Indigenous Girls and Education in a Changing Colonial Society

The Dutch East Indies, c. 1880-1942

Kirsten Kamphuis

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization
of the European University Institute

Florence, 28 October 2019

European University Institute
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Department of History and Civilization - Doctoral Programme

I Kirsten Kamphuis certify that I am the author of the work Indigenous Girls and Education in a Changing Colonial Society. The Dutch East Indies, c. 1880-1942 I have presented for examination for the Ph.D. at the European University Institute. I also certify that this is solely my own original work, other than where I have clearly indicated, in this declaration and in the thesis, that it is the work of others.

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I confirm that chapter <2 and 4> draw upon a forthcoming article: 'An Alternative Family: Domesticity and Protestantism at an elite Javanese girls' school in the Dutch East Indies, c. 1907-1939, BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review (forthcoming 2020)

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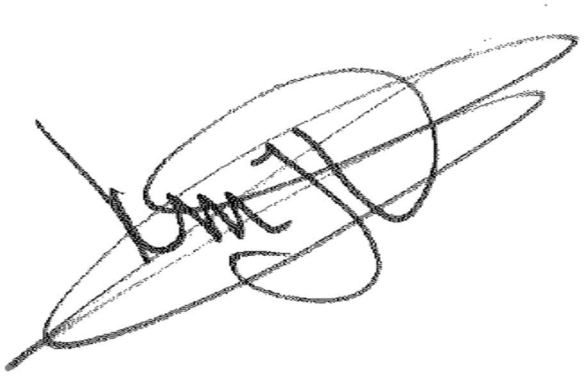

Abstract

So far, the history of Indonesian girls' education in the colonial period has mainly been explored by historians who have focused on governmental policies, and by those interested in theories of emancipation and modernity. This has often resulted in narratives about education as either a pathway to anticolonial activism and the birth of the Indonesian nation state, or as a gateway to 'modernity' and women's emancipation. This thesis, by contrast, argues that a focus on girls' education can help us to shift the perspective away from such teleological frameworks.

This research project reconsiders the topic of girls' education by taking the diversity of the late-colonial Dutch East Indies as its starting point. In doing so, the thesis integrates four widely diverging regions – the sultanate of Yogyakarta, West Sumatra, Flores and Minahasa – in one comparative framework. This allows for a kaleidoscopic view on girls' schooling from modernist Islamic initiatives to nationalist organizations and Christian missionary schools. The comparative framework enables an interrogation of the importance of local factors, while also doing justice to broader societal developments, such as the growing popular support for nationalist movements and the increasing labour market participation of Indonesian women. While the importance of the new colonial ideology represented by the early-twentieth-century 'ethical policy' should not be underestimated, this research supports the argument that this policy was far from the only driving force behind developments in female education.

Throughout the chapters, the strikingly diverse and highly gendered educational landscape of the Dutch East Indies is moved into two recently developed historiographical fields. In the first place, following the approach of colonial childhood studies, there is a continuous attempt to explore the historical experiences of indigenous girls themselves. This allows for a glimpse of girls' own agency and the historical subjectivity of a group that, in historiography, is usually framed as the 'object' of colonial civilizing missions. In the second place, this thesis precisely reconsiders the idea of colonial education as being driven by civilizing missions. Most importantly, the thesis argues that in most cases, their schooling encouraged indigenous girls to become agents of gendered civilizing missions in the context of a colonial society in flux.

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Acknowledgements

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List of figures

List of abbreviations

AMS	Algemene middelbare school
Ar.	Arabic
BI	Bahasa Indonesia
BKI	*Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*
ELS	Europese lagere school
CIJ	Congregatio Imitationis Jesu
Du.	Dutch
HBS	Hogere burgerschool
HCS	Hollands-Chineesche school
HIS	Hollands-Inlandsche school
Jav.	Javanese
JMJ	Sociëteit van Jezus, Maria en Jozef
KIM	Kepandoean Indonesia Moeslimin
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
KMI	Koelliyatoe'l Moe'allimaat el Islamiyah
Mal.	Malay
Min.	Minahasa
MULO	Meer uitgebreid lager onderwijs
MvO	Memorie van overgave
MVS	Meisjesvervolgschool
NZG	Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap
PERMI	Persatoean Moeslim Indonesia
PIKAT	Pertjintaan Iboe Kepada Anak Temoeroennja
PMDS	Persatoean Moerid-moerid Dinijjah School
SSpS	Servae Spiritus Sancti
STOVIA	School tot opleiding van inlandse artsen
SVD	Societas Verbi Divini
VOC	Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie

Overview of school types in the Dutch East Indies, by year of establishment[1]

1867

Hogere burgerschool: Upper-level secondary school, initially for European children only, later for all elite children

c.1870

Europese lagere school: Primary school for children with European legal status

1879

Hoofdenschool: Dutch-medium school for elite boys with Native legal status that prepared them for a career in the colonial civil service.

1893

Inlandse school eerste klasse: Native primary school for elite children
Inlandse school tweede klasse: Native primary school for middle-class children

1907

Volksschool: Three-year vernacular school for children with Native legal status

1908

Standaardschool: Five-year primary school for elite children with Native legal status
Hollands-Chinese school: Dutch-medium primary school for Chinese-Indonesian children

1913

Hollands-Inlandse school: Dutch-medium primary school for elite children with Native legal status

[1] This list is limited to the school types that play a role in this thesis. For school types that existed in the Netherlands as well, the opening year of the first school in the Dutch East Indies is listed. For a complete overview of the school system in the Dutch East Indies, see J.E.A.M. Lelyveld, '"...Waarlijk geen overdaad, doch een dringende eisch...": Koloniaal onderwijs en onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië 1893-1942' (PhD thesis Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, 1992).

1914

Meer uitgebreid lager onderwijs: Lower-level secondary school for children of all ethnic backgrounds

1918

Meisjeskweekschool: Girls' Dutch-medium teacher training college

Meisjesnormaalschool: Girls' vernacular teacher training college

1919

Algemene middelbare school: Secondary school for all children in the Dutch East Indies

1921

Schakelschool: Two-year school that served as a link between the Native and the European primary school system, offering a two-year programme

1922

Meisjesvervolgschool: Native girls' secondary school with a three-year programme

1926

Meisjesvolksschool: Three-year girls' vernacular school, meant to stimulate girls' participation in public education

Glossary

Adat – Mal./BI Local socio-cultural and religious traditions

Adat pingat (Minangkabau) / pingit (Java) – Mal./Jav. The custom of socially secluding pubescent girls before marriage

Anak-piara – Mal. 'Foster child'; a girl taken into a missionary household to learn domestic skills in Minahasa

Assistent-resident – Du. European equivalent of a boepatih in the interior administration of the Netherlands Indies

Baligh – Ar. Islamic legal and moral concept of adulthood

Bangsa – Mal. The nation; the people. In the Minahasan context also used for the local elite

Batik – Jav. Cloth decorated and patterned by using wax

Binnenlands Bestuur – Du. The Dutch local administration in the Netherlands Indies

Bupatih (Dutch: regent) – Mal. Local indigenous ruler, incorporated in the Dutch colonial administrative system. The highest rank for an indigenous colonial official.

Controleur – Du. 'Controller'; an inspector of the Binnenlands Bestuur, who reported to an assistant-resident. Effectively functioned as the link between the Inheems Bestuur and the Binnenlands Bestuur

Dessa – Mal. Village, usually in the countryside

Hadith – The words and deeds of the prophet Muhammad. Together, the Hadith and the Quran form the main religious texts in Islam

Hawa nafsu – Mal. Lust, unwarranted sexual desire

Hukum besar – Min. District head in Minahasa

Hukum kedua – Min. Deputy district head in Minahasa

Hukum tua – Min. Village head in Minahasa

Ikat – Mal. A traditional woven fabric from the Lesser Sunda Islands, used mainly for sarongs

Indische Kerk – Du. Protestant state church of the Netherlands Indies

Inlands Bestuur – Du. 'Native administration', the indigenous layer of administration in the Netherlands Indies

Kabupaten (Dutch: regentschap) – Jav. Residence of a bupatih; also the administrative unit over which the bupatih has the authority

Kampong – Mal. Urban residential area

Kaum Muda – Mal. Literally 'Young Group', a reformist Islamic movement in West Sumatra around 1900-1930

Kebaya – Mal. Type of women's blouse with long sleeves, usually worn with a wrapping skirt

Kleinambtenaarsexamen – Du. Exam that could be taken at the end of a primary school education in the European school system. Gave access to lower-level clerk positions in the colonial government.

Kodrat – Jav. Gendered character, nature, destiny; the idea that men and women have different and complementary roles in the world

Kraton – Jav. The residence of a royal ruler, a sultan

Kromo – Jav. The most formal register of the Javanese language

Laras – Minangkabau. Territorial unit made up of several nagari in West Sumatra, headed by a *larashoofd*

Madrasah – Ar. An Islamic religious day school

Majoor – Du. District head in Minahasa

Mashid – Ar. Mosque

Mas Loro – Jav. Priyayi title for an unmarried descendant of a royal line, lower in rank than Raden Mas or Raden Adjeng

Nagari – Mal. An administrative unit, comprising of a village with its surrounding settlements in West Sumatra, headed by a *nagarihoofd*

Ngoko – Jav. The most informal register of the Javanese language

Pahlawan nasional – BI. An officially canonized national hero of the Indonesian Republic

Paku Alam – One of the four Javanese princely states, also the title for its ruler

Patih – The highest representative of a regent or sultan; a chief minister

Penghulu – Chief, representative of a *suku* in West Sumatra; member of nagari council

Pesantren – An Islamic educational institution with a boarding school system

Pingit/Pingat – Jav/Mal. The custom of secluding marriageable girls until their marriage to ensure their virginity

Pondok – The dormitory of a pesantren; also used as a synonym for pesantren

Priyayi – Jav. High social class; nobles of the robe with connections to the kraton, administrative elite under Dutch colonialism

Raden Adjeng – Jav. Priyayi title for an unmarried female descendant of a royal line

Raden Ajoe – Jav. Priyayi title for a married female descendant of a royal line

Raden Mas – Jav. Priyayi title for male descendant of a royal line

Raja – Title used for indigenous rulers on Flores, 'king'

Resident – Du. High colonial official in the Netherlands Indies with the authority over a residency

Sarong – Mal. Long wrapping skirt for men and women. For women, often worn with a kebaya

Surau – Mal. Islamic prayer house

Suku – Mal, Ethnic group; lineage group.

Tanah air – Mal. Literally 'the soil and the water.' Term used to describe the Indonesian homeland, often translated as the 'fatherland' or 'motherland'

Tutup aurot – Mal. Literally 'covering up the intimate parts of the body'. Term for the Islamic system of religious rules for dress

Ulama – Ar. Islamic religious scholars

Walak – Min. A territorial unit in Minahasa comprising of several settlements

Wayang – Jav. Javanese puppet theatre

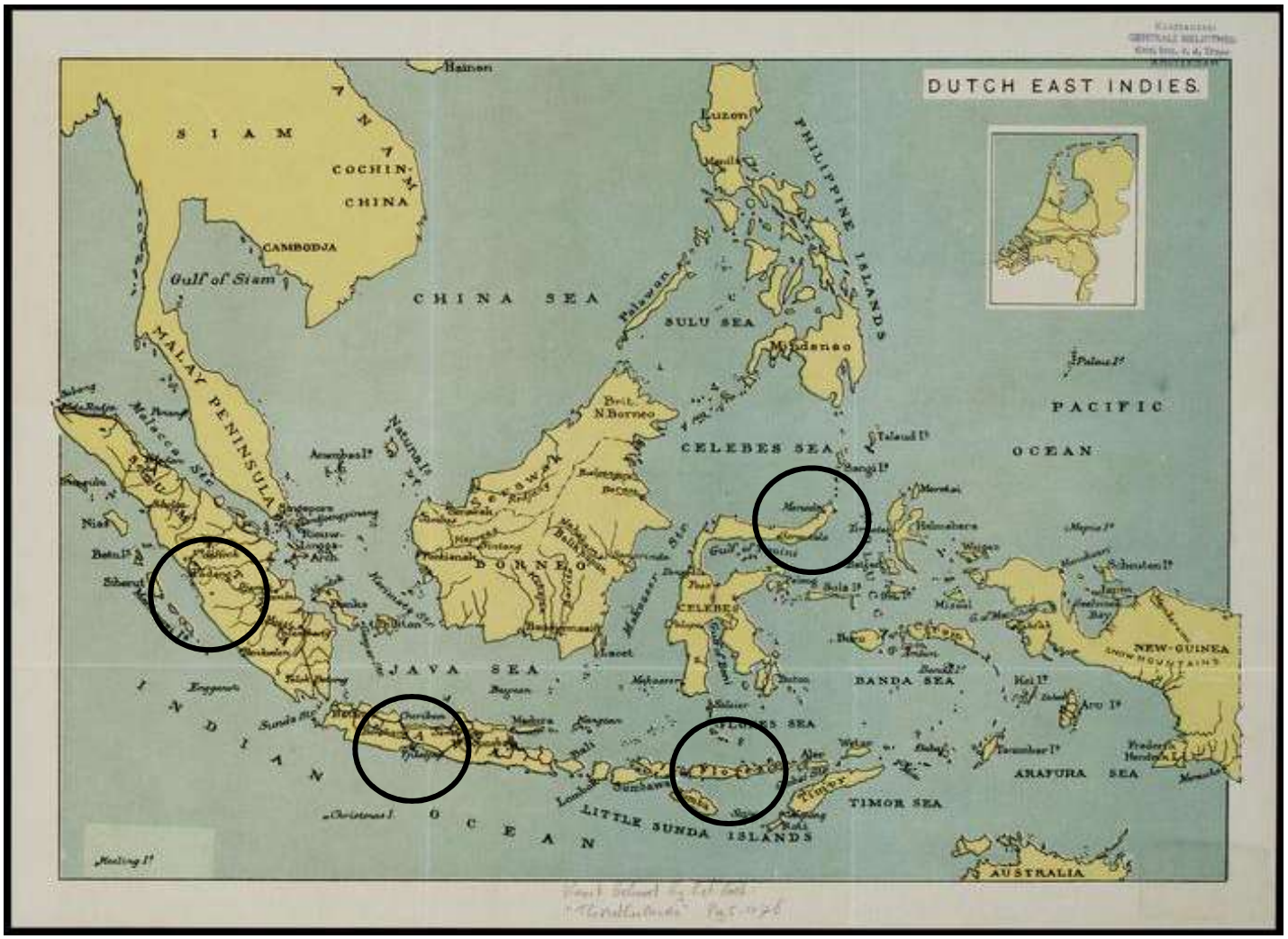

Figure 1: The Dutch East Indies, 1929. Indicated by circles from east to west are West Sumatra, Yogyakarta, Flores and Minahasa. Leiden University Dutch Colonial Map Collection, LU 05788.

Introduction

My name is Moeniah. I am 11 years old and I am in the fourth grade. May I end my letter here? Because it is the first letter I have ever written. Will you accept my best wishes? From Moeniah, who is writing to you.[1]

This short message by a Javanese schoolgirl from the beginning of the twentieth century is not as univocal and uncomplicated as it seems. At a close reading, the letter contains many layers: what does the fact that this young girl was writing in Dutch, for example, tell us about her education and her social environment? Why did she write a letter from Java to Amsterdam in the first place? And what to make of the formal tone Moeniah adopted in the first letter she ever wrote? This thesis is concerned with such questions, unpacking the intricacies of Indonesian girls' education in a changing colonial society.

In the late-colonial Dutch East Indies, education for indigenous girls was a much-discussed theme. Protestant and Catholic missionaries tried to develop the best strategies to ensure the raising of Christian mothers through school education; the boards of charitable organizations wondered what could be done to encourage elite Javanese parents to send their daughters to school; and Indonesian nationalists developed their own ideas about the best ways to educate girls. While there has been some reflection on these discussions in historiography, this has mainly been limited to the study of governmental policies. This research project reconsiders the history of Indonesian girls' education under Dutch colonialism in a number of ways. First of all, it foregrounds non-governmental actors, looks at educational practice, and employs detailed case-studies in a comparative perspective. Moreover, inspired by recent developments in the history of childhood, it centres the experiences of colonized girls insofar as the source materials allows for it.

As this thesis demonstrates, the education of indigenous girls in the Dutch East Indies was far from a purely administrative and political issue, contrary to what much of the relevant historiography seems to suggest. The question of girls' upbringing occupied many different religious and cultural groups, and was answered in just as many ways. All of these groups can

[1] Atria Kennisinstituut voor Emancipatie en Vrouwengeschiedenis (thereafter Atria), Amsterdam, Internationaal Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging (hereafter IAV), archive Steuncomité Christelijke Huishoudscholen voor Indonesische Meisjes (hereafter SCHIM), inventory number 41, Moeniah to J.H. Kuijper, 13 February 1912.
Ik ben Moeniah. Ik ben 11 jaar oud en zit in de vierde klasse. Mag ik hier eindigen? Want het is de eerste brief, die ik schrijf. Wil u mijn hartelijke groeten ontvangen? Van Moeniah, die aan u schrijft.

be said to have participated in an educational civilizing mission, directed at shaping young girls according to distinctive models of femininity. This is the issue that lies at the heart of this research project.

This thesis focuses on four specific regions in the Dutch East Indies between 1900 and 1942, and on some of the gender-specific educational opportunities for Indonesian girls that were located there. It starts from the premise that research on education specifically for indigenous girls can give us new insights in the workings of colonial society in the Dutch East Indies. As literary scholars Kristine Moruzi and Michelle J. Smith have stated: "[g]irlhoods are a lens through which to see patterns in colonialisms, patterns that are often based on race and class."[2] Indigenous girls' education in the colony reflected the hopes and expectations of adults. It shows us what kind of women educators were hoping to mould, "what [girls] might become and what might become of them."[3] These hopes and expectations were shaped by ideas about race, ethnicity and religion but, in the case of girls' education, ideas about gender and age were especially important.

