—in the first week of December 1912 the IP Solo held a meeting to inform the members on the difference between IP Headquarter in Bandung and IP Solo. While the Headquarter stood for *onafhankelijk volkbestaan* (independent people), the IP Solo sufficed itself with a *zelfbestuur onder de Nederland* (autonomy under the Netherlands). For IP Solo, the flag remained that of Holland, and with a status of a protectorate state.⁶⁶ Indeed, D.D. visited Solo on Friday, 20 December 1912. In the meeting D.D. spoke for two hours—described as boring in style and moreover in content by DNV—explaining the idea of "Indisch Vaderland" and "Onafhankelijke Volkbestaan" —just like America's independence from England, but without evolution.⁶⁷ There was disagreement between the Headquarter and IP Solo on matters of ideology and the color of the flag of the party. D.D. preferred that the color of the flag would be black with small red-white-blue in its upperside—but it was not known what kind of flag the IP Solo wanted. The reason, there was not enough time for discussion.⁶⁸

So, with a certain difference with the Headquarter in mind and with a positive image of the Dutch authority and the Javanese (and

59 DNV, 14 October 1912.

60 DK, 14 October 1912.

61 DNV, 15 October 1912

62 Advertisement, DNV, 16 October 1912

63 DNV, 28 October 1912; DK, 30 October 1912.

64 DNV, 31 October 1912.

65 DK, 6 November 1912.

66 DNV, 5 December 1912. The campaign tour of D.D. started on 25 September 1912, and would be ended by a meeting in Bandung on 25 December 1912 to delineate the constitution.

67 DNV, 23 December 1912.

68 DNV, 24 December 1912.

the Chinese) a group of people who represented the IP Solo went to Bandung. They consisted of three well-known Solonese, Th. R. Landouw (editor of the DNV, shopowner, commissioner, auctioneer, social activist).⁶⁹ H.A. Dezentje (superintendent of sugar factory in Karanganom, Klaten)⁷⁰, and RM Soeleiman (editor of *Darmo Konda*. As a token of enthusiasm, H.A. Dezentje contributed f 100.000 to Bandung Headquarter, a sum that had to be very significant for the IP Headquarter. On the meeting of 25 December 1912 to draw the party's constitution, the delegation of IP Solo contributed in changing the words with the hope that it might be more palatable to the Government—the no further information on "the changing". However, the idea of an "onafhankelijk volksbestaan", the so called "the spirit of D.D., remained intact."⁷¹

The Making of a Political Culture

Upon returning from Bandung, Landouw became more critical and political. He was critical to both conservatism and radicalism. He announced in the DNV that the newspaper

was no longer attached to the Solosche Landhuurdersvereniging, but to make it a news and advertisement courtant of whole Middle Java. Furthermore, he wrote that he did not want to submit to "narrow minded viewpoint".⁷² What he meant by "narrow minded viewpoint" was certainly the conservative interest of the planters and the radical politics of the IP Headquarter. The planters became conservative, for they expected the hands of the Government available to fight for embetterment of their lot in the land reform that was going on.⁷³ The other conservative force was the Government of East-Indies which implemented the land reform in the best interest of the planters. By radicalism he meant the idea of independence and an "Indisch Vaderland" belonged to IP Headquarter. He agreed on "the Unity of the Indiers", but not the independence.⁷⁴ Landouw was progressing towards the foundation of local IP, independent of IP Headquarter, and planned to takeover the *De Express*.⁷⁵

It seemed that Landouw had predicted the refusal of the request to legalize the IP. However, it expanded IP organization to the

69 Th. R. Landouw was certainly a public figure at the time. In 1900 he was the city cimmissary for insurance (together with K. Tinneveld, see, DNV, 21 December 1900); as auctioneer he was appointed to do great auction of KPA Handyonoto of Mankunegaran on 20 February 1903 (advertisement, DNV, 18 December 1903); he was the "holder of permit" [director] of the publisher Vogel van der Heijde & Co. (DNV, 14 March 1904); Secretary and Treasure of Frobel School [Kindergarten] (DNV, 19 April 1907; DNV, 9 July 1909).

70 H.A. Dezentje in 1900 was an administrator of sugar and indigo plantation in Karanganom, Klaten, in which the planter was also a Dezentje (Handboek, 1900). In 1913 he was reported to have invited some 130 persons to his house in Karanganom, in the event of the birthday of his wife and the wedding of his child. (DNV, 13 November 1913). The family of Dezentje had been in Surakarta since 1837, when J. Dezentje became planter in Tulung, Klaten. He was reported to have married a *raden ayu* (Javanese noble woman (Vincent Houben, *Kraton en Kumpeni*; Surakarta, 1830-1870, disertation, Leiden University, 1987). Eversince the names of Dezentjes were around in Surakarta and the city.

71 DNV, 27 December 1912; DK, 28 December 1912.

72 DNV, 2 January 1913.

73 To effectuate the struggle of the planters against the land reform of the Two Principalities, the associations of planters of Surakarta and Yogyakarta were merged in 1911 and headed by a former government official, the ex-President of the Landraad [Law Office] in Sragen (DK, 30 October 1911).