At school, girls were introduced to a variety of gendered practices that often different from what were used to in their communities. As Moruzi and Smith phrase it, "[f]or Indigenous girls, colonialism brought with it new kinds of scrutiny and competing ideals."[4] In other words, girls' schools were dynamic spaces where ideas about gender and age were made and remade. As Rebecca Rogers has noted earlier, this offers compelling opportunities for an analysis of ideology and educational practices at the heart of the schools.[5]

A closer look at practices and discussions surrounding girls' education contributes to scholarly understanding of colonial society in the Dutch East Indies. As we will see throughout this thesis, developments in girls' education often reflected wider trends. Burgeoning nationalist movements in the 1920s and 1930s, for example, sparked new developments in girls' education, including the establishment of girls' school with a nationalist outlook. These examples are an illustration of historian Angela Woollacott's programmatic remark that it is not only useful for scholars to look at girlhoods through a lens of colonialism in order to learn more about the experiences of girls; the same is true, as well, when it is turned around. In Woollacott's words,

[2] Kristine Moruzi and Michelle J. Smith, 'Colonial Girlhood/Colonial Girls', in *Colonial Girlhood in Literature, Culture and History, 1840-1950*, ed. Kristine Moruzi and Michelle J. Smith (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 3.
[3] Ibid., 6.
[4] Ibid., 1.
[5] Rebecca Rogers, *From the Salon to the Schoolroom: Educating Bourgeois Girls in Nineteenth-Century France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 7.

girlhoods are "a lens through which we can see colonialism": a focus on girls allows historians to see certain aspects of colonialism that are often hidden from view. [6]

A complex colonial school system

This thesis stands at the crossroads between the history of education in colonial contexts and the history of women and gender. The following section provides an overview of the colonial school system for indigenous children in the Dutch East Indies. The question of how children's education in the Netherlands was influenced by the colonial experience lies beyond the scope of this research project.[7] This overview is followed by a brief exploration of the existing historiography on colonial girls' education. Subsequently, I will pinpoint some gaps and problems that I have identified in this body of scholarship.

The public educational system for indigenous children in the Dutch East Indies was built up from around 1870 onwards. By the end of the colonial period it was still going through important reforms. The *Departement van Onderwijs, Eredienst en Nijverheid* [Department of Education, Religion and Industry] supervised all subsidized formal education in the colony, both public and private. It was headed by a *Directeur van Onderwijs* [Director of Education] who reported directly to the Governor-General. This meant that the department was ultimately supervised by the Ministry of Colonies in The Hague.[8]

From the beginning onwards, the colonial school system was dualistic in character. Two separate school systems emerged: one for children who were defined as *inlands* [native] and one for children of European descent. It is important to note that in this context, the word 'European' relates to legal status. In the Dutch East Indies, mixed-race children could obtain European legal status if their European fathers legally recognized them.[9] Initially there were two different types of primary schools: *Europese lagere scholen* [ELS, European primary

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[6] Angela Woollacott, 'Colonialism: What Girlhoods Can Tell Us', in *Colonial Girlhood in Literature, Culture and History, 1840-1950*, ed. Kristine Moruzi and Michelle J. Smith (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 28–29.

[7] For some recent insights in this matter, see: Matthijs Kuipers, 'Fragmented Empire. Popular Imperialism in the Netherlands around the Turn of the Twentieth Century' (PhD thesis, European University Institute, 2018), 140–65; Elisabeth Wesseling and Jacques Dane, 'Are "the Natives" Educable? Dutch Schoolchildren Learn Ethical Colonial Policy (1890–1910)', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 10, no. 1 (2018): 28–43.

[8] J.E.A.M. Lelyveld, '"...Waarlijk geen overdaad, doch een dringende eisch...": Koloniaal onderwijs en onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië 1893-1942' (PhD thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, 1992), 27–28.

[9] Cees Fasseur, 'Hoeksteen en struikelblok. Rassenonderscheid en overheidsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië', in *De weg naar het paradijs en andere Indische geschiedenissen* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 1995), 139–71. For a similar contribution in English, see Cees Fasseur, 'Cornerstone and Stumbling Block: Racial Classification and the Late Colonial State in Indonesia', in *The Late Colonial State in Indonesia: Political and Economic Foundations of the Netherlands Indies, 1880-1942*, ed. Robert Cribb (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994), 31–56.

schools] where Dutch was the language of instruction, and *Inlandse scholen* [Native primary schools] in the vernacular or in Malay.[10] Each of these two school types had its own inspectorate. School inspectors visited the institutions on a regular basis and reported their finding to the Director of Education about their findings.[11]

Throughout the colonial period, the government in Batavia prioritized the education of European children with Dutch citizenship over the education of the indigenous subjects of the colonial state. It is emblematic that in the 1854 *Regeringsreglement* [Government Regulation] the colonial government assumed the responsibility for the provision of 'sufficient' primary education for all European children in the Dutch East Indies. There was also mention of a duty to provide school for indigenous children, but here the word "sufficient" was not mentioned.[12] While in the metropole compulsory education for all children between the ages of six and twelve was introduced the metropole in 1901, at which point more than 90 percent of all boys and girls already went to school, this law was never extended to the Dutch East Indies.[13]

In rare cases, Indonesian children could gain access to European schools based on their high social status and Dutch language skills. The degree to which European schools were open to Indonesian children varied in the course of the colonial period, but was always restricted to a small minority. The highest percentage of Indonesian students who entered a school in the European primary school system was reached around 1920, when the Department of Education stated in its annual report that around six percent of all Indonesian schoolchildren went to a European school.[14] It should be noted that such colonial statistics are notoriously inaccurate and can never provide more than a rough impression.

The first important reform in the indigenous educational system was introduced in 1893, when the Native primary schools were split up into two different school types. So-called *Inlandse scholen der eerste klasse* [First-class native schools] offered a five-year programme in the vernacular. These were meant for elite children, whose fathers often worked for the

[10] Lelyveld, 'Koloniaal onderwijs', 21–25.
[11] Ibid., 27–28.
[12] Bart Luttikhuis, 'Negotiating Modernity: Europeanness in Late Colonial Indonesia, 1910-1942' (PhD thesis, European University Institute, 2014), 103. Also see Jan Lelyveld, ''Opvoeding tot autonomie: fictie of werkelijkheid? Koloniaal onderwijs en zorg van de staat in Nederlands Indië van 1801 tot 1945', in *Jaarboek voor de geschiedenis van opvoeding en onderwijs 3* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2002), 207–8.
[13] Jeroen J. H. Dekker, *Het verlangen naar opvoeden: over de groei van de pedagogische ruimte in Nederland sinds de Gouden Eeuw tot omstreeks 1900* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2006), 369.
[14] Sita van Bemmelen, 'Putri Indonesia Bersekolah Pada Zaman Penjajahan (1900-1940): Angka Berbicara', (Unpublished paper 2017), 7. Controversially, one historian later interpreted the admission of Indonesian children to ELS as proof that racial segregation did not exist in the Dutch East Indies: I.J. Brugmans, 'Onderwijspolitiek', in *Balans van Beleid. Terugblik op de laatste halve eeuw van Nederlands-Indië*, ed. H. Baudet and I.J. Brugmans (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1961), 159–60.

colonial administration. *Inlandse scholen der tweede klasse* [Second-class native schools], on the other hand, offered a three-year rudimentary vernacular education in reading, writing and calculation. They were meant for "the indigenous population in general".[15] In 1900, there were 27 first-class and more than 500 second-class schools on Java.[16] In 1914, the First-class schools were transformed into *Hollands-Inlandse scholen* [Dutch-Native Schools]. This happened after a campaign of Indonesians who demanded a similar institution to the HCS [*Hollands-Chinese scholen*], Dutch-medium schools for Chinese children.[17] The seven-year HIS programme gave access to different types of secondary education.[18]

After obtaining a primary school certificate, graduates of the ELS and the HIS could go on to study for three years at the MULO [*Meer uitgebreid lager onderwijs*, More extensive primary education], that was introduced in the colony in 1914.[19] From 1919 onwards, another option for secondary education was the AMS [*Algemene middelbare school*, General Secondary School], which offered a six-year programme. The first three years were equivalent to the MULO and the last three years brought students to the level of the HBS.[20] This *Hogere burgerschool* [Higher Citizens' School] was the highest form of secondary education in the Dutch East Indies.[21] For a small number European students HBS education had been available in the Dutch East Indies from as early as 1867 onwards, when a public HBS had been opened in Batavia.[22] The HBS prepared students for university, for which graduates usually had to travel to the Netherlands. University education in the colony only took off in the 1920s with the establishment of the *Technische Hogeschool* [College of Technology] in Bandung and a medical college in Batavia.[23]

Officially, secondary schools made no distinction between students of different legal status based on their racial background. With the exception of the AMS, which was specifically designed for the colony, secondary schools mirrored the education system in the Dutch East

[15] Lelyveld, 'Koloniaal onderwijs', 33.
[16] Sita van Bemmelen, 'Enkele aspecten van het onderwijs aan Indonesische meisjes, 1900-1940' (MA thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, 1982), 8.
[17] Lelyveld, 'Koloniaal onderwijs', 21 and 101–2. Since this thesis focuses on girls who were defined as Native, these schools will not be taken into consideration here. For more about education for Chinese-Indonesian children, see Ming Govaars, *Hollands onderwijs in een koloniale samenleving: de Chinese ervaring in Indonesië 1900 - 1942* (Afferden: De Vijver, 1999). Translated as: Ming Govaars, *Dutch Colonial Education: The Chinese Experience in Indonesia, 1900-1942*, trans. Lorre Lynn Trytten (Singapore: Chinese Heritage Centre, 2005).
[18] Lelyveld, 'Koloniaal onderwijs', 81.
[19] I.J. Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Groningen/Batavia: J.B. Wolters, 1938), 305.
[20] Luttikhuis, *Negotiating Modernity*, 106. Van Bemmelen, 'Enkele aspecten', 17–18.
[21] The word *burger* as used in *Hogere burgerschool* literally translates to 'citizen', but has a cultural meaning similar to that of the German *Bürger*, connected to the bourgeois social classes.
[22] Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs*, 190.
[23] Ibid., 345–48.

Indies to guarantee that graduates would have the opportunity to enter Dutch universities. At the end of the 1920s, the government launched a policy to make the switch from the colonial to the metropolitan school system easier for students.[24] Only a very small Indonesian elite, however, made it beyond primary school.

In 1907, the government started to experiment with education for rural children in the form of *volksscholen* or village schools, vernacular primary schools.[25] This type of education eventually became most widespread in the Dutch East Indies. Village schools were open for a couple of hours each day, and offered a basic three-year programme in counting, reading and writing in the vernacular. They were a cheap alternative for the second-class Native schools, because the government made village populations responsible for the maintenance of the school buildings. The second-class schools were transformed into a school type for middle-class and urban populations.[26]

Public girls' education developed at a later stage than private initiatives. In principle, all schools in the native public school system were coeducational. The government did state that it saw the importance of girls' schooling and in some cases also subsidized educational programmes, but left the establishment of schools to private and predominantly indigenous initiatives. The government hoped that in this way, girls' schools tailored to the needs of indigenous communities would emerge "organically".[27]

After numerous discussions about the need for all-girls' education, the government introduced girls' schools for continued education in 1922. These were first called *meisjeskopscholen*, but the name was soon changed to *meisjesvervolgscholen* (MVS).[28] At the time, the government estimated that most indigenous girls would not take up paid work, in contrast to the situation in Europe where more and more women of all social classes earned their own income.[29] The goal of the MVS thus needed to be the education of "skilled

[24] Agus Suwignyo, 'The Great Depression and the Changing Trajectory of Public Education Policy in Indonesia, 1930-42', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 44, no. 3 (2013): 465–66. The educational trajectory of the Chinese-Indonesian Ibu Myra Sidharta (b. Auw Jong Tjhoen Moy, Belitung 1927) is illustrative of developments in secondary education. Myra went to a Dutch-medium primary school for the children of the employees of a mining company in Belitung. In 1940 she went on to the HBS in Batavia. After the Japanese invasion of 1942, she had no choice but to finish her HBS education in the Netherlands. She studied psychology and eventually obtained her PhD from Leiden University. Interview Myra Sidharta, Jakarta, 2 August 2016.
[25] Lelyveld, *Koloniaal onderwijs,* 83.
[26] Van Bemmelen, 'Enkele aspecten', 14-15.
[27] ANRI AS GB MGS, inv. no. 4838, Directeur of Education to Governor-General, 4 March 1913. Also published in: S.L. Van der Wal, ed., *Het onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië 1900-1940. Een bronnenpublikatie* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1963), 219–23.
[28] Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs*, 351–52.
[29] Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta (hereafter ANRI), archive Algemene Secretarie (hereafter AS), collection Grote Bundel ter zijde gelegde Agenda (hereafter GB TZGA), inv. no. 7578, Director of Education to Governor-General, 16 May 1917. Published in Wal, *Het onderwijsbeleid*, 315.

housewives".[30] This policy stemmed from the political belief that educating girls would eventually come down to "the elevation of the entire people".[31] To provide the MVS with teachers, two teacher training schools for indigenous women were opened in 1918.[32]

The MVS were open to girls of around ten years old who had completed the village school, or the first forms of a Second-class native school. The schools offered a three-year programme including domestic science subjects and – from 1924 onward – Dutch language courses.[33] The schools were meant as an alternative to the HIS that was more adapted to the needs of girls.[34] In 1926, the government also started opening *meisjesvolksscholen* [girls' village schools] in areas where girls' participation in public education was low compared to other regions.[35] By the end of the 1930s, around 9 percent of all institutions for continued education in the Native school system were all-girls schools, with 235 MVS on a total of almost 20.000 coeducational schools for continued education. This is much higher than the total of girls' schools in the Native educational system, including the special girls' *volksscholen*, which amounted to around four percent of all schools. These numbers show that indigenous parents favoured single-sex especially for girls above the age of ten.[36]

Based on statistical information on Dutch colonial education, the historian Ewout Frankema has recently claimed that Indonesia after independence inherited "one of the poorest, if not *the* poorest" educational systems of all formerly colonized countries in Southeast Asia.[37] According to the – admittedly imprecise – data of the 1920 census, 2.7 percent of Javanese people were literate in the vernacular, and a tiny minority of 0.13 percent was able to read and write Dutch.[38] According to recent estimates, around one in two-hundred Indonesian children had access to primary education around the turn of the twentieth century, while in 1930 around one in three children did. [39] But by the end of that decade, the total enrolment rate in primary schools among the Indonesian population still was only around four percent.[40] Of the 2.8 million

[30] ANRI AS GB TZGA, inv. no. 7578, Director of Education to Governor-General, 16 May 1917. Published in Ibid., 315–16.
[31] ANRI AS GB TZGA, inv. no. 7578, Director of Education to Governor-General, 16 May 1917. Ibid.
[32] Van Bemmelen, 'Enkele aspecten', 93. Published in Van der Wal, *Het onderwijsbeleid*, 312–23.
[33] Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs*, 352.
[34] Van der Wal, *Het onderwijsbeleid*, 395.
[35] Van Bemmelen, 'Enkele aspecten', 96–99. Van der Wal, *Het onderwijsbeleid*, 388–404.
[36] Van Bemmelen, 'Angka Berbicara', 5.
[37] Ewout Frankema, 'Why Was the Dutch Legacy so Poor? Educational Development in the Netherlands Indies, 1871-1942', *CGEH Working Papers* 54 (2014): 1.
[38] Takashi Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912-1926* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 29.
[39] Ben White, 'Constructing Child Labour: Attitudes to Juvenile Work in Indonesia, 1900-2000', in *Labour in Southeast Asia: Local Processes in a Globalised World*, ed. Rebecca Elmhirst and Ratna Saptari (London/New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 82.
[40] Frankema, 'Why Was the Dutch Legacy so Poor?', 3.

school children in 1939, 22 percent were girls.[41] While colonial data and censes were notoriously imprecise and their accuracy not be taken for granted, together these data show that primary education in the Dutch East Indies failed to reach the majority of Indonesian children, and that girls were always a minority in the school banks.

The historiography of women and education in the Dutch East Indies

Most historical work in the Dutch East Indies focuses on political decision-making as the driving force behind the development of education in the colony. In 1938, colonial official I.J. Brugmans published a chronological description of the history of education in the Dutch East Indies up until that point, focusing mainly on official policies.[42] Historians writing about education in the archipelago at a later stage have often followed the same top-down approach. This can partly be explained by the fact that the expansion of the colonial education system from 1900 onward was an integral part of the *ethische politiek* or Ethical Policy. This current in colonial politics will be explored in more detail later. Given that education is closely connected to early twentieth-century colonial politics, it is not surprising that most scholars have turned to governmental sources for their research on schools in the Dutch East Indies. This does mean, however, that other educational actors such as the Christian missions, private organizations and especially Indonesian activists with diverse political and religious affiliations have often disappeared out of view.

There are several examples of a top-down approach in the historiography of education in the Dutch East Indies. Jan Lelyveld's PhD thesis, for example, is quite literally an enumeration of descriptions of educational policies and reforms. His work is based on comprehensive collection of archival materials from the Ministry of Colonies.[43] The same goes for Francien van Wanrooij's PhD thesis about educational policy under Governor-General D. Fock. Education is not Van Anrooij's primary interest, but functions as a case-study through which the author evaluates Fock's political performance.[44] In his book on the Dutch language in the colony, Kees Groeneboer focuses on the official language policies that shaped the educational system, drawing on a similar body of sources with the addition of a large collection

[41] Van Bemmelen, 'Angka Berbicara', 8.
[42] Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs*. For a reflection on colonial educational policy by the same author after decolonisation, see: Brugmans, 'Onderwijspolitiek'.
[43] Lelyveld, 'Koloniaal onderwijs', 5.
[44] Francien van Anrooij, *Groeiend wantrouwen. Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië onder Gouverneur-Generaal D. Fock (1921-1926)* (Amsterdam: Thela Thesis, 2000).

of schoolbooks.[45] A notable diversion from the dominant focus on the government is Agus Suwignyo's PhD thesis, which focuses on the experiences of people involved in primary school education. The main focus of his work, however, is not on the children in the classrooms but on the teachers standing in front of the blackboard and their training.[46]

Another determining factor in this historiography of education is the emphasis on political developments among educated Indonesian men. Robert van Niel, for example, has sketched the transition of the Indonesian political elite from "traditional" to "modern". He suggests that this transformation was caused by increased educational opportunities for Indonesian men.[47] A similar argument can be found in *Imagined Communities*, first published in 1983, in which Benedict Anderson stresses "the unique role of colonial school-systems in promoting colonial nationalisms".[48] He sees the schools established by the colonial regime as the most important factor in "nurturing" the "bonding" between the different peoples of the archipelago who eventually identified as Indonesians.[49] Anderson attributes a similar role to schools for "bright boys"[50] in French West Africa and French Indochina.[51] In more recent works, too, education is presented as a prerogative of (post)colonial male political elites.[52] Takashi Shiraishi, while essentially offering a sophisticated critique of the teleological narrative of elite-shaping, follows Anderson in so far that he sees the emergence of European-style schools as vital for the *pergerakan*, the nationalist movement, because in the educational system students' cultural background – Javanese, Minangkabau – did not matter. According to Shiraishi, the category of "natives", created through the educational system, formed the basis of young people's identification with the nationalist movement.[53]

Women's education is conspicuously absent here. While educated girls do not appear in Anderson's work as all, Van Niel frames girls' education as simply complementary to boys' when he states that Western-style girls' schools "produced Western educated young women

[45] Kees Groeneboer, *Weg tot het Westen. Het Nederlands voor Indië 1600-1950. Een taalpolitieke geschiedenis* (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 1993). Translated as: Kees Groeneboer, *Gateway to the West: The Dutch Language in Colonial Indonesia, 1600-1950: A History of Language Policy*, trans. Myra Scholz (Amsterdam University Press, 1998).
[46] Agus Suwignyo, 'The breach in the dike: regime change and the standardisation of public primary-school teacher training in Indonesia 1893-1969' (PhD thesis, Leiden University, 2012).
[47] Robert van Niel, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite* (The Hague: Van Hoeve, 1960), 1–2.
[48] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised ed. (London/New York: Verso, 2006), 119–20.
[49] Ibid., 121.
[50] Ibid., 123.
[51] Ibid., 123–31.
[52] Paul H. Kratoska, 'Elites and the Construction of the Nation in Southeast Asia', in *Elites and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Jost Dülffer and Marc Frey (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 46.
[53] Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, 30.

who shared a changing social life with the educated Indonesian male elite".[54] All in all, this type of work draws straight line from Western-style education to nationalism and, eventually, the decolonization process. The narrative is dominant in the Indonesian historiography as well, including the official histories published by the government.[55] Indeed, this is how, in the words of historian Michael Laffan, "[t]he story of an Indonesia-specific nationalism is conventionally laid out".[56] Shiraishi voiced a similar critique on this nation-centric historiography in his account of Javanese political movements in the first quarter of the twentieth century.[57] In the last few decades, many historians have demonstrated that nationalism was not "the single and dominating driving force" throughout Indonesian history.[58] While many historians of different geographical contexts have demonstrated a link between nationalism and girls' education, a focus on girls' education as a topic worthy of scholarly attention in itself can help historians to transcend this teleological view.[59]

Another problematic side of the historiography is that many works do not recognize the repercussions of educational politics in the lives of actual young people. The historiography of education in the Dutch East Indies can even be said to be a history of education without children. Many historians, especially those working in Indonesian academia, have tended to take on a biographical approach, focusing on the life-stories and legacy of individual "great men". Historians writing about women have overwhelmingly followed this direction as well.[60] The subjects of such works are often *pahlawan nasional*: official state-approved heroes of the Indonesian republic.[61] The most famous activist for girls' education on the official list of

[54] Van Niel, *The Emergence*, 35.
[55] Mardanas Safwan and Sutrisno Kutoyo, eds., *Sejarah Pendidikan Daearah Sumatera Barat*, Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Kebudayaan Daerah (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1981), 82–83; Witrianto, 'Dampak Pendidikan Terhadap Munculnya Pergerakan Nasional Di Padangpanjang', *Analisis Sejarah* 3 (2011): 12–38; Hasanuddin et al., *Sejarah Pendidikan di Gorontalo* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Kepel Press, 2012).
[56] Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia. The Umma below the Winds* (London/New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 165.
[57] Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, xi-xv.
[58] Peter Keppy, *Tales of Southeast Asia's Jazz Age: Filipinos, Indonesians and Popular Culture, 1920-1936* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2019), 2.
[59] Lisa Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation. The Family Politics of Modernizing, Colonizing, and Liberating Egypt, 1805-1923* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 122–28; Rachel Leow, 'Age as a Category of Gender Analysis: Servant Girls, Modern Girls, and Gender in Southeast Asia', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 71, no. 4 (2012): 986–87; Karen M. Teoh, *Schooling Diaspora. Women, Education, and the Overseas Chinese in British Malaya and Singapore, 1850s-1960s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 91–120.
[60] Aminuddin Rasyad, Leon Salim, and Hasniah Saleh, eds., *H. Rahmah el Yunusiyyah dan Zaidnuddin Labay el Yunusy. Dua bersaudara Tokoh Pembaharu Sistem Pendidikan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pengurus Perguruan Diniyyah Puteri Padang Panjang, 1991); Jajat Burhanudin, *Ulama Perempuan Indonesia* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2002); Zusneli Zubir, *Dari Pingitan Hingga Karier: Perjalanan Tokoh Perempuan Minangkabau Menentang Tradisi* (Yogyakarta: Eja Publisher, 2011).
[61] Michael Wood, *Official History in Modern Indonesia. New Order Perceptions and Counterviews* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2005), 71–75.

'national heroes' is Raden Adjeng Kartini, an elite Javanese woman who argued for girls education at the beginning of the twentieth century.[62] Other female educational activists on the list include Dewi Sartika, Rasuna Said and Maria Walanda Maramis, who all appear throughout this thesis.[63] As has been noted before, in some of the historiography Kartini's name has become synonymous with Indonesian girls' education in the colonial period, and even with Indonesian women under colonialism in general. However, as Elizabeth Martyn has noted, while Kartini's writings abound with early traces of "discontent with prevailing norms of women's rules", her writings were not directed towards other Indonesian or Javanese women and represent a highly individualized, as opposed to collective, standpoint.[64] Hence the suggestion that women's historians of Indonesia would do well to "escape" from Kartini and broaden their view towards the agency of other women.[65] This thesis is a step in another direction, and an attempt to pay due attention to children's lives in schools in the Dutch East Indies during the late-colonial period.

More so than the history of education in the Dutch East Indies, the history of women and gender in South-East Asia has over the last thirty years or so developed into a field of considerable scope. Especially historians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century have paid attention to women's agency, mainly because this is the period for which most sources written by and about women are available. Along with government policies and women's roles in nationalist movements, education is one of the most well-covered themes.[66] This is reflected in feminist historical scholarship about the late-colonial Dutch East Indies. The most well-known pioneering work on Indonesian women's history, by Cora Vreede-de Stuers, covered exactly these themes.[67]

In comparison with the general study of education, works about women's education in the Dutch East Indies devote more space to the analysis of educational practices and the influence education has had on individual lives. Women's historians have also paid a lot more attention to non-governmental educational initiatives which, as we shall see, played a relatively

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[62] Ibid., 20–21. Danilyn Rutherford, 'Unpacking a National Heroine: Two Kartinis and Their People', *Indonesia*, no. 55 (1993): 23–40.
[63] Wood, *Official History in Modern Indonesia*, 75.
[64] Elizabeth Martyn, *The Women's Movement in Postcolonial Indonesia: Gender and Nation in a New Democracy* (London/New York: Routledge, 2010), 31–32.
[65] Adrienne Huijzer, 'Escaping Kartini: Indonesian Women as Agents in a Changing Colonial Society, 1900-1942' (VU Amsterdam, 2010), 90.
[66] Barbara Watson Andaya, 'Studying Women and Gender in Southeast Asia', *The International Journal of Asian Studies* 4, no. 1 (2007): 113-117; 127.
[67] Cora Vreede-de Stuers, *L'émancipation de la femme indonésienne* (Paris/The Hague: Mouton, 1959). Translated as: Cora Vreede-de Stuers, *The Indonesian Woman. Struggles and Achievements*, trans. B.M. Koch (The Hague: Mouton, 1960).

important role in providing girls' education. Susan Blackburn's edition of the first Indonesian women's congress in 1928, for example, shows that women's organizations paid a great deal of attention to education.[68] Frances Gouda's chapter on girls' education in her book about *Indisch* colonial culture focuses mainly on the private Kartini and Van Deventer schools for upper-class Javanese girls.[69]

Sita van Bemmelen's MA thesis remains the most informative and comprehensive piece of scholarship about girls' education in the Dutch East Indies. Van Bemmelen was interested in the question whether the policies of the colonial government provided sufficient educational opportunities for Indonesian girls.[70] Her source material was mainly policy-oriented, notably the *Koloniaal Onderwijsverslagen* [Reports on Colonial Education] of the colonial Department of Education, and therefore did not permit a closer look at practices on the ground. Van Bemmelen partly solved this issue by conducting interviews with former teachers and by supplementing the governmental sources with a large collection of published materials. Her thesis also contains an elaborate statistical analysis of the state of girls' education in the Dutch East Indies from 1900 to 1940.[71]

A number of scholarly works that deal with girls' education in the Dutch East Indies show a remarkable tendency to identify schooling with modernity and, often in the same breath, with women's emancipation. It is worthwhile to dwell briefly on this notion, as the link between emancipation and girls' education is very strong in the literature. This is, for example, apparent from the work of Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, one of the most renowned scholars of Indonesian women's history. In her essay collection on women and the colonial state, Locher-Scholten uses modernity as her main theoretical framework. In the first essay of the book, the author makes numerous connections between modernity and women's emancipation. "Modernity" is defined as a "longing for progress, development and the modern", which marked both European feminist and the Indonesian women's movement in the late-colonial Dutch East Indies.[72]

It is difficult to grasp the precise meaning of modernity in this text. Locher-Scholten asserts that for Indonesian women's right activists "education developed as one of the strongest pillars of modernity."[73] In another instance, the author notes that for many members of the

[68] Susan Blackburn, *The First Indonesian Women's Congress of 1928* (Monash University Press, 2008). See for example the speeches at pages 55-59; 84-96; 113-118.
[69] Frances Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies, 1900-1942* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), 75–100.
[70] Van Bemmelen, 'Enkele aspecten', 1–6.
[71] Ibid., 184–212.
[72] Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State: Essays on Gender and Modernity in the Netherlands Indies, 1900-1942* (Amsterdam University Press, 2000), 32.
[73] Ibid., 33.

Indonesian elite, Western-style education "opened the doors to modernity" and that the colonial government "introduced modernity" through its educational policies for Indonesian girls.[74] Locher-Scholten thus establishes a straightforward connection between girls' education and modernity, but does so without specifying what this entailed precisely. Moreover, this analysis does not differentiate between different forms of girls' education in the pluriform school landscape of the Dutch East Indies. Even though the role of Christian and Islamic organizations in girls' education is acknowledged, this form of education is also described as "modern", and the specificities remain unclear.[75]

The lack of clear categorization in this narrative comes to the fore most clearly in a fragment about Indonesian women who were active in the women's movement and participated actively in political debates. According to Locher-Scholten, these women "acted as the most visible symbols of cultural change: their emancipation represents the most explicit form of liberation and modernity." As such, they "entered the modern world of emancipation."[76] Modernity as Locher-Scholten sketches it here has overwhelmingly positive connotations, but it remains unclear what it entails in concrete terms. Locher-Scholten does provide examples of "anti-modernity": men's resistance to women's voting rights and conservative forces who defended polygamy in the face of women's protests.[77] She also recognizes that modernity in many cases meant something different for Indonesian women than it did for white European women in the colony: notions of modernity "did not bridge the colonial divide."[78] But a careful reflection on what modernity meant on a concrete level is missing. What exactly made girls' education 'modern'? What was it in women's education that sparked this "longing for modernity" and that "emancipated" women? All in all, Locher-Scholten's conceptualization of modernity is of little use for scholars who are interested in girls' education in its concrete, everyday manifestations.

Susan Blackburn, another important women's historian of colonial Indonesia, provides some more examples of this approach to education as a modernizing force in her book on Indonesian women and the state. Blackburn discusses the contribution of Western-educated girls in Minangkabau to a women's newspaper in the second decade of the twentieth century. She concludes that this education had a radical impact on the lives of girls. Every girl who at that time received elementary education, according to Blackburn, was "on the cutting edge of

[74] Ibid., 34.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid., 33.
[77] Ibid., 33–34.
[78] Ibid., 36.

change, was an intellectual purveying ideas which were frequently in tension if not outright conflict with her environment."[79] The poems and letters that Blackburn cites indeed provide touching insights into the ways in which young girls experienced their education.[80] Still, it is doubtful whether we can indeed presume that education had an "almost religiously revelatory impact" on girls' minds.[81]

The same problem can be identified in Bart Luttikhuis's analysis of the Kartini Schools. Luttikhuis has argued that the goal of the colonial thinkers behind these schools was to modernize upper-class Javanese families. This ideal, however, was constrained by the perceived need to preserve a "traditional" Javanese culture. In his description of the Kartini schools, he does not explicitly show what exactly was "modern" about this type of education.[82] Frances Gouda's analysis of the Kartini schools in her book on *Indisch* colonial culture is much more nuanced, if only because she cites more examples of what it could mean to be a "real modern Javanese woman" in concrete terms dress and social behaviour.[83] At the same time, Gouda's statement that European-style education meant that some priyayi were "drawn into the modern world" raises similar questions as the analysis of the scholars cited above.[84]

All in all, it is fair to say that modernity is too vague and too normative a concept to characterize women's education without specifying what it actually meant to be modern. Moreover, as Rachel Leow has argued, a one-sided focus on modernity can be reductive. Using the example of the so-called Modern Girl in early-twentieth-century Chinese communities, Leow argued that a analysis that focus exclusively on the 'modernity' of these young women has tended to obscure other important aspects, including their age.[85] Merely characterizing education as modern or emancipatory thus does not do much to explain the lived realities of women's education in the Dutch East Indies. The same goes for concepts like "domination", which reduces indigenous people to passive victims of colonialism by claiming that colonial schools completely "obliterated"[86] the cultural roots of indigenous children and in general

[79] Susan Blackburn, *Women and the State in Modern Indonesia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 47.
[80] Ibid., 46–49.
[81] Ibid., 48.
[82] Luttikhuis, 'Negotiating Modernity', 110–24.
[83] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas*, 98.
[84] Ibid., 80.
[85] Leow, 'Age as a Category of Gender Analysis', 981. Leow's title is a reference to Joan Scott's classical plea for the inclusion of gender in historical writing: Joan Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053–75.
[86] Gail P. Kelly and Philip G. Altbach, 'Introduction', in *Education and Colonialism* (New York/London: Longman, 1978), 15.

caused their "alienation" from local society.[87] In a Marxian materialist analysis of colonial education systems, for example, Martin Carnoy has claimed that education was part and parcel of "imperial domination", and that indigenous people who strived for social advance by way of education because they were "sufficiently colonized" to buy into" the promises of the colonial administration.[88] This approach is just as reductive as the automatic identification of education with progress.[89]

How, then, can historians deal with the idea of modernity in an analytically useful way? Important clues can be found in Frederick Cooper's reflection of the topic. I follow Cooper's statement that historians should "listen to what is being said in the world" about this concept. If historical actors indeed used the term and made claims in the name of modernity, we should trace how this idea was employed.[90] In other words, we need to investigate how ideas about modernity worked out on the ground. If scholars refrain from doing this, the concept carries the risk of turning into an empty catchphrase with little analytic value.

An alternative approach

It has become clear that most historians have focused on the public education system, and have based their work mainly on source material from the archives of the colonial government. While this has led to thorough investigations of this system and related issues such as language policy, both the initiatives of other educational actors and the experiences of school children in the have not received much attention in this type of scholarship. Among historians who have focused specifically on girls' education, non-governmental schools and educational practices have raised more interest. However, in this field as well, there are some problematic aspects to the ways in which girls' education has been approached. The most conspicuous of these problems is the presupposed connection between women's education, emancipation and modernity.

This thesis proposes an alternative approach that goes beyond the binary of emancipation and modernity on the one hand, and cultural control and subjugation on the other. It is not my intention to deny that girls' education could have worked as a stimulus for women's

[87] Ibid., 10.
[88] Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (New York: David McKay Company, 1974), 3.
[89] See Kelly and Altbach's critique on Carnoy's argument: Kelly and Altbach, 'Introduction', 24–29.
[90] Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 115. For a recent reflection on Cooper's approach in the Southeast Asian context, see Susie Protschky, 'Modern Times in Southeast Asia, 1920s-1970s', in *Modern Times in Southeast Asia, 1920s-1970s* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 1–14.

emancipation, or that it offered new opportunities to women. Nor do I want to reject the idea that girls' education in a colonial context was a means for the government, or other educational bodies, to gain control over indigenous people and their culture. The binary interpretation that is dominant in historiographical literature, however, is problematic, as the two narratives are in fact not mutually exclusive. This has, for example, been demonstrated by Sita van Bemmelen in an article about girls' education among the Toba Batak people in the Dutch East Indies. In Northern Tapanuli, a region in Sumatra, a Protestant missionary organization established a few girls' schools towards the end of the nineteenth century. Van Bemmelen has shown how missionaries tried to impose Western norms about domesticity and gender roles on Toba Batak families.[91] But she has also demonstrated how boarding schools for girls modelled along Western lines gained popularity among local parents. The education offered at the schools matched the ambitions of an emerging local elite that saw education for children of both sexes as a key element for the material progress of their people.[92] Parents stimulated their daughters to pursue secondary education and to learn Dutch, because this was a status symbol and enhanced their marriage chances.[93] In this case, the interests of colonizing agents and colonial subjects coincided: indigenous people clearly had their own interests to send their daughters to school.

Much like Van Bemmelen, I aim to overcome the historiographical binary of domination on the one, and modernity and emancipation on the other hand. I do this by zooming in on individual schools and analysing them carefully. This approach, which is relatively new for the Dutch East Indies, has been prevalent for a while among gender historians of education working on other colonial contexts.[94] By using source material from the archives of individual schools

[91] Sita van Bemmelen, 'Zwart-wit versus kleur: geschiedschrijving over Indonesische vrouwen in de koloniale periode', in *Het raadsel vrouwengeschiedenis: Tiende jaarboek voor vrouwengeschiedenis*, ed. Francisca De Haan (Nijmegen: SUN, 1989), 30–33. For a recent elaboration on this argument, see Sita T. Van Bemmelen, *Christianity, Colonization, and Gender Relations in North Sumatra: A Patrilineal Society in Flux* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 319–46.

[92] Van Bemmelen, 'Zwart-wit versus kleur', 39–40.

[93] Ibid., 41.

[94] Some examples are: Sean Morrow, '"No Girl Leaves the School Unmarried": Mabel Shaw and the Education of Girls at Mbereshi, Northern Rhodesia', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 19, no. 4 (1986): 601–35; Rebecca Rogers, 'Schools, Discipline and Community: Diary-Writing and Schoolgirl Culture in Late Nineteenth-Century France', *Women's History Review* 4, no. 4 (1995): 525–54; Larry Prochner, Helen May, and Baljit Kaur, '"The Blessings of Civilisation": Nineteenth-Century Missionary Infant Schools for Young Native Children in Three Colonial Settings - India, Canada and New Zealand 1820s-1840s', *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 45, no. 1–2 (2009): 83–102; Patricia Pok-kwan Chiu, '"A Position of Usefulness": Gendering History of Girls' Education in Colonial Hong Kong (1850s-1890s)', *History of Education* 37, no. 6 (2008): 789–805; Esther Möller, *Orte der Zivilisierungsmission. Französische Schulen im Libanon 1909-1943* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 246–60; Rebecca Rogers, *A Frenchwoman's Imperial Story: Madame Luce in Nineteenth-Century Algeria* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013); Fabio Giomi, 'Forging Habsburg Muslim Girls: Gender, Education and Empire in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878-1918)',

and organizations, instead of government archives which relate to the entire public education system, I am able to come closer to educational practices on the ground. Unfortunately, I have been unable to carry out extensive oral history research, as some other scholars of girls' education in colonial contexts have been able to do.[95] Still, my approach allows for a more nuanced and detailed exploration of different educational contexts than is currently reflected in the scholarship. To some extent, my approach allows me to centre the experiences of Indonesian schoolgirls in the colonial era, a group which, as we have seen, often has been bypassed in the literature so far. On another level, this approach will help me develop a better understanding of the motivations that different groups had for the establishment of girls' schools, and the developments in colonial society which affected – and were affected by – these initiatives. A more nuanced idea of what civilizing missions surrounding indigenous girls in the Dutch East Indies could look like, is one of the things that "girlhoods can help us see about colonialism that may not otherwise be apparent."[96]

Apart from educational practice, this research project takes an interest in the implications that an analysis of schools for indigenous girls in the Dutch East Indies has for our understanding of colonial civilizing missions. As will be elaborated upon later, the idea of civilizing missions is in need of a reinterpretation. The main research question will be answered based on a number of case-studies, spread among four different regions in the Dutch East Indies, which stand out because of their particular educational initiatives for girls.