74 In DNV of 3 January 1913, Landouw made a joke on the idea of independence, as if the Minister of Colonies said: "Sorry, I forget it. It is what the new President of the United States of North America announced in the Congress about the Philippines".

75 DNV, 14 January 1913. In the first meeting of January 1913 certificates of obligation were sold, with a purpose of buying up the *De Express*.

level of *kring* (small chapter).⁷⁶ IP Solo also marched on for the benefit of the needy. It planned to establish an Indische Bond, a cooperative association. The association would open *toko* (modern shop) and *warung* (traditional shop) which sold groceries (rice, coffee, tea, sugar, lighter, and charcoal).⁷⁷ When finally the request of the IP Headquarter was refused by the Government on 4 March 1913, the IP Solo was not affected. However, it seemed that IP Solo, consequently, would go into obscurity if it did experience a metamorphose.

It continued itself by "going down to the people", this time by instigating the establishment of a second Dutch society in the end of March 1913—in addition to the Society "Harmony"—Societeit "Gezelligheid" (Society Amiability), intended for the sake of the less fortunate and the children (*kleine luiden*). Possibly, because Landouw was against conservatism of the planters, while Society "Harmony" belonged to the Planters Union. Though Resident in his inauguration speech mentioned on the importance of having a second society due to the growing Dutch population⁷⁸, but there was no indication that the Society "Harmony" was "overpopulated" nor Dutch population was growing significantly—only that the number of *wijk* that was rising.⁷⁹ So, there had to be certain dissatisfaction toward the Society "Harmony". The only explanation is that because the society remained under the

Planters Union.⁸⁰ Th. R. Landouw was again the President, while H.A. Dezentje contributed some money. In the third week of April 1913 it registered 200 members.⁸¹ The Society "Amiability" also planned to establish *toko* and *warung* named "Insulinde" which sold daily necessities—in lower rate than market price—stuffs such as rice, potato, bread, coconut, coconut-oil, egg, salt, sugar, coffee, tea, petroleum, gas, soap, furnishing equipment, alcohol, meat, fish, and so on.⁸² In the end of September 1913 Society "Amiability" kept its promise by observing dance in variety costume for children (*kinderbalcostume*), the first time ever in the city.⁸³

Conclusion

This paper is to be concluded by watching closely the activity of Th. R. Landouw as the time was approaching 1915. Landouw, more than others, was well representing the sensibility of the Dutch community in Solo, 1900-1915. Landouw became a populist and a loyalist.

As a populist, Landouw was evermore sympathetic to the national awakening at that time. Deliberately he republished an article by Dr. J.G. Scheurer on national movement. The BU, said Scheurer, was a national movement towards progress by concentrating itself in the advancement of knowledge and science, while the SI was a national movement by concentrating itself on social issue, the

76 On 1 February 1913 there was a meeting in Sragen attended by Dutchman, Chinese, and Javanese (DNV, 2 February 1913).

77 DNV, 11 February 1913.

78 DNV, 7 April 1913.

79 In 1921 the total population was 130.000, in only 2.000 European, 7.500 Chinese, 500 Arab and Moor, and 120.000 native. See, *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1921), "Soerakarta of Solo".

80 In 1914 when Society "Harmony" had new function aries, it chose Pangeran Koesoemodiningrat, son of the ruling Sunan, as its commissary (DNV, 2 September 1914); an indication of its conservativeness and elitist. In the meantime, the Society "Amiability" sufficed itself by appointing a raden, R. Oerip, to be one of its commissaries (DNV, 7 April 1913); possibly due to its populist learning.

81 DNV, 25 March, 1 April, 7 April, 25 April 1913.

82 DNV, 8 September 1913.

83 DNV, 27 September 1913.

exploitation of the Chinese and the dependent position of the native.⁸⁴ He was in agreement to the opinion that the IP was dangerous, because it was a movement of the *Indo* (half-Dutch) which were uneducated. Meanwhile, the SI was of an educated native trading middle class.⁸⁵ Furthermore, he would call the native as "onzer inlandsche broeders" (our native brothers).⁸⁶ In addition he was sympathetic to the Muslim, and wrote that they were "loyal onderdannen van N.I." (loyal subject of Netherlands-Indies).⁸⁷

As a populist and a loyalist, he suggested that both Society "Harmony" and Society "Amiability" accepted members of the lower class (*plebejers*), because the rich and the poor had to help each other, as they did

it a hundred years ago in the fight for freedom. Difference in classes was insignificant, the most important thing was the Netherlands: "Oranje boven! Oranje boven!" (Holland above all! Holland above all!)⁸⁸. When World War I broke in Europe, Landouw showed that he was a loyalist. He initiated a committee which organized the community in order to strengthen the local military equipment.⁸⁹

The Dutch community in Solo became less political and not participate in the nationwide movement; they were more social and local-level oriented. They would like to live harmoniously with the Javanese and the Dutch authority. Their ideology became clearer, they were populist and loyalist.

84 DNV, 11 October 1913.

85 DNV, 2 December 1913.

86 DNV, 29 August 1914.

87 DNV, 19 November 1915.

88 DNV, 4 November 1913.

89 DNV, 17 August 1914.