Throughout the case studies, I focus on a set of questions which will eventually enable me to provide an answer to the main question. These questions are designed to give insight in both the ideologies behind and the daily practice at the schools. They also shed light on the differences and similarities between the schools, reflecting the comparative angle of this research. First of all, I want to explore why different social, cultural and religious groups in the Dutch East Indies and the Netherlands gained an interest in educating indigenous girls. I also asked why parents sent their daughters to schools and what girls' aspirations were. On a conceptual level, I am interested in the gendered norms and ideologies that lay at the basis of educational efforts. On a more practical level, my interest is in the relationship between educational ideologies and practices: how did the education play out on the ground in everyday

History of Education 44, no. 3 (2015): 274–92; Tim Allender, *Learning Femininity in Colonial India, 1820-1932* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); Teoh, *Schooling Diaspora*.

[95] Corrie Decker, 'Fathers, Daughters, and Institutions: Coming of Age in Mombasa's Colonial Schools', in *Girlhood: A Global History*, ed. Jennifer Helgren and Eileen Vasconcellos (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 268–88; Pascale Barthélémy, *Africaines et diplômées à l'époque coloniale (1918-1957)* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010).

[96] Woollacott, 'Colonialism: What Girlhoods Can Tell Us', 15.

school life? My thesis also deals with change and continuity over time, and asks: how was girls' education influenced by broader developments in colonial society with regard to conceptions of education and gender. My final set of questions is connected to the comparative outlook of this thesis. What were the differences and similarities between educational projects of different ideological origins in the regions of Yogyakarta, Minahasa, West Sumatra and Flores? Over the course of the decades, were there any general trends that reached across the archipelago, or were regional developments decisive?

In answering my research questions, I draw methodological and theoretical inspiration from two bodies of literature that have generated fresh insights on matters of colonial education: the field of colonial childhood studies, and new scholarly interpretations of colonial civilizing missions. A concise literature review will clarify what this research stands to gain from these two fields.

Colonial childhood studies

The research presented here is to a large extent informed by colonial childhood studies. This relatively new field has burgeoned for the last decade or so among scholars of the British Empire, as is evident from several contributions to recent edited volumes on children in colonial contexts.[97] Historians of the French Empire, as well, have started to inquire into colonial childhood, as have historians of the Spanish empire in Latin America.[98] This has, however, not yet found a lot of resonance in historical writing about the Dutch East Indies. This thesis demonstrates that the historiography of Dutch colonialism in Southeast Asia, too, can gain a lot from an approach based on colonial childhood studies.

Colonial childhood studies is an offshoot of the larger field of childhood history. The most important pioneering work on this topic was *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime*, published in 1960 by the French historian Phillippe Ariès. Ariès reflected on the development of attitudes towards children in the Western world from the middle ages to the

[97] Kristine Moruzi and Michelle J. Smith, eds., *Colonial Girlhood in Literature, Culture and History, 1840-1950* (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Stephanie Olsen, ed., *Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History. National, Colonial and Global Perspectives* (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Shirleene Robinson and Simon Sleight, eds., *Children, Childhood and Youth in the British World* (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

[98] Bianca Premo, *Children of the Father King. Youth, Authority, and Legal Minority in Colonial Lima* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Dónal Hassett, 'Pupilles de l'Empire. Debating the Provision for Child Victims of the Great War in the French Empire', *French Historical Studies* 39, no. 2 (2016): 315–45; David M. Pomfret, *Youth and Empire: Trans-Colonial Childhoods in British and French Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).

modern era, especially under the influence of formal education that was introduced in the seventeenth century.[99] Numerous historians have tried to surpass Ariès by locating even more important changes in conceptions of childhood in other historical eras.[100] Others, however, have followed his argumentation and have argued that education gave children the opportunity to experience a childhood, "a space of pre-adult innocence".[101]

Ariès' book sparked a large number of historical enquiries into childhood, the large majority of which focused on Europe and North America.[102] Numerous scholars of other regions have since demonstrated that a new geographical focus adds valuable perspectives. For East Asia, for example, important work has been done on Korea, China and Japan.[103] While Christian ideas about childhood have attracted historians' attention for some time, especially in relation to missionary work, there is currently also a growing interest in other religious communities, notably Islam. An important section of this new work focuses on girlhood. Recent research, for example, has focused on the discursive production of "respectable" educated Muslimas in colonial Pakistan through discussions between mostly upper-class local women,[104] while a similar inquiry has been undertaken on colonial Bengal.[105] Finally, historians have also added transnational and global perspectives.[106]

Explorations of children's lives under colonialism did not take long to emerge. The discussion here largely limits itself to European colonies which were not indicated by the metropolitan governments as places of settlement for large white populations. Colonial dealings with indigenous children in white settler areas such as Australia and North America often amounted to brutal practices of child removal and forced acculturalization of indigenous children. Such practices have rightfully received a lot of scholarly attention.[107] In some cases, I

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[99] Philippe Ariès, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1973 [1960]), 134–42.
[100] Colin Heywood, *A History of Childhood* (Cambridge: Polity, 2018), 23-36.
[101] Asha Islam Nayeem, 'Did the Bengali Woman Have a Girlhood? A Study of Colonialism, Education, and the Evolution of the Girl Child in Nineteenth-Century Bengal', in *A History of the Girl: Formation, Education and Identity*, ed. Mary O'Dowd and June Purvis (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 173–74.
[102] Sabine Frühstück and Anne Walthall, 'Introduction', in *Child's Play. Multi-Sensory Histories of Children and Childhood in Japan*, ed. Sabine Frühstück and Anne Walthall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017), 2. For a good overview of childhood studies on Europe and North America, see Paula S. Fass, ed., *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2013).
[103] Frühstück and Walthall, 'Introduction', 2–3.
[104] Shenila Khoja-Moolji, *Forging the Ideal Educated Girl: The Production of Desirable Subjects in Muslim South Asia* (Oakland: 2018), https://doi.org/10.1525/luminos.52.
[105] Islam Nayeem, 'Did the Bengali Woman Have a Girlhood?'
[106] Jennifer Helgren and Eileen Vasconcellos, eds., *Girlhood: A Global History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2010); Mary O'Dowd and June Purvis, eds., *A History of the Girl: Formation, Education and Identity* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Richard Ivan Jobs and David M. Pomfret, eds., *Transnational Histories of Youth in the Twentieth Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
[107] Fiona Paisley, '"Unnecessary Crimes and Tragedies": Race, Gender and Sexuality in Australian Policies of Aboriginal Child Removal', in *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities*, ed. Antoinette Burton (London/New

have drawn on literature about childhood in settler colonies because they offered useful methodological considerations. Moreover, as Christina Firpo reminds us, some practices surrounding indigenous and mixed-race childhood in non-settler colonial spaces "bear striking resemblances" to child removal programmes in white settler colonies.[108] In a collaboration with the Australian historian Margaret Jacobs, Firpo has pointed at many parallels between colonial practices of child removal across French Indochina, the United States of America, Canada and Australia. While Firpo and Jacobs acknowledge that child removal in different contexts often served divergent aims, they identified so many parallels that they refer to "the global nature of child removal". [109] Especially towards the end of the nineteenth century, colonial powers began to systematically remove mixed-race and indigenous children from their families.[110]

The first scholarly discussions about childhood in Southeast Asian colonial settings focused mainly on white and mixed-race children. Ann Laura Stoler was one of the first authors to draw attention to European anxieties about white children growing up in overseas parts of empire. Focussing on the Dutch East Indies and French Indochina, Stoler has firmly established that parents and the colonial government alike were concerned with the question of how to teach children to be 'European' in a place so far away from the continent.[111] Europeans often considered their racial identity to be under threat in the tropics.[112] According to Stoler, what was a stake here was "the *learning* of place and race": white children were trained to be both European and colonial. Stoler also paid attention to the children of European men and indigenous women, the issues surrounding their legal classification, and the ways in which these children were perceived as a threat to white prestige and social stability.[113]

York: Routledge, 1999), 134–47; Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); Sarah de Leeuw, '"If Anything Is to Be Done with the Indian, We Must Catch Him Very Young": Colonial Constructions of Aboriginal Children and the Geographies of Indian Residential Schooling in British Columbia, Canada', *Children's Geographies* 7, no. 2 (2009): 123–40; Carol Devens, '"If We Get the Girls, We Get the Race": Missionary Education of Native American Girls', in *The Girls' History and Culture Reader: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Miriam Forman-Brunell and Leslie Paris (Urbana, Chicago and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2011), 104–19; Kristine Alexander, 'Childhood and Colonialism in Canadian History', *History Compass* 14, no. 9 (2016): 397–406.

[108] Christina Elizabeth Firpo, *The Uprooted. Race, Children, and Imperialism in French Indochina, 1890-1980* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 5–6.

[109] Christina Firpo and Margaret Jacobs, 'Taking Children, Ruling Colonies: Child Removal and Colonial Subjugation in Australia, Canada, French Indochina, and the United States, 1870-1950s', *Journal of World History* 29, no. 4 (2018): 532–33.

[110] Ibid., 537.

[111] Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 112. Emphasis in the original.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ann Laura Stoler, 'Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers. European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia', in *Tensions of Empire. Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed.

Stoler's approach has found a lot of resonance among scholars of empire. One notable result is Emmanuelle Saada's insightful monograph about *métis* children in French Indochina.[114] Similar work has been done on French West Africa.[115] Christina Firpo has built upon Saada's work with an acclaimed monograph about child removal in this French colony, and the shifting meaning of *métis* children in the transition from a French colony to the Vietnamese state.[116] Elsewhere, Firpo has astutely analysed discourses about race, age and sexuality surrounding mixed-race boys in Indochina.[117] Liesbeth Rosen Jacobson has added a fresh comparative perspective to these debates by investigating the consequences of decolonization for mixed-raced children in British India, French Indochina and the Dutch East Indies.[118]

Following the first wave of scholarship about children of European descent and colonial anxieties surrounding their upbringing, scholars have turned to the experiences of indigenous children. The British Empire has remained the primary focal point here, as shown by scholarly work about colonial spaces as diverse as India, South Africa and British Malaya.[119] When considered together, these contributions convincingly show that childhood was of major importance within different colonial projects. It has even been asserted that "[c]hildren and young people, both British and Indigenous, both locally born and migrant, were central to the imperial project, burdened with its hopes and anxieties."[120] In other words, much energy went

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Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 198–237; Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 79–111.

[114] Emmanuelle Saada, *Les enfants de la colonie. Les métis de l'Empire français entre sujétion et citoyenneté* (Paris: La Découverte, 2007); Emmanuelle Saada, *Empire's Children: Race, Filiation, and Citizenship in the French Colonies*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

[115] Owen White, *Children of the French Empire: Miscegenation and Colonial Society in French West Africa, 1895-1960* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

[116] Firpo, *The Uprooted*.

[117] Christina Firpo, 'Modernity and the Body. Franco-Vietnamese Children in the Colonial Era and Beyond', in *Modern Times in Southeast Asia, 1920s-1970s*, ed. Susie Protschky (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2018), 191–210.

[118] Liesbeth Rosen Jacobson, '"Preparing Children of Colonialism for a Postcolonial Future": A Comparison of Orphanages for Eurasians in the Dutch East Indies, British India, and French Indochina during the Decolonisation Period, 1930–1975', *Journal of Migration History* 4, no. 1 (2018): 1–26.

[119] Examples include: Sarada Balagopalan, 'Constructing Indigenous Childhoods: Colonialism, Vocational Education and the Working Child', *Childhood: A Global Journal of Child Research* 9, no. 1 (2002): 19–34; Satadru Sen, *Colonial Childhoods: The Juvenile Periphery of India, 1850-1945* (London: Anthem Press, 2005); Ishita Pande, 'Coming of Age: Law, Sex and Childhood in Late Colonial India', *Gender & History* 24, no. 1 (2012); Jialin Christina Wu, '"A Malayan Girlhood on Parade'': Colonial Femininities, Transnational Mobilities and the Girl Guide Movement in British Malaya"', in *Transnational Histories of Youth in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Richard Ivan Jobs and David M. Pomfret (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 92–112; S.E. Duff, *Changing Childhoods in the Cape Colony: Dutch Reformed Church Evangelicalism and Colonial Childhood, 1860-1895* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Rebecca Swartz and Johan Wassermann, '"Britishness", Colonial Governance and Education: St Helenian Children in Colonial Natal in the 1870s', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 44, no. 6 (2016): 881–99; Rebecca Swartz, *Education and Empire Children, Race and Humanitarianism in the British Settler Colonies, 1833-1880* (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

[120] Simon Sleight and Shirleene Robinson, 'Introduction: The World in Miniature', in *Children, Childhood and Youth in the British World*, ed. Simon Sleight and Shirleene Robinson (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 2.

into assuring that children would grow up to take on the roles that 'the Empire' wanted them to play. In a similar vein David Pomfret, writing about the French and British possessions in Southeast Asia, has put forward the thesis that "Youth (…) constituted a principle point around which the relationship of empire was constructed in modern times."[121] In the course of his important book, Pomfret indeed shows how childhood became a guiding principle in many different colonial issues, ranging from city planning in Hong Kong to collective Christmas celebrations in Singapore.[122] The study of childhood in colonial contexts has recently moved on to include postcolonial practices of child removal and their connection to colonialism, for example in the context of East Timor under Indonesian occupation.[123]

As far as the history of childhood in the Dutch East Indies context is concerned, historians have taken some promising first steps. Susan Blackburn and Sharon Bessell made a first contribution with their article on early marriage practices.[124] Paul Bijl has published a book chapter about indigenous childhoods and cultural images in the context of the Aceh War.[125] Finally, Annelieke Dirks' pioneering PhD thesis revealed unsettling information about juvenile reformatories for Indonesian children in the colony.[126] Research like this demonstrates that there remains much to discover about colonial childhoods. There are indications that interest in Indonesian children's history is growing in Indonesia as well. In 2017, for example, a collective of young historians based at Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta dedicated a special issue of their journal *Histma* to this theme. The special issue featured articles on, amongst others, children's experiences in Japanese internment camps during World War II, and child marriage in the colonial period. [127]

Colonial childhood studies have illuminated this research project in different ways. First of all, my familiarity with this field has made me keenly aware that, in the words of social geographer Sarah de Leeuw, "childhood is socially constructed with historicized and spatialized roots".[128] This means that childhood is not a universal phase in every person's life. Instead, who

[121] Pomfret, *Youth and Empire*, 1.
[122] Ibid., 81–114.
[123] Helen van Klinken, *Making Them Indonesian. Child Transfers out of East Timor* (Victoria: Monash University Press, 2012).
[124] Susan Blackburn and Sharon Bessell, 'Marriageable Age: Political Debates on Early Marriage in Twentieth-Century Indonesia', *Indonesia*, no. 63 (1997): 107–41.
[125] Paul Bijl, 'Saving the Children? The Ethical Policy and Photographs of Colonial Atrocity during the Aceh War', in *Photography, Modernity and the Governed in Late-Colonial Indonesia*, ed. Susie Protschky (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 126.
[126] Annelieke Dirks, 'For the Youth: Juvenile Delinquency, Colonial Civil Society and the Late Colonial State in the Netherlands Indies, 1872-1942' (PhD thesis, Leiden University, 2011).
[127] Bagus Zidni Ilman Nafi, 'Pengantar Redaksi', *Histma: Jurnal Sejarah. Anak-Anak Dalam Historiografi Indonesia* 5 (2017): ii–iv.
[128] De Leeuw, 'Colonial Constructions of Aboriginal Children', 131–32.

is defined as a child, when childhood begins and when it ends, and what this means for one's role in society, is dependent on the culture, time and place in which a person grows up. Childhood is thus far from "an unproblematic marker of human development preceding adulthood."[129] Childhood is a flexible social category that is open to interpretation and change: in other words, age is a "historically contingent system of power relations and expectations."[130] Both the beginning – when does a baby turn into a child? – and the end of childhood – when does the child turn into an adult, or, to make matters even more complicated, into an adolescent? – are dependent on the context.[131]

The conceptualization of childhood as a social construct has prompted historians to consider the consequences of being of a certain age. The edited volume *The Modern Girl Around the World*, for example, was published in 2008 by a group of scholars who shared a common fascination: the appearance of a "modern girl" with specific physical characteristics in global visual culture in the 1920s and 1930s. The authors have pointed at the "troublesome" nature of the category of the girl: "Girl" signifies the contested status of young women, no longer children, and their unstable and sometimes subversive relationship to social norms relating to heterosexuality, marriage, and motherhood."[132] As we shall see, in many cases indigenous girls in the Dutch East Indies were indeed seen as malleable 'women-in-the-making' whose moral, physical and intellectual development needed to be steered in the 'right' direction. Educators feared that they would all too easily diverge from the straight and narrow. This anxiety was also noted by Kristine Moruzi and Michelle J. Smith, who have pointed at specific fears and worries surrounding "the girl who is no longer a child, but has not yet married".[133] Such a girl "represents a disturbing figure who is potentially beyond the control of her family and unconstrained by social norms." Facing this threat, adults concluded that "this transition need[ed] to be disciplined and controlled."[134]

There is a notable different between this thesis and the project of The Modern Girl Around the World Research Group. The members of the group were first and foremost

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[129] Ibid.
[130] Leslie Paris, 'Through the Looking Glass: Age, Stages, and Historical Analysis', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no. 1 (2008): 107.
[131] Frühstück and Walthall, 'Introduction', 4–5. Colin Heywood, 'Introduction', in *A History of Childhood* (Cambridge: Polity, 2018), 3–4.
[132] Modern Girl Around the World Research Group, 'The Modern Girl as Heuristic Device. Collaboration, Connective Comparison, Multidirectional Citation', in *The Modern Girl Around the World. Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization*, ed. Modern Girl Around the World Research Group (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 9.
[133] Moruzi and Smith, 'Colonial Girlhood/Colonial Girls', 4.
[134] Ibid.

interested in 'The Modern Girl' as "a manifestation, as a style, an icon, and a performance."[135] While this capitalized Girl is very useful for making comparisons and establishing links across national contexts, the Modern Girl was first of all a mediatic phenomenon, a model which appeared in films and magazines. I, on the other hand, am interested in the historical experiences of real-life girls. This brings me to the question of agency, defined by Pomfret as children's "will to act in the world".[136]

One of the debts this thesis owes to Pomfret's *Youth and Empire* is the compelling idea that colonial childhoods were "coproductions" between adults and children.[137] Adults generally have a great deal of power over children. However, as Pomfret points out, "[I]ndividual children negotiated and contributed to" the shape that their lives took.[138] Pomfret refuses to conceptualize childhood as merely a "preparatory stage to being adult".[139] Children, he argues, are inherently worthy of scholarly attention, and in his book, they are identified as "agents in the construction of colonial societies who developed their own ways of understanding and engaging with one another."[140]

Mary-Jo Maynes' analysis of girls' agency is also helpful here. Maynes, much like Pomfret, starts from the premise that "Girls (…) do make history."[141] Maynes, however, proposes a more layered view of the notion of agency. Girls have historically often acted from a position of relative powerlessness, marginalization and invisibility. For a large part of Western history it could even severely damage the reputation of a girl if she was too visible beyond the home. The prevailing image of the autonomous, usually male social actor, who is highly visible in the public sphere, is therefore problematic when writing about girlhoods.[142] Thinking about girls in history thus requires historians to reconsider what we mean when we ascribe 'agency', and recognizing that girls may have acted as agents mainly outside of the public and adult spheres of life.

Finally, childhood studies have proved helpful for thinking about the definition of life stages. Moruzi and Smith have called attention to the challenges and contradictions inherent in any attempt to define "the girl", as girlhood is often seen as a transitional and fleeting phase in

[135] Modern Girl Around the World Research Group, 'The Modern Girl as Heuristic Device', 11–12.
[136] Pomfret, *Youth and Empire*, 5.
[137] Ibid., 6.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid., 6–7.
[141] Mary-Jo Maynes, 'Age as a Category of Historical Analysis: History, Agency, and Narratives of Childhood', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no. 1 (2008): 115.
[142] Ibid., 116–17.

a woman's life.[143] Following authors who have pointed at the impossibility of defining girlhood, I want to borrow Pomfret's definition of childhood as "what contemporary actors understood these categories to mean."[144] If missionaries, Muslim activists or civil servants thus identified the audience of a certain school as *inlandsche meisjes* or *gadis priboemi*, both of which can be translated as 'native girls', it is my task to unpack these terms and find out which meanings they carried.

New views on civilizing missions

This thesis is centred around detailed case-studies of girls' schools in colonial Indonesia. By adopting approaches from colonial childhood studies, this study of colonial schooling aims to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of civilizing missions in the late colonial Dutch East Indies. This topic has sparked a large scholarly literature, going back to the colonial era. Recently, scholars have developed new views on colonial civilizing missions. In this paragraph, I will expand on the contribution that these new conceptualizations add to this research project.

Before moving on to a brief historiographical exploration, it is worthwhile to note that, in a sense, all schools are exponents of civilizing missions. Schools are institutions installed to teach young children socially desirable behaviour – who are in general perceived as being in an early stage of development – and to socialize them.[145] Schools try to "make children fit into certain moulds" and "shape them to perform predetermined roles".[146] Some historians have even asserted that children's position is in some regards similar to that of colonized people, as they are "frequently seen as primitive or not fully realized".[147] Historians have also noted many cases in which colonial regimes explicitly likened indigenous adults to children.[148]

It is generally accepted among historians that colonizers and different groups of local people alike felt a duty to 'uplift' colonized groups. This civilizing mission was "a moral justification of and a patriotic motivation for expansionism."[149] Most work about colonial civilizing missions has focused on the British and French Empires. In her book on French West-Africa, Alice Conklin was one of the first historians to focus on the ways in which the *mission*

[143] Moruzi and Smith, 'Colonial Girlhood/Colonial Girls', 1.
[144] Pomfret, *Youth and Empire*, 5.
[145] Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*, 8.
[146] Ibid., 18.
[147] Kristine Alexander, 'Can the Girl Guide Speak? The Perils and Pleasures of Looking for Children's Voices in Archival Research', *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures* 4, no. 1 (2012): 134.
[148] De Leeuw, 'Colonial Constructions of Aboriginal Children', 126–29; Pomfret, *Youth and Empire*, 61.
[149] J. P. Daughton, *An Empire Divided: Religion, Republicanism, and the Making of French Colonialism, 1880-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 11.

civilisatrice was applied in a specific context. As an ideological underpinning of empire, Conklin argued, the civilizing mission deserved to be better understood. Throughout the book, she showed how civil administrators' conception of this mission constantly evolved. The civilizing mission was thus far from a static, unchanging idea.[150]

In the last twenty years or so, Conklin's approach has permeated the field of colonial history. Numerous studies now reflect the fact that various groups with diverging interests were at work within colonial states, carrying out their own 'civilizing' ambitions. European populations in the empire were not collectively working to realize a particular imperial agenda. Instead, these groups consisted out of "settlers, businessmen, officials and religious workers", and many other social categories. These communities, and their civilizing efforts, were "fractured and fissiparous".[151] Even groups that seemed to have a clearly demarcated ideology were prone to multiple conflicts and contradictions. In this context, J.P Daughton has drawn the important conclusion that "indigenous populations did not face a unified colonial presence but one fraught with inconsistencies, conflict, and contradictions."[152]

The fragmented nature of colonial civilizing missions has been noted by scholars of the history of education as well. In her analysis of education for bourgeois girls in the French colonies, for example, Rebecca Rogers remarked that "the civilizing mission varied widely from place to place, even within the same religious [teaching] order."[153] Esther Möller, too, has drawn attention to the importance of differentiating the idea of a civilizing mission. She has demonstrated that a focus on different types of schools in Lebanon – secular, Catholic, Jewish and Protestant – provides insight in the multiplicity and complexity of the French *mission civilisatrice*.[154] Much like this thesis, she conceptualized the schools as concrete spaces and was interested in analysing practices on the ground. Möller did not disregard colonial discourse in favour of praxis but, much like Kristine Alexander in her research about the Girl Guides,[155] she was interested in the relationship between them.[156] The importance of this point of view is likewise stressed by Daughton, who insists that French colonialism was not simply "made in Paris, but shaped (…) in the colonies."[157]

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[150] Alice L. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930* (Stanford University Press, 1997), 1–3.
[151] Pomfret, *Youth and Empire*, 3.
[152] Daughton, *An Empire Divided*, 263.
[153] Rogers, *From the Salon to the Schoolroom*, 232.
[154] Möller, *Orte der Zivilisierungsmission*.
[155] Alexander, 'Can the Girl Guide Speak?', 133.
[156] Möller, *Orte der Zivilisierungsmission*, 15–16.
[157] Daughton, *An Empire Divided*, 261.

Historians of the Dutch East Indies have not yet fully explored the possibilities that these new directions offer. As will be explained in more detail in the following chapter, the civilizing mission in the Dutch East Indies has mostly been studied in the context of the ethical policy. In a landmark collection of articles, for example, Elsbeth Locher-Scholten has traced the development of the term 'ethical policy'. She had shown how colonial administrators, journalists and others defined it in diverse and sometimes contradictory ways.[158] Locher-Scholten's work changed the field of Dutch colonial history because it recognized the flexibility of colonial discourse long before many other historians did so, and has inspired a large follow-up. Marieke Bloembergen and Remco Raben, for example, have published an edited volume that touches upon a wide range of civilizing missions in the Dutch East Indies.[159]

This approach, however, has found little resonance In research on education in the Dutch East Indies. Scholars have tended to focus on either the colonial government or one specific social group, such as Protestant missionaries or Chinese-Indonesians.[160] Similarly, Susan Blackburn has chosen not to consider religious education in her book on Indonesian women and the state. Religious schooling, in her words, "deserves a book in itself."[161] In my view, it would be more useful to place different forms of education in one framework instead of assigning them to their own separate bookshelves.

The role of indigenous people is a second aspect of civilizing missions which has recently been highlighted by historians. As Möller has pointed out for the Lebanese context, the idea of "civilising through education" was as important for Arabic interest groups as it was for French educational initiators.[162] Local people reacted to the French civilizing missions in many different ways, ranging from wholehearted rejection to appropriation and adaptation.[163] Furthermore, as Bloembergen and Raben have stressed, "it is doubtful that the moral motive for progress and uplift was exclusively employed by European ethical thinkers and did not motivate Indonesian civilizers just as much".[164]

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[158] Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek in fragmenten: vijf studies over koloniaal denken en doen van Nederlanders in de Indonesische Archipel, 1877-1942* (Utrecht: HES, 1981).
[159] Marieke Bloembergen and Remco Raben, eds., *Het koloniale beschavingsoffensief: wegen naar het nieuwe Indië, 1890-1950* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2009).
[160] H. Kroeskamp, *Early Schoolmasters in a Developing Country. A History of Experiments in School Education in 19th Century Indonesia* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974). Ming Govaars, *Hollands onderwijs in een koloniale samenleving: de Chinese ervaring in Indonesië 1900 - 1942* (Afferden: De Vijver, 1999).
[161] Blackburn, *Women and the State*, 35.
[162] Möller, *Orte der Zivilisierungsmission*, 33–36.
[163] Ibid., 14.
[164] Marieke Bloembergen and Remco Raben, 'Wegen naar het nieuwe Indië, 1890-1950', in *Het koloniale beschavingsoffensief. Wegen naar het nieuwe Indië, 1890-1950*, ed. Marieke Bloembergen and Remco Raben (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2009), 13.

It is crucial, then, that this research is not limited to Dutch-led schools. The value of looking at the initiatives of indigenous people within the broader framework of colonialism and education has been demonstrated by scholars of other imperial contexts such as British India.[165] The inclusion of schools which were founded by Indonesians does justice to the historical complexity and allows for a more sophisticated analysis.

Methodology

As was briefly suggested in the paragraph on colonial childhood studies, the methodology of this research project is mainly founded on the analytical categories of gender and age. The realization that age is a cultural construct is crucial for the historical study of childhoods, and can help scholars appreciate the diversity of ways in which 'being young in the empire' could work out.[166] It is important, however, to realize that categories such as gender and age never exist independently from one another, as Rachel Leow has convincingly shown. Encouraging scholars to consider the meaning of age in combination with gender, Leow writes: "paying attention to [age] can bring questions into focus that may not appear if we are only paying attention to (…) gender or sexuality (…)".[167] In other words, "in order to arrive at an understanding of women's position in society, it may not be possible or desirable to allow our focus on gender to foreclose other ways of seeing."[168] In comparison to gender and race, the category of age has received far less attention by historians of empire.[169]

The analytical approach that Leow argues for can accurately be described as intersectional. Intersectionality was first developed in the 1980s by Kimberlé Crenshaw, a legal scholar and a key theorist of Black feminism. Intersectionality is an analytical tool that reminds us that categories of differences such as gender, race, class and age are constituted in relation to each other. Scholars need to understand the interplay between these categories.[170] Since Krenshaw's coinage of the term, intersectionality has found a lot of resonance across different disciplines. Historian Anne McClintock, for example, has asserted that "(…) no social category

[165] Deepak Kumar et al., eds., *Education in Colonial India: Historical Insights* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2013).
[166] Simon Sleight and Shirleene Robinson, 'Introduction: The World in Miniature', in *Children, Childhood and Youth in the British World*, ed. Simon Sleight and Shirleene Robinson (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 7–13.
[167] Leow, 'Age as a Category of Gender Analysis', 981.
[168] Ibid., 984.
[169] Pomfret, *Youth and Empire*, 8.
[170] Kimberlé Crenshaw, 'Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique on Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics', *The University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140 (1989): 139–40.

exists in privileged isolation; each comes into being in social relation to other categories, if in uneven and contradictory ways."[171] McClintock has investigated how, in the context of colonialism, race, gender and class "come into existence *in and through* relation to each other."[172] Sociologist Avtar Brah and psychologist Ann Phoenix have articulated this particularly astutely: intersectionality "emphasizes that different dimensions of social life cannot be separated out into discrete and pure strands."[173]

Age, gender and other related categories are social systems that structure power relationships between people. This research project carefully considers power structures between historical actors. Here, too, it draws on a very rich literature. Postcolonial reading strategies, as first proposed by Edward Said in *Orientalism* in 1978, have gained much ground among historians of empires. Said's work explores the relationship between knowledge and power in the context of European empire.[174] It also emphasizes the hierarchical relationship between the colonizer and the colonized in colonial discourse.[175] Said employed discourse analysis to understand how "European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient."[176] While Said has been criticized for not engaging with the gendered dimensions of empire, his method does offer the possibility to do so.[177]

In his adaptation of discourse analysis as a methodological tool, Said was indebted to Michel Foucault.[178] In his 1966 work *Les mots et les choses. Une archéologie des sciences humaines* Foucault investigated the historicity of discourses on science by tracing them through time. [179] He described this way of working as "archaeological".[180] In later works, notably *Histoire de la sexualité* that was published in four volumes between 1976 and 1984, Foucault employed a similar method while focusing on discourses on sexuality and their links with knowledge and power.[181]

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[171] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather. Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York/London: Routledge, 1995), 9.
[172] Ibid., 5. Emphasis in the original.
[173] Avtar Brah and Ann Phoenix, 'Ain't I A Woman? Revisiting Intersectionality', *Journal of International Women's Studies* 5, no. 3 (2013): 76.
[174] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 5th ed. (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 32.
[175] Said, *Orientalism*.
[176] Ibid., 3.
[177] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 397n4.
[178] Said, *Orientalism*, 3.
[179] Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses. Une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2012), 380.
[180] Ibid., 13.
[181] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality 1: The Will to Knowledge*, trans. Robert Hurley (London: Penguin Books, 1998), 8–9.

Michael Foucault's assertion that the archive is a "political field of force" that highlights specific historical actions while obscuring others remains highly relevant.[182] Recently, however, scholars have called for a new appreciation of colonial archives as the sources on which historians are dependent for their work. Ricardo Roque and Kim Wagner have convincingly argued that that scholars need to be willing to critically engage with texts from colonial contexts without "starting with an attitude of dismissal of the epistemological value of colonialism's legacy."[183] Even though encounters with racism and other morally revolting expressions of colonialism in the archive will always cause unease, historians need to "work *with* rather than *against* the contents of colonial accounts."[184] This resonates with Ann Laura Stoler's argument that historians do well to "read along the grain" of the sources if they want to grasp the instability of colonial regimes.[185] Historians should thus not immediately dismiss documents produced by colonizers as epistemologically invalid because of their connection to violent political systems, but instead make an effort to understand the complexities within such sources.[186]

Throughout this thesis, intersectional discourse analysis is applied in a comparative framework. This comparative approach works on two levels. I do not only compare schools of different ideological and religious affiliations, but also draw comparisons between four different regions of the Dutch East Indies, namely Yogyakarta, Minahasa, Flores and West Sumatra. In *Youth and Empire*, David Pomfret applies a similar method, which he describes as "multi-centric" and "multi-cited", focusing on four urban centres in British and French Asia: Hong Kong, Hanoi, Saigon and Singapore.[187] Pomfret convincingly defends the analytical value of comparison between different regions and empires: "Comparison can shed light upon structures, patterns and evolving discourses. It can highlight what was exceptional or equivalent."[188] Looking at the local circumstances in different places enables scholars to do justice to local dynamics. The Modern Girl Around the World Research Group has also pointed at the specific value of comparison in finding out "how specific local processes condition each other."[189]

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[182] Ricardo Roque and Kim A. Wagner, 'Introduction: Engaging Colonial Knowledge', in *Engaging Colonial Knowledge. Reading European Archives in World History*, ed. Ricardo Roque and Kim A. Wagner (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1–2.
[183] Ibid., 4.
[184] Ibid. Emphasis in the original.
[185] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 46–51.
[186] Roque and Wagner, 'Introduction: Engaging Colonial Knowledge', 21–22.
[187] Pomfret, *Youth and Empire*, 12–15.
[188] Ibid., 15.
[189] Modern Girl Around the World Research Group, 'The Modern Girl as Heuristic Device', 3.

Elsewhere, Philippa Levine has eloquently argued for the inclusion of comparison as "a heuristic instrument in the standard historical toolbox."[190] Levine points at the essentially "dialogical" nature of colonial societies, meaning that these societies were rife with discussions between governments, colonists and colonized people about the very concept of empire. [191] As Levine observes, "Imperial rule itself (…) made constant, sometimes desperate comparisons (…)"'[192] Colonial history therefore stands out as a field that can benefit from comparisons. Importantly, Levine also recalls that a comparative method does not necessarily has to focus on contrast.[193] In her own work on venereal disease in the British Empire, she has shown how valuable a focus on the obscuring of difference can be, demonstrating how colonial authorities in four very different areas "chose to *collapse* comparison and treat colonized people as a faceless mass."[194] The comparative approach has recently also gained ground in histories of colonial education.[195]

The four regions in this comparison were selected for different reasons. Especially in Yogyakarta, West Sumatra and Minahasa, Dutch colonial power was relatively well-established from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards. These regions therefore received a lot of attention from Dutch and Indonesian and Indonesian educational activists and initiators alike. Minahasa and Flores were furthermore selected because these regions were under considerable influence of different Protestant and Catholic missionary societies. In West Sumatra, a reformist Islamic movement transformed the educational landscape for girls.

A further reason why Minahasa, West Sumatra and Flores have been included is the Java-centric nature of Netherlands-Indies historiography. Java, grouped with neighbouring Madura, was the most densely populated island in the colony as well as its political heartland. Most colonial legislation was first implemented on Java before it was introduced on other islands, which were commonly called the *Buitengewesten* [Outer Islands]. Consequentially, most historical writings about education and civilizing missions have focused on Java. This is not only the case in histories of education: similar points of critique have been brought up by,

[190] Philippa Levine, 'Is Comparative History Possible?', *History and Theory* 53 (2014): 346. For more reflections on the comparative method and its usefulness for historians of empire, see: Frederick Cooper, 'Review: Race, Ideology, and the Perils of Comparative History', *American Historical Review* 101, no. 4 (1996): 1122–38; Ann Laura Stoler, 'Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post)Colonial Studies', *Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (2001): 829–65.
[191] Levine, 'Is Comparative History Possible?', 338–39.
[192] Ibid., 339.
[193] Ibid., 344.
[194] Ibid., 338. Emphasis appear in the source.
[195] Peter Kallaway and Rebecca Swartz, eds., *Empire and Education in Africa: The Shaping of a Comparative Perspective* (New York: Peter Lang, 2018).

for example, historians of racial science in the Dutch East Indies.[196] By bringing together four separate regional historiographies, this thesis is a step towards a more integrated history of education in Indonesia.

Source material

This thesis draws on a diverse body of source material in Dutch and Indonesian, as well as on smaller collections of material in German and French. The source material includes publications such as magazine articles, missionary journals, yearly reports of charitable organizations, and memorial books. Unpublished archival sources range from documents from the office of the Governor-General and letters by Indonesian schoolgirls to missionary correspondence and school inspection reports. I have also been able to retrieve a significant amount of visual material in databases and archives, a selection of which has been included in the thesis. For the maps, I have mainly relied on the Dutch Colonial Map Collection of Leiden University, which consists of the digitized collections of the *Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen* [Royal Tropical Institute] in Amsterdam. In Indonesia, I had the opportunity to interview three women of Chinese-Indonesian, Minahasan and Flores backgrounds who received their education in the Dutch East Indies and immediately after decolonization. Their life stories serve to illustrate broader educational developments.

As is immediately clear from this enumeration, the majority of the sources at the disposal of historians of childhood are produced by adults. Even though Indonesian schoolgirls might have had opportunities to act according to their own wishes, this is not always readily reflected in the archives. There are few sources available that are produced by the schoolgirls themselves. While a direct relationship between the ability to produce written material and social agency cannot be assumed, this certainly complicates the work of the historian of childhood. [197]

Historians have developed inventive reading strategies that can help locate the voices of people who are generally marginalized in the archive. Historians of childhood can draw methodological inspiration from other fields such as literary criticism, cultural studies and postcolonial theory. The work of Kristine Alexander on the Girl Guide movement in the British

[196] Fenneke Sysling, *Racial Science and Human Diversity in Colonial Indonesia* (NUS Press, 2016), 10.
[197] Maynes, 'Age as a Category of Historical Analysis', 118.

Empire is highly informative in this regard. Alexander was not only interested in the normative models of girlhood that Guiding represented, but wanted to know how girls responded to these models and used them in their own cultural practices. This lead her to ask questions about discourse and practice in girls' lives, and the often complicated relationship between the two.[198]

As archival collections are shaped by understandings of which perspectives 'matter', girls' voices are hard to find in the archives. Power relations based on gender, age, language, geography and a variety of other factor determine which sources are preserved and which are not.[199] Alexander has attempted to solve this issue by trying to find sources produced by girls themselves and reading them critically. From the relatively few record books and diaries she could find in the Girl Guides archives, she extracted individual girls' responses to the Guiding movement. These sources served as a counterweight to the "mountains of prescriptive literature" that Alexander encountered.[200] The sources proved that "girls (..) enjoyed and took what they wanted from the movement without necessarily agreeing or engaging with some of its broader ideological goals."[201] By reading adult-produced sources "against the grain", a critical reading practice that entails paying attention to textual silences and looking for alternative interpretations, Alexander could also learn about girls' personal experiences.[202] These examples show that innovative use of source material can take historians who are interested in marginalized groups a long way. Still, it remains important to not only look for girls' 'voices', but to be conscious of the gaps in the archives, such as the documents disposed of because they were not seen as 'important' enough to preserve.[203]

Outline of the thesis

This thesis is made up of four chapters that are organized thematically. The thematic organization, as opposed to a strictly chronological or geographical outline, allows me to engage with the comparative framework of this thesis throughout the chapters. While the analysis thus moves back and forth through time, it is loosely organized around specific key moments in the history of girls' education in the Dutch East Indies. In this way, I have been

[198] Alexander, 'Can the Girl Guide Speak?', 133. Kristine Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls. Girlhood, Empire, and Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s* (Vancouver/Toronto: UBC Press, 2017).
[199] Ibid., 132.
[200] Ibid., 136.
[201] Ibid., 138–40.
[202] Ibid., 137; 141.
[203] Ibid., 144.

able to both delve into local contexts and pay attention to broader developments in the archipelago.

The first chapter provides the background to the economic and cultural circumstances in Yogyakarta, Minahasa, West Sumatra and Flores. It first sketches a general picture of political developments in the colony around the turn of the twentieth century, paying special attention to the build-up of the colonial education system in the context of the ethical policy. The chapter then zooms in on the four regions individually, moving on from the wider socio-economic circumstances to educational developments in general, and girls' education in particular.

The second chapter is an analysis of three Christian girls' schools in Java, Flores and Minahasa that were founded roughly between 1880 and 1900. The chapter argues that the educational ideologies of these schools put great emphasis on the formation of Christian 'future wives and mothers' who, as their teachers hoped, would come to play a 'civilizing' role in their own families and in their wide societies. The way in which this worked out in practice, however, depended to a large extent on local families' demands and cultural circumstances. This argument is supported by examples of parents' motivations to send their daughters to school, as well as of instances of indigenous objections and resistance to European-style schooling for girls.

The third chapter moves on to the 1920s and the 1930s, when a large and multivocal Indonesian educational movement blossomed throughout the archipelago. Focusing on a reformist Islamic school in West Sumatra and a Central Javanese nationalist school organization in particular, this chapter shows how diverse Indonesians' reactions to colonial schooling were. The chapter hereby adds to the argument that scholars of colonial civilizing missions do well to include indigenous initiatives in their analysis. Moreover, the chapters builds on the argument of the previous chapter by demonstrating that Indonesian educators, too, expected their female graduates to become agents of civilizing missions in the private sphere.

Finally, the fourth chapter moves on to the question of what education prepared girls for beyond motherhood and marriage. From the 1920s onwards, Christian colonial schools struggled with Indonesian girls' increasing demand for diplomas and secondary education. Moreover, both in these schools and in Islamic and nationalist circles, there were lively discussions about which professional occupations would be 'respectable' and 'suitable' for indigenous young women. This chapter adopts the teaching profession as a lens for looking at Indonesian girls' secondary education options and their professional experiences.

After a conclusion that weaves together the red threads of this thesis, an epilogue devotes a few words on the (post)colonial afterlives that figure in the text. All in all, the

chapters aim to show how indigenous girls in colonial Indonesia were taught 'how to be a woman', how they responded to this, and which consequences their historical experiences have for scholarly interpretations of civilizing missions in the late-colonial Dutch East Indies and beyond.

A note on terminology and spelling

The terms 'Indonesia' for the archipelago and 'Indonesian' for the language that was previously known as Malay were officially adopted by young nationalists in 1928 in the *Sumpah Pemuda* or Youth Pledge. Because of the pejorative connotations of the word 'native' in colonial contexts, I prefer to use 'Indonesian' and 'indigenous'. I do use 'native' as a translation for the Dutch term *inlands*, which regularly appears in my source material.

Modern written Indonesian differs from the colonial spelling system. Among other alterations, the Dutch *oe* has been replaced by *u* in modern Indonesian, and *tj* has been replaced by *c*. Modern Indonesian is spelled according to the *Ejaan yang disempurnakan* [Reformed Spelling], that was introduced in 1972.[204] For my translations, I have made extensive use of Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings' English-Indonesian dictionary in the second revised edition, published in 2010.

As spelling often varied from one source to another, I use the modern Indonesian equivalent for terms that appear in Malay and Indonesian nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sources: *kemajuan* instead of *kemadjoean*. The spelling of the Dutch language fluctuated in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, therefore I prefer to use the modern Dutch spelling: for example, I favour the modern-day spelling *Hollands-Inlandse school* over *Hollandsch-Inlandsche school*. An exception are direct quotations, in which I take over the spelling as used in the original Dutch or Malay source.

Throughout the text, I use the modern spelling for geographical names. Only when the place names are currently very different than in the colonial era I mention the colonial-era name: Fort de Kock for Bukittinggi for example, and Batavia for modern-day Jakarta. I write the names of organizations and historical actors as they appear in the source material: Dinijjah Poetri instead of Diniyyah Puteri, Moertinah instead of the modern version Murtinah. Exceptions are names for which the modern version is commonly used in historical literature, such as Sukarno. In the case of Javanese names and organizations, I have used the relevant

[204] Alan M. Stevens and A. Ed. Schmidgall-Tellings, *A Comprehensive Indonesian-English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010), xviii.

Indonesian spelling instead of the Javanese version. As to facilitate readability, Javanese and Arabic diacritic signs are not used.

Chapter 1. Yogyakarta, West Sumatra, Minahasa and Flores: Colonialism and girls' education in four regions of the Dutch East Indies

1.1 General developments in educational policy around 1900

In this chapter, the focus is on the four regions of the Dutch East Indies which form the background to the schools studied in this thesis. The diversity of these Yogyakarta, Minahasa, Flores and West Sumatra regions calls for some information about the specific geographical, political and cultural circumstances. Before moving on to these regional histories, however, it is important to attention to the specific colonial context in which they emerged.

Developments in wider colonial policy had important repercussions for educational landscapes throughout the Indonesian archipelago. Particularly the introduction of the ethical policy [*ethische politiek*] around the turn of the twentieth century represented a major turning point, as the colonial state refined its relationship to indigenous people.[205] The ethical policy was characterized by the conviction that the colonial government had a task in caring for the Indonesian population. As justifications for Dutch rule over the archipelago shifted towards a discourse of concern for welfare, colonialism was no longer defined in purely economic terms.

The watershed of the ethical policy is best understood in contrast to the preceding decades of colonial rule. After centuries of mercantile involvement in the region, governance over Java by the Batavia-based colonial government started to take shape after the bankruptcy of the Dutch East India Company in 1800.[206] After the Java War (1830-1835), which is explored in more detail in the third part of this chapter, a colonial political system based on a philosophy of dual rule emerged. The Dutch reorganized the Javanese administration, maintaining the pyramidical structure of the Javanese political system. As in many colonial contexts in Southeast Asia and beyond, this form of administration was based on an alliance between the colonial power and the local aristocracy.[207] Java was divided into regencies in which the highest authority lay with the Dutch resident. This resident was assisted by assistant-residents and a

[205] M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, 3rd ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 193.
[206] Ibid., 147–50.
[207] Kratoska, 'Elites and the Construction of the Nation', 39.

number of *controleurs*, the lowest level of the Dutch civil administration or *Binnenlands Bestuur*.[208]

The Dutch administration functioned alongside its indigenous counterpart, the *Inheems Bestuur*. These positions were occupied by men from the *priyayi* classes, nobles of the robe whose families had a tradition of administrative service in the older Javanese forms of governance. The Javanese system of aristocratic rule was based on a hierarchical system, going down from the sultan to different rulers in the territories of his realm.[209] In the Native administration, the regent or *bupati* held the highest authority followed by his assistant, the *patih*. Lower in the administrative order stood the *wedono*, the district head, and finally the village heads. Regents could be transferred and dismissed according to the judgement of the Binnenlands Bestuur.[210]

Simultaneously with these political reforms, the Dutch administration introduced a new economic structure on Java and Madura known as the *cultuurstelsel* or cultivation system. This system was based on the compulsory delivery of crops to the colonial government. It was in force roughly between the end of the Java War and 1870, even though in some regions it was upheld until as late as 1919. Javanese peasants were obliged to devote a fixed percentage of their land to the production of export crops. The peasants had to sell the yields, mainly indigo, coffee and sugar, to the government at a fixed price. As an incentive for production, both European and Javanese officials received a payment related to the quantity of crops produced in their districts.[211]

Even though the cultivation system was very profitable for the Dutch government, it encountered problems from the start.[212] It placed heavy burdens on local people, who regularly suffered from epidemics and famines. Its profitability was also ultimately untenable in a fluctuating world market. After the introduction of a liberal constitution in the Netherlands in 1848, political voices in the metropole started to argue for the reduction of state intervention in the colonial economy. Parliamentarians also criticized high costs for local people. Public opinion on the matter was strongly influenced by the novel *Max Havelaar*, written by a former

[208] Sanne Ravensbergen, 'Courtrooms of Conflict. Criminal Law, Local Elites and Legal Pluralities in Colonial Java' (PhD thesis, Leiden University, 2018), 18–23.
[209] Vincent J.H. Houben, *Kraton and Kumpeni. Surakarta and Yogyakarta, 1830-1870*, trans. Rosemary McKillop (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994), 7–10.
[210] Ravensbergen, 'Courtrooms of Conflict', 18–23.
[211] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 156–61. Howard Dick et al., *The Emergence of a National Economy. An Economic History of Indonesia, 1800-2000* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002), 64–65.
[212] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 159–60.

assistant-resident under the pseudonym of Multatuli. The book painted a disenchanting image of colonial economic oppression.[213]

The Agrarian Law of 1870 ushered in the step-by-step abolition of the cultivation system, opening up Java and Madura for private agricultural business initiatives. This was the beginning of the so-called liberal period in Indonesian economic history.[214] Between 1870 and 1900, agricultural exploitation throughout the archipelago expanded spectacularly. Still, an economic depression and ongoing financial difficulties meant that the economic lives of peasants were not significantly improved.[215]

With its focus on welfare, the introduction of the ethical policy around the turn of the twentieth century meant a radical departure from earlier economic systems. So far, the image of the overseas territories as a source of income for the Netherlands had prevailed. But the ethical policy was far from univocal. 'Ethical thinking' encompassed notions of development and welfare, but also implicated the consolidation of colonial power and the expansion of de facto Dutch rule.[216] Armed conflicts between the colonial army and local population intensified around the 1890s, exemplified by the military actions in Lombok (1894) and the escalation of colonial warfare in Aceh (1898). In this North Sumatran region, armed conflict between local and colonial forces had been raging for decades. It took massive military operations and tens of thousands of lives before the government declared Aceh "pacified" by 1904. It was precisely this military expansion that freed the way for economic expansion into the Outer Islands.[217] All in all, with the ethical policy colonialism in the Dutch East Indies not only acquired a new ideological foundation, but also a new territorial definition. These two processes were inextricably linked. Expansionist imperialism called for a new way of legitimizing colonialism, and the ethical policy fitted this aim. [218]

The ethical policy comprised of a wide array of projects. The colonial government cleared thirty million guilders for the establishment of *welvaartsdiensten*, welfare services.[219] The Dutch *welvaart* has different connotations than the English 'welfare': the Dutch term is

[213] Ibid., 161–62. Suzanne Moon, *Technology and Ethical Idealism: A History of Development in the Netherlands East Indies* (Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2007), 15–17.
[214] Dick et al., *An Economic History of Indonesia*, 65–66.
[215] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 162–63.
[216] Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek in fragmenten*, 201.
[217] J.Th. Lindblad, 'De opkomst van de Buitengewesten', in *Het belang van de Buitengewesten: Economische expansie en koloniale staatsvorming in de Buitengewesten van Nederlands-Indië, 1870-1942*, NEHA-series 3 (Amsterdam: NEHA, 1989), 2–7.
[218] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 193.
[219] Robert Cribb, 'Development Policy in the Early Twentieth Century', in *Development and Social Welfare: Indonesia's Experiences under the New Order*, ed. Jan-Paul Dirkse, Frans Hüsken, and Mario Rutten (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1993), 230.

more associated with long-term prosperity and wellbeing, in contrast to short-term emergency help.[220] The welfare services included projects for agricultural improvement, the establishment of administrative divisions in charge of infrastructural development and public healthcare, and investment in rural credit provision.[221] In addition, the colonial government tried to promote more efficient agricultural methods and started supervising the rice trade in order to prevent famines.[222] The government also made several attempts to convince peasants to leave overcrowded Java and settle in less populated areas.[223] For its ethical work, the government sought assistance of churches, missionary organizations and other groups with social aims, some of them Indonesian. Indonesian charitable organizations, however, would develop particularly strongly only three decades later, in the context of the worldwide economic crisis of the 1930s.[224]

New governmental subsidies enabled many different non-governmental stakeholders to initiate schools. In the eyes of ethical politicians, providing education to indigenous populations was an effective way of contributing to both their economic and moral 'uplift.' But such convictions did not always translate into concrete financial support. In the 1920s, government spending on education was raised from around three percent to six percent of the total budget. This was the only decade when public expenditures for education in the Dutch East Indies rose significantly.[225] Moreover, the majority of the funds poured into the European educational system and not into Native schools. European schools received half of the money spent on education by the government, while they accounted for only ten percent of the school population.[226]

During the economic crisis of the 1930s, the government definitively abandoned the ethical policy. The educational system in the colony was hit hard as public expenditures on education fell back by fifty percent.[227] The consequences were immediate: fewer options for higher-level schooling became available to Indonesian children, and the standards of education in schools were lowered. The focus of the government shifted away from providing Western-

[220] Ibid.
[221] Ibid., 232–36.
[222] Peter Boomgaard, 'The Welfare Services in Colonial Indonesia, 1900-1942', *Itinerario* 10, no. 1 (1986): 59–70. For an extensive investigation into agricultural projects under the ethical policy, see Moon, *Technology and Ethical Idealism*.
[223] Cribb, 'Development Policy', 236–38.
[224] John Ingleson, 'Race, Class and the Deserving Poor: Charities and the 1930s Depression in Java', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 46, no. 2 (2015): 208–26.
[225] Ewout Frankema, 'Why Was the Dutch Legacy so Poor? Educational Development in the Dutch East Indies, 1871-1942', *CGEH Working Papers* 54 (2014): 7.
[226] Ibid., 9.
[227] Ibid., 7.

style education to indigenous children at expensive HIS and ELS to more modest institutions such as village schools.[228] Apart from saving money, the government also wished to reduce the numbers of Indonesian children in the European school system. The colonial administration had begun to worry that the education at the ELS and HIS would estrange children from their own culture, rendering them vulnerable to nationalist propaganda.[229] The restriction of this form of education was part of a general crackdown on the growing Indonesian nationalist movement. After a period of initial leniency, communist riots on Sumatra and Java in 1926 and 1927 scared the government into a strategy of repression, leading to the arrest of nationalist leaders.[230] The government took a hard line on nationalist activism until the end of Dutch rule in Indonesia, that came with the Japanese invasion in 1942.

It is clear that the ethical policy, nationalist movements and the economic depression of the 1930s importantly influenced broader developments in public education in the Dutch East Indies. The next four parts of this chapter zoom in on regional contexts in order to understand how all of this worked out on a local level. As educational reforms were usually first implemented on Java before they were introduced to other regions, the chapter first delves into the Central Javanese sultanate of Yogyakarta. The chapter proceeds to move into the Outer Islands with an exploration of West Sumatra, Minahasa and finally Flores.

1.2. Yogyakarta: girls' education in a Javanese principality

Political and economic background

Yogyakarta offers an interesting opportunity to explore how indigenous girls' education took shape in an urban centre in the heartland of the Dutch East Indies. It is important to keep in mind the distinction between Yogyakarta as a city, and the broader political unit of the *vorstenland* [principality] that came into existence after 1830. The origins of the principality of Yogyakarta can be traced back to Mataram, a realm that at the height of its power in the seventeenth century included almost the whole island of Java.[231] In 1755, Mataram was forced to cede part of its territory to the Dutch East India Company and was divided into two princely states, Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Another split occurred in 1813, when the realm of the Paku

[228] Suwignyo, 'The Great Depression', 466.
[229] Ibid., 480–87.
[230] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 225; 231-232.
[231] Robert Cribb, *Digital Atlas of Indonesian History* (Copenhagen: NIAS, 2010). Map 3.23, Mataram at the height of its power, early 17th century.

Alam was accorded separate status within the territory of Yogyakarta. This meant that there were two royal residences in the city of Yogyakarta, the *kraton* of the sultan and the palace of the Paku Alam. The nearby principality of Surakarta was divided into the princely states of Surakarta and Mangkunegoro, bringing the total of Central Javanese princely states to four.[232] At the courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta women held a number of official roles, varying from ladies-in-waiting to special elite female military bodyguards.[233] While noblewomen did not hold official political positions in the principalities, behind the scenes individual women secured important and powerful roles for themselves.[234] Others were central to the court economy because of their trading skills and as land owners.[235]

Growing economic and political tensions between the Dutch and the Javanese nobility in the early nineteenth century, as well as internal conflict in Javanese royal circles, resulted in the Java War (1825-1830). This was a series of rebellions of local nobles and the population against the Dutch. Yogyakarta, where the majority of the nobility joined the rebellion, was at the heart of the conflict. After five years of guerrilla warfare Prince Diponegoro, the leader of the rebellion, was captured and exiled.[236] The Principality of Yogyakarta took its definitive form, comprising an area of around three thousand square kilometres. It bordered on the Residency of Kedu and the Principality of Surakarta to the north, and on the Indian Ocean to the south.[237] The Java War left the city of Yogyakarta severely damaged and impoverished. Many people had moved away in the course of the war: according to estimations, the population of the town had diminished from 60.000 to 30.000 inhabitants.[238]

The power of the Javanese nobility had disintegrated up to a point where it had no other choice than to enter in an alliance with the Dutch.[239] In this period, the system of dual rule typical for the Dutch East Indies slowly started to take shape. The political situation in the principalities differed from that in the areas of Java under direct colonial rule. Officially, the sultan of Yogyakarta had the right to administer the internal affairs in his realm and levy taxes from his subjects.

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[232] Houben, *Kraton and Kumpeni*, 4.
[233] Peter Carey and Vincent Houben, 'Spirited Srikandhis and Sly Sumbradas: The Social, Political and Economic Role of Women at the Central Javanese Courts in the 18th and Early 19th Centuries', in *Indonesian Women in Focus. Past and Present Notions*, ed. Elsbeth Locher-Scholten and Anke Niehof (Dordrecht/Providence: Foris Publications, 1987), 18–19. Also see: Peter Carey and Vincent Houben, *Perempuan-perempuan perkasa di Jawa Abad XVIII-XIX* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2016).
[234] Carey and Houben, 'Spirited Srikandhis and Sly Sumbradas', 29; 32.
[235] Ibid., 21–25.
[236] Houben, *Kraton and Kumpeni*, 10–15. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 151–54.
[237] Houben, *Kraton and Kumpeni*, 5n2.
[238] *Gegevens over Djokjakarta 1925* (Magelang: Maresch, 1925), 99.
[239] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 153–54.

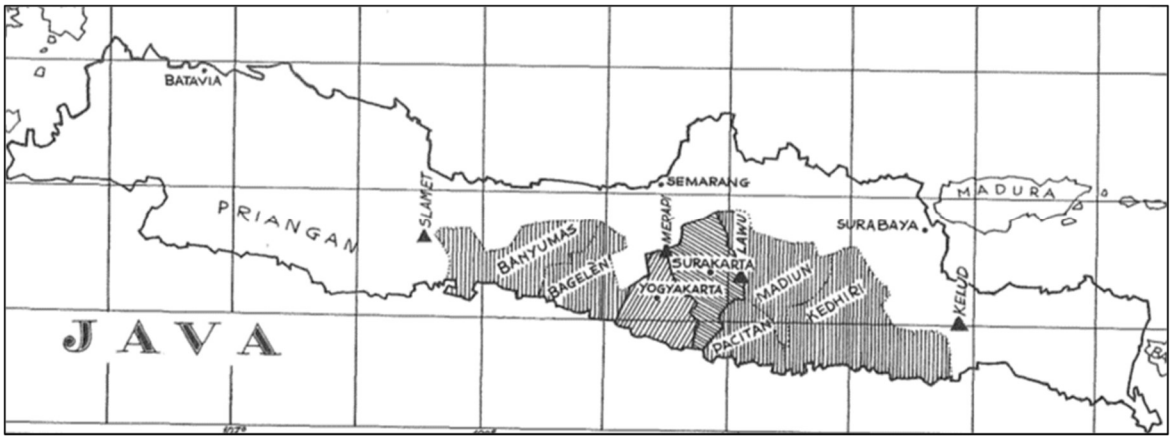

Figure 2: The Javanese *vorstenlanden* [principalities] of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, indicated with diagonal lines, as well as their neighbouring residencies, part of the *gouvernementslanden* [government lands], after 1840. Source: Houben, *Kraton and Kumpeni*, 6.

In practice, however, the power of the sultan was largely symbolic, as the main administrative authority in the sultanate lay with his chief minister, the patih. The patih was simultaneously a civil servant, paid partly by the Dutch, and the highest official in theadministrative chain of the sultanate.[240] In the course of the decades, the Dutch government assumed more and more administrative responsibilities at the expense of the sultan's sovereignty and continued to expand its bureaucratic structure. By the 1920s, the administrative situation in the Yogyakarta principality was largely comparable to the government lands.[241]

The Yogyakarta region was very suitable for agriculture. In the principalities the cultivation system was not applied, which meant that there was room for private investment by European planters who leased land from the Javanese nobles. Coffee was an exception, as the princely rulers were obliged to supply all locally cultivated coffee to the government in exchange for a part of the profit.[242] Crops that were cultivated on private plantations included indigo, tobacco and, most notably, sugar.[243] Because the European planters leased land from Javanese nobles according to a complex system of apanage, the peasants were locked to the land and were not paid for their work on the plantations.[244] This situation continued until 1912,

[240] William Joseph O'Malley, 'Indonesia in the Great Depression. A Study of East Sumatra and Jogjakarta in the 1930's' (PhD thesis Cornell University, 1977), 176.
[241] Ibid., 181–84.
[242] Houben, *Kraton and Kumpeni*, 278.
[243] Ibid., 265.
[244] William Joseph O'Malley, 'Indonesia in the Great Depression. A Study of East Sumatra and Jogjakarta in the 1930's' (PhD thesis Cornell University, 1977), 167–71.

when a land reform law was introduced and the peasants became paid labourers.[245] Apart from agricultural production, there were various lively industries in the city of Yogyakarta, including batiking, tanning, silversmithing and bamboo-weaving.[246] Yogyakarta quickly grew into a bustling multi-ethnic city. By 1920, the city had around 106.000 inhabitants, of whom around 4000 had European legal status. There was also a significant Chinese minority, amounting to around 5500 people. The remaining 96.000 people were defined as Natives.[247]

From the beginning of the twentieth century onwards, Yogyakarta became a centre for the burgeoning Javanese nationalist movement. In this early stage, this movement was dominated by two contending streams of thought. On the one hand, there was a moderate stream that mainly focused on culture and education, represented by Boedi Oetomo [Beautiful Endeavour]. This priyayi organization was established in Yogyakarta in 1908, and gradually developed into a political party that enjoyed cordial relationships with the colonial government. The organization was primarily a lobby group for the revival of Javanese culture and the accessibly of Western education for the lower priyayi classes.[248] On the other side of the political spectrum, a reformist Muslim movement gained a large following. The most significant social organization with an Islamic outlook, Mohammadijah, was established in Yogyakarta in 1912. It directed its energies mainly towards education, welfare and the spread of Islam. By 1925, Mohammadijah had 4000 members and an equal number of pupils were visiting its primary schools. It also ran two clinics, one orphanage and a poorhouse. The growth of Mohammadijah accelerated when it was introduced in West Sumatra in the same year.[249]

The economic depression of the 1930s hit the Yogyakarta sugar plantations particularly hard.[250] This caused severe impoverishment among the peasants.[251] The artisanal trades, as well, suffered from the economic crisis, but were able to withstand it better than the plantations.[252] In spite of considerable repression by the government, Yogyakarta's political and social organizations continued to expand their activities during the crisis years.[253] As we shall see, these political developments had an important influence on the Yogyakarta educational landscape.

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[245] Ibid., 179–81.
[246] Ibid., 186.
[247] *Gegevens over Djokjakarta 1925*, 144–45.
[248] M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 208–9.
[249] Ibid., 215–16.
[250] O'Malley, 'Indonesia in the Great Depression', 188.
[251] Ibid., 191.
[252] Ibid., 192–93.vol
[253] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 239.

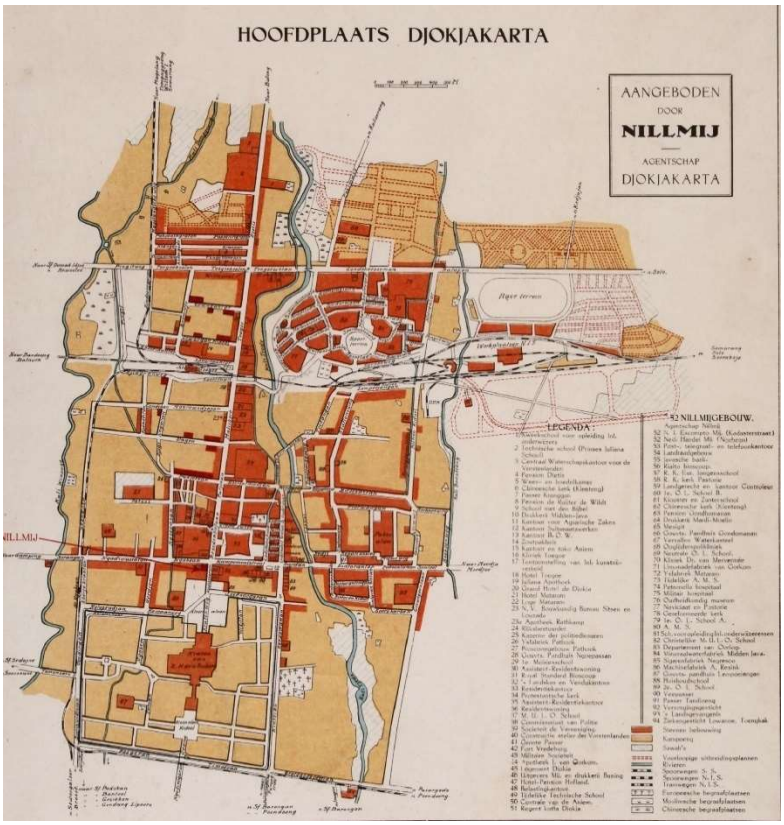

Figure 3: The city of Yogyakarta, 1927. The red shading indicates neighbourhoods with a predominantly 'European' population, while the orange shading represents indigenous kampongs. Tropenmuseum Image Collection, TM-2423-20.

Education in a princely state

The reputation of Yogyakarta as the centre of the Javanese aristocracy shaped the development of European education in the city. As was mentioned in the first chapter, the colonial government focused its first educational initiatives on priyayi boys. Before 1900, there were two governmental schools in the city, most likely populated by European children and priyayi boys.[254] The interest for Western-style education among the Javanese aristocracy grew as these families became more involved with the colonial bureaucracy. Public education was an adequate preparation for a career in the Native administration. By the turn of the twentieth century, European primary schools on Java had around 750 non-Christian Javanese students.[255]

[254] Sutrisno Kutoyo, *Sejarah Daerah: Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta* (Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, 1997), 248.
[255] Heather Sutherland, *The Making of a Bureaucratic Elite: The Colonial Transformation of the Javanese Priyayi* (Singapore: Heinemann, 1979), 46.

The vast majority these were boys from priyayi families. After the introduction of the HIS in 1914, Dutch-language education became more readily available for elite Indonesians. The majority of children going to such schools, and pursuing secondary education after completing them, came from the highest priyayi circles and in particular from regents' families. The professional contacts and funds that were at their disposal opened up ways to enter these prestigious schools.[256]

Non-governmental initiatives shaped the educational landscape in the city of Yogyakarta to a large extent. This was connected to the political position of the princely states. While the princely governments were responsible for the education offered in their territories, their financial means were not sufficient to meet the demands of the population. The rulers therefore relied on other organizations in this matter, including the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions, even though Christians remained a minority religion among the Javanese population. The colonial government often subsidized missionary schools. [257]

The first Protestant group to carry out missionary activities in the Yogyakarta was the *Gereformeerde Zendingsvereniging* [Reformed Missionary Society]. This organization opened the Petronella Hospital in the city in 1900, later followed by a number of schools.[258] The Roman Catholic mission in the region initially focused on the large Catholic school complexes in Muntilan (est. 1904) and Mendut (est. 1908), not far from the city of Yogyakarta in the Kedu residency.[259] Because the government prevented different Christian missions from working in the same area, for fear of tensions and competition, Catholic missionizing among Indonesians was not allowed in the city itself until 1920.[260]

Another significant part of the educational landscape was shaped by Indonesian organizations such as Boedi Oetomo, Taman Siswa and Mohammadijah. In some cases, their schools received public financial support as well. The colonial government was wary of possible tensions between Mohammadijah and the Christian missions, and resolved not to subsidize Mohammadijah schools in the vicinity of mission schools.[261]

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[256] Ibid., 47.
[257] National Archives of the Netherlands, The Hague (hereafter NA), archive Ministerie van Koloniën (hereafter MvK), Archive Memories van Overgave (MvO), entry number 2.10.39, inventory number 141, 'Memorie van Overgave (MvO) van den aftredenden Gouverneur van Jogjakarta, P.R.W. v. Gesseler Verschuir, deel I', 1932.
[258] Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 679. For an overview of all the schools opened by the Protestant mission in Yogyakarta up to 1925, see: Kerkeraad van Amsterdam, ed., *Vijf-en-twintig jaar zendingsarbeid te Djocja* (Amsterdam: Holland, 1925).
[259] Maaike Derksen, '"On Their Javanese Sprout We Need to Graft the European Civilization." Fashioning Local Intermediaries in the Dutch Catholic Mission, 1900-1942', *Tijdschrift Voor Genderstudies* 19, no. 1 (2016): 29–55.
[260] Aritonang and Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, 700.
[261] NA MVK MvO 2.10.39, inv. no. 141, MvO v. Gesseler Verschuir, deel I, 1932.

Based on a booklet with statistical information from 1925, it is possible to paint a quite accurate picture of the urban school landscape. Its remarkable diversity was partly caused by the ethnic composition of the population. The presence of sizeable European and Chinese communities, and a significant priyayi elite, meant that there were designated schools for each group. By the middle of the 1920s there were seventy schools in the capital of the principality, with a total of around 11.000 students. Only 1500 of these students had European legal status. The Yogyakarta schools ranged from kindergartens and elementary schools to ethnically mixed public schools for secondary education.[262] The aforementioned policy of subsidizing schools accounted for the fact that only thirty of the seventy schools were in the hands of the government. These public schools included two HIS and thirteen Second-Class Native schools. There was also a special public HIS for children from the Yogyakarta kraton, the residence of the sultan.[263]

Outside of the public educational system, there were twelve Roman Catholic, nine Protestant and seven Islamic schools, most of which were owned by Mohammadijah. The last category was that of the "religiously neutral" schools, that counted nine institutions and ranged from the nationalist Taman Siswa school and two Boedi Oetomo schools to HIS and Chinese schools. [264] Some of these private institutions were subsidized by the colonial government, others were not, and their ethnic composition varied.[265] Still, the high demand for Western-style education among the Indonesian population left a lot of room for small-scale, private initiatives. According to official estimates, at the beginning of the 1930s there were over four hundred private, unsubsidized HIS schools in the principality.[266] Mohammadijah opened a MULO school with Javanese as the language of instruction in Yogyakarta in 1937. This was the first MULO for indigenous children to receive subsidies from the colonial government.[267]

The range of institutions meant that Yogyakarta became an educational hub for Central Java, with many students from other regions pouring into the city to enter an institution for secondary education.[268] Lower-level education in Yogyakarta was less strongly represented. The position of the public primary vernacular schools in Yogyakarta differed from that of their equivalents in the government lands, as they were funded by the treasuries of the princely states.

[262] *Gegevens over Djokjakarta 1925*, 125–31.
[263] Ibid.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Ibid.
[266] NA MVK MvO 2.10.39, MvO v. Gesseler Verschuir, deel II, 1932.
[267] Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs*, 352.
[268] NA MvK MvO 2.10.39, inv. no. 141, MvO v. Gesseler Verschuir, deel II, 1932.

In the early 1930s, the number of such schools in the principality of Yogyakarta was still relatively low in comparison to that in other Javanese regions.[269]

Girls' education in a 'city of nobles'

Dutch colonial commentators in the early twentieth century tended to view Javanese family life in binary terms. The first interpretation revolved around the image of the peasant family, of which all family members toiled the land. Diametrically opposed to this image in terms of class and economic resources was the priyayi family. The economic position of women was also very different in both social groups. While priyayi women lived a secluded life inside their residences, peasant women played an important role in agriculture.[270] Social reformers with an interest in the social position of women directed most of their energies to the high social classes.[271] The first gender-specific educational initiatives for girls in Yogyakarta at the beginning of the twentieth century were explicitly geared towards the priyayi classes. This fitted into a broader trend: the elite Kartini schools, girls' HIS that were opened in other cities on Java by a private Dutch foundation from 1913 onwards, also focused on priyayi girls.[272]

Priyayi marriage patterns and living arrangements met with disapproval among early-twentieth century Dutch commentators. Traditionally, priyayi households were polygamous. A regent could have up to four wives, one of whom was installed as his first wife, the *Raden Ajoe*. Different regents' families were often linked to one another by arranged marriages. Divorce was relatively easy, so in practice a man could have more than four wives during his lifetime.[273]

A priyayi family unit could comprise out of dozens of people and included the male head of the household, his wives and children, his parents and siblings, and a number of servants. As it was the duty of a regent to take care of all his family members, there were sometimes dozens of boarders in his residence. Children and adolescents also lived there as part of their education, and often there were multiple priyayi girls who helped the Raden Ajoe to run the household.[274] In high princely families, a household could easily count hundreds of people: in 1910, the sultan of Yogyakarta had seventy children and more than two hundred

[269] NA MVK MvO 2.10.39, inv. no. 141, MvO v. Gesseler Verschuir, deel II, 1932.
[270] Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 56–59.
[271] Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, 'Colonial Ambivalencies: European Attitudes towards the Javanese Household (1900-1942)', in *Women and Households in Indonesia: Cultural Notions and Social Practices*, ed. Juliette Koning et al. (Richmond: Curzon, 2000), 42–43. Akiko Sugiyama, 'Ideas about the Family, Colonialism and Nationalism in Javanese Society, 1900-1945' (PhD thesis University of Hawai'i 2007), 58–78.
[272] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas*, 85.
[273] Sutherland, *The Making of a Bureaucratic Elite*, 20.
[274] Ibid., 21.

grandchildren.[275] In general, there was a hierarchical relationship between family members that was regulated by protocols, even though this varied from region to region. Usually the Raden Ajoe and her children held a higher status than secondary wives and their children.[276] For priyayi girls, their first menstruation marked a turning point in their lives, as it meant that they entered the marriageable age.[277] Priyayi girls were traditionally secluded in their residences at that point, and were kept there until their wedding to a man of their parents' choice. In Central Java this custom was called *pingit* or *pingitan*, after the word for seclusion or isolation.[278] Given the enormous importance that Javanese culture adhered to girls' virtue and respectability, it is not surprising that many parents objected to coeducation for their marriageable daughters.[279]

When the Director of Education issued a survey about the desirability of public girls' schools in 1909, the inspector for Central Java wrote extensively about girls' upbringing in his district. His remarks give an image of the different experiences of girls who grew up in separate social classes. The daughters of the *orang ketjil*, the "common man", helped their mothers in the household from a young age onwards and usually did not receive any formal education. They entered into an arranged marriage around the age of thirteen.[280] Middle-ranking priyayi and other indigenous men of some means had started to consider education for girls, the inspector reported, and would be willing to send their daughters to designated schools with courses in needlework and Dutch. High-ranking priyayi, the ruling indigenous social class in Central Java, prided themselves on sending their daughters to exclusive European schools. According to the school inspector, they considered it to be beneath their dignity for their girls to interact with the daughters of lower-ranking Javanese.[281]

The first priyayi girls' school in Yogyakarta was the Queen Wilhelmina School [*Koningin Wilhelmina School*]. This school was opened at the initiative of Dutch Protestants in 1907. The government subsidized the school, but parents also had to pay school fees. At the end of 1924, the school had 111 students.[282] In 1927, the organization that was responsible for the KWS opened a Christian secondary school for domestic education, the Juliana Van Stolberg

[275] Locher-Scholten, 'Colonial Ambivalencies', 36–37.
[276] Sutherland, *The Making of a Bureaucratic Elite*, 20.
[277] Carey and Houben, 'Spirited Srikandhis and Sly Sumbradas', 30.
[278] For a personal account of this custom, see R.A. Kartini, *Door duisternis tot licht. Gedachten voor en over het Javaansche volk van wijlen Raden Adjeng Kartini*, ed. J.H. Abendanon, 2nd ed. (The Hague: Luctor et Emergo, 1912), 47–60, www.gutenberg.org.
[279] ANRI AS GB MGS, inv. no. 4838, Director of Education to Governor General, 15 April 1916.
[280] ANRI AS GB MGS, inv. no. 4838, Inspector of Native Education in the 2nd Division to Director of Education, 24 February 1910.
[281] ANRI AS GB MGS, inv. no. 4838, Inspector of Native Education in the 2nd Division to Director of Education, 24 February 1910.
[282] *Gegevens over Djokjakarta 1925*, 129.

School. The Koningin Wilhelmina School existed as a girls' school until the late 1930s, when it was converted into a coeducational school because of budget cuts. Both schools are explored in-depth in the second and fourth chapters of this thesis.

Roman Catholic education for indigenous girls in Yogyakarta started in 1920 when the Franciscan Sisters of Heythuyzen opened a HIS. In 1924, 140 girls were registered at the school.[283] Educational statistics over 1924 also mention the *Neutrale Hollandsch-Javaansche Meisjesschool* [Neutral Dutch-Javanese Girls' School] that had 168 students. There was also religiously neutral HIS for boys.[284] These schools were established by the Paku Alam,[285] whose royal house had a reputation for its quick adoption of Western-style education for its male and female members.[286] In the 1920s the daughter of Paku Alam V, Raden Adjeng Mirjam, even moved to the Netherlands to study for her teaching certificate in English and was regularly hosted at the Dutch royal court.[287] The Raden Adjeng gained some as the first Javanese woman to travel extensively in Europe.[288]

Compared to private organizations, the role of the colonial government in providing gender-specific education to indigenous girls in Yogyakarta was less important. By 1925, the city had a public girls' ELS and a public schools for domestic education. Both schools also admitted girls with non-European legal status.[289] The public girls' ELS closed down in 1932, presumably because of budget cuts during the Great Depression.[290] There were also MVS, public girls' secondary schools: by 1939, there were at least three in the princely state, two of which were located in the city of Yogyakarta itself.[291] Finally, the government subsidized girls' vernacular primary schools owned by the Christian missions and Mohammadijah. In 1934, there were nine of such schools in the city.[292]

This investigation of the educational landscape in the sultanate of Yogyakarta has made clear that much of the Western-style educational initiatives that emerged in the city were connected to the presence of a priyayi elite. Because of its status as a princely state, the

[283] Ibid., 128.
[284] Ibid., 130.
[285] Kutoyo, *Sejarah Daerah: Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*, 247.
[286] ANRI AS GB MGS, inv. no. 4838, Resident of Yogyakarta to Director of Education, 16 July 1909.
[287] Harry A. Poeze, Cees van Dijk, and Inge van der Meulen, *In het land van de overheerser. Indonesiërs in Nederland 1600-1950*, vol. I (Dordrecht/Cinnaminson: Foris Publications, 1986), 166.
[288] 'Raden Adjeng Mirjam', *Oedaya* 5, no. 5 (1928): 65.
[289] *Gegevens over Djokjakarta 1925*, 126.
[290] NA MvK MvO 2.10.39, inv. no. 41, MvO v. Gesseler Verschuir, deel II, 1932.
[291] NA MvK MvO 2.10.39, inv. no. 143, 'Memorie van Overgave van J. Bijleveld, Gouverneur van Jogjakarta 1934-1939', 1939.
[292] NA MvK MvO 2.10.39, inv. no. 142, 'Memorie van Overgave van den aftredenden Gouverneur van Jogjakarta, H.H. de Cock', 1934.

developments in Yogyakarta are not representative of the wider Javanese context. The diverse urban populations and the specific financial arrangements in the principalities meant that the schools in the city ranged from publicly to privately funded, and had highly diverse religious and political affiliations.

1.3. West Sumatra: Girls' education and reformist Islam

Economic and political background

The mountainous westernmost region of Sumatra borders at the seaside in the west. The heartland of the area is formed by four expansive upland rice plains, enclosed by the hills of the Padang Highlands.[293] Even though West Sumatra was located in the Outer Islands, the area was incorporated in the administrative and economic structure of the Dutch East Indies well before the turn of the twentieth century. The VOC established a trading post in the town of Padang in 1613 at the invitation of the local raja. By the late eighteenth century, the Dutch East India Company had extended its influence far along the coast.[294] In the third decade of the nineteenth century, the attention of Dutch colonial officials shifted from the coastal areas to the inlands. A conflict had been raging there since the beginning of the century. Islamic reformists opposed certain features of local adat and wanted to impose a stronger observance of Islamic rituals. They encountered strong resistance from local villagers. The Dutch quickly became involved in the conflict. In 1821, a group of fourteen chiefs ceded all authority over West Sumatra to the colonial power in exchange for armed interference. The resulting wars lasted for about twenty years more.[295] The fall of the last stronghold marked the beginning of de facto Dutch rule over West Sumatra.

The incorporation of West Sumatra into the political and economic structure of the Dutch East Indies was closely related to the coffee trade. Before the end of warfare, coffee had already emerged as the most important export product of the region. In 1847 the government decided to introduce forced coffee cultivation.[296] This economic model was based on the cultivation system in Java.

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[293] Elizabeth Graves, *The Minangkabau Response to Dutch Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1981), 1–3.
[294] Ibid., 27–28.
[295] Jeffrey Hadler, *Muslims and Matriarchs: Cultural Resilience in Indonesia through Jihad and Colonialism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 19–33.
[296] Graves, *The Minangkabau Response*, 55–60.

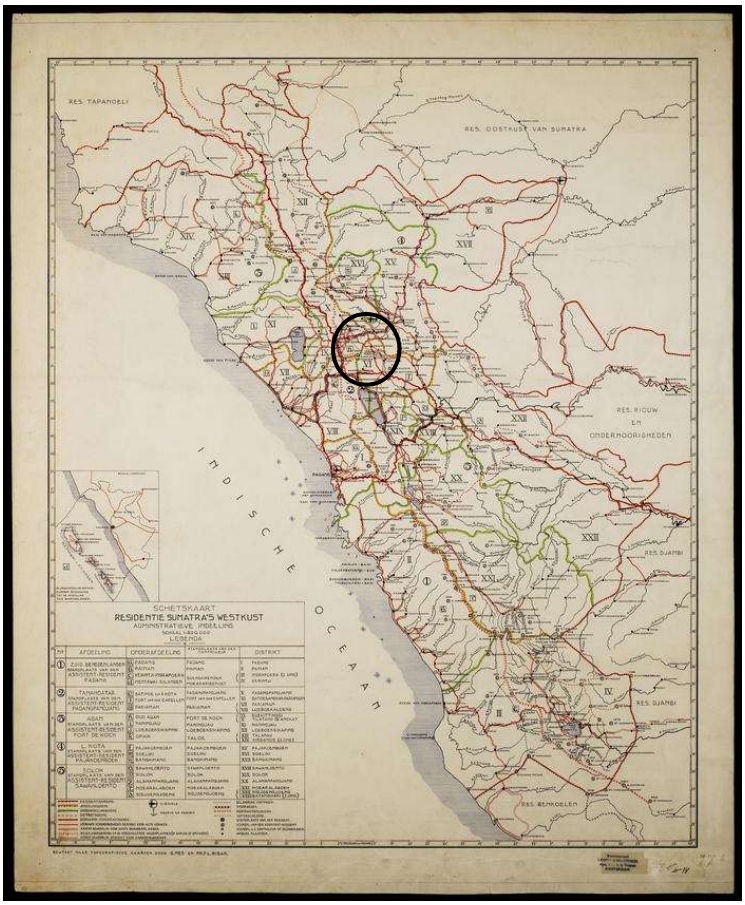

Figure 4: West Sumatra, 1930. Padang Panjang is indicated by a circle. The residential capital of Padang is located on the coast southeast to Padang Panjang. Leiden University (LU) Dutch Colonial Map Collection, LU 05879.

The lives of local people were heavily influenced by this new economic system, as they had less time for the production of foodstuffs and were subjected to forced labour. [297] The forced coffee cultivation was upheld until 1908, when it was replaced by an income tax.[298]

As in Java, the introduction of the new economic system went hand in hand with the political transformation of West Sumatra. On the highest level, the region was incorporated in the residencies of the *Padangsche Bovenlanden* [Padang Highlands] and the *Padangsche Benedenlanden* [Padang Lowlands]. This administrative arrangement went through numerous reforms, and by the beginning of the twentieth century the whole region was united under one residency, that of *Sumatra's Westkust* [Sumatra's West Coast].[299] The Dutch also reformed

[297] Ibid., 60–66.
[298] J.S. Kahn, '"Tradition", Matriliny and Change Among the Minangkabau of Indonesia', *BKI* 132, no. 1 (1976): 82.
[299] Cribb, *Digital Atlas of Indonesian History*. Maps 4.25 to 4.28.

politics on a village level. In the interior of West Sumatra, there was no tradition of a centralized government. The most important political unit was that of the *nagari*, a village with its satellite settlements. The political authority in these units lay with a council of chiefs, the *penghulu*.[300] Each penghulu stood at the head of a matrilineal lineage group, a *suku*, but there was no such thing as a fixed aristocracy as wealthy families could obtain the title based on their status.[301]

Under the new colonial system, the penghulu of each nagari had to elect a paramount chief among themselves. He served as the village headman and as an intermediate between his community and the Dutch lower level administration. On top of that, a new territorial unit was created, the *laras*. A laras was a district which comprised of several nagari, headed by a *larashoofd*.[302] These officials carried out the directions they received from the Dutch administration. They were also responsible for law and order in their area and played an important role in overseeing the coffee production.[303]

As the larashoofden received a salary from the colonial government, supplemented by an extra commission for their yields, the elected Minangkabau chiefs gradually evolved into an aristocratic class.[304] The cultivation system also sparked the emergence of a class of Minangkabau men in the civil service related to the coffee trade. The supervisors of coffee warehouses and crop inspectors were all local men, salaried by the colonial government.[305]

From the beginning of the twentieth century onwards, upcoming social movements in West Sumatra started to cause worry to the colonial government. Many of these were linked to the *Kaum Muda* [Young Group], an Islamic reform movement that made schools the focus of their activities. The Kaum Muda promoted a more literal interpretation of religious texts and stricter adherence to the Quran as opposed to adat regulations based on local traditions. The movement had a strong anti-colonial outlook as it opposed the authority of non-Muslims over Muslims.[306] After a communist uprising in Padang in 1927 the colonial government cracked down on nationalist and modernist Islamic movements with new vigour, and as we shall see throughout this thesis, anti-colonial schools were placed under strict surveillance.[307]

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[300] Graves, *The Minangkabau Response*, 14–16.
[301] Ibid., 10–13.
[302] Ibid., 38–39.
[303] Kahn, '"Tradition", Matriliny and Change', 85.
[304] Graves, *The Minangkabau Response*, 42.
[305] Ibid., 75–76.
[306] Robert W. Hefner, 'Introduction: The Politics and Cultures of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia', in *Making Modern Muslims. The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, ed. Robert W. Hefner (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 20–23.
[307] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 224–25.

From secular initiatives to new Muslim schools

West Sumatra is also known as Minangkabau, after the predominant ethnic group. Children's religious education has always carried great importance in Minangkabau culture. Boys studied the Quran and the Hadith, the words and deed of the prophet Muhammad, in the local *surau*, the prayer house where they would also spend their nights.[308] Girls, too, studied the Quran from the age of six or seven onward, under the auspices of a female teacher.[309] This was an educational pattern that existed throughout Muslim societies in Asia.[310] Like in Java, pubescent Minangkabau girls were traditionally secluded in expectation of their marriage according to a tradition that was locally known as *pingat*.[311] Minangkabau culture was and continues to be highly protective of young women, as they are the ones on whom the continuation of the lineage depends.[312]

The boom of the coffee trade in the nineteenth century sparked an interest in secular education, as it brought new job opportunities for Minangkabau men. In the 1840s, a resident of the Padang Highlands opened the first nagari schools. These village schools offered a four-year programme in Malay. Their curriculum included reading, writing and others skills needed for a professional position. They were staffed by villagers who often worked in the coffee trade themselves.[313] By the end of the 1860s, there were eighteen nagari schools in West Sumatra, with a total of around seven hundred students.[314] West Sumatra was thus one of the few regions in the Dutch East Indies where secular schools were a part of village life from the late nineteenth century onwards.

By 1908, the number of public elementary schools in the residency had risen to forty. This meant that West Sumatra had the highest number of elementary schools on Sumatra, with the exception of the neighbouring Tapanuli residency where there were many Protestant missionary schools.[315] During the colonial period, neither the Protestant nor the Catholic mission was active among Minangkabau people because the government did not allow for proselytization among Muslim populations for fear of tensions, even though the government

[308] Hadler, *Muslims and Matriarchs*, 89–91.
[309] Ibid., 108–10.
[310] Islam Nayeem, 'Did the Bengali Woman Have a Girlhood?', 168.
[311] Hadler, *Muslims and Matriarchs*, 108–10.
[312] Lyn Parker, 'Religion, Class and Schooled Sexuality among Minangkabau Teenage Girls', *BKI* 165, no. 1 (2009): 68.
[313] Graves, *The Minangkabau Response*, 77–82. Graves offers a very detailed analysis of the individual nagari schools: Ibid., 86–105.
[314] Ibid., 87.
[315] Ibid., 118.

became more lenient in this respect in the context of the ethical policy, when it started to support Christian welfare services.[316] While there was a Christian presence, the schools they provided were geared towards the education of European children and, at a later stage, towards the Chinese population. The Sisters of Charity from Tilburg, for example, ran several schools for European and Chinese children in Padang, where they worked from 1885 onwards.[317]

In the twentieth century new types of government schools, such as first and second class Native schools, emerged in the region following the various educational reforms.[318] By the 1920s the public school system in West Sumatra was comparable to that in to other areas. There were eight HIS in urban areas. For secondary education, Minangkabau children could enter one of the two *schakelscholen* or, if they were HIS graduates, one of the two MULO schools. There were female students in all of these schools.[319] The interest for Western-style education among the Minangkabau continued to expand, and this resulted in a the establishment of a large number of unsubsidized, private secular schools. Some of them operated under rudimentary circumstances, while others existed successfully for many years and also obtained subsidies from the colonial government. A member of the local European administration counted as many as 196 private secular schools in 1900.[320]

The most eye-catching educational development in West Sumatra in the twentieth century took place within Islamic education. took place outside the realm of secular education. The first Kaum Muda school opened in Padang in 1909 and developed into a subsidized HIS.[321] The Abadijah School was followed by many other reformist Islamic schools, organizations and networks of schools, such as the Dinijjah schools and the influential Thawalib schools. Both of these networks of Kaum Muda schools originated in the highland town of Padang Panjang, which became a centre of reformist Islamic learning. Mohammadijah, which established its first branch in West Sumatra in 1925, represented another important school network. Before the end of the colonial period, the organization owned thirty schools in Minangkabau.[322]

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[316] Karel Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam: Contacts and Conflicts, 1596-1950*, trans. Jan Steenbrink and Henry Jansen, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2006), 108–10.
[317] Jan Brouwers, *Na de drie begijnen ging het verder. Geschiedenis van de Congregatie van de Zusters van Liefde van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw, Moeder van Barmhartigheid: de stichtingen buiten Nederland* (Zusters van Tilburg, 2000), 72–74.
[318] C. Lekkerkerker, 'Meisjesonderwijs, coëducatie en meisjesscholen voor de inlandsche bevolking in Nederlandsch-Indië', *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* 3, no. 2 (1914): 883–84.
[319] NA MVK MvO, 2.10.39, inv. no. 166, 'Memorie van Overgave van den aftredenden Gouverneur van Sumatra's Westkust, W.A.C. Whitlau', 1926.
[320] X.Y., 'Het inlandsch onderwijs te Sumatra's Westkust', *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* 2, no. 1 (1913): 399.
[321] Safwan and Kutoyo, *Sejarah Pendidikan Daearah Sumatera Barat*, 85–88.
[322] Ibid., 113–14.

Schoolgirls with and without hijab: girls' education in Minangkabau

Minangkabau culture is matrilineal: the members of a Minangkabau lineage group, a suku, share a common female ancestor and wealth is transferred along maternal lines. Traditionally, the living arrangements of the Minangkabau people reflected this matrilineal culture. The Minangkabau longhouse usually housed one woman with her daughters and their children. Only women and prepubescent boys were allowed to continuously live there. If men were not visiting their wives, they would sleep in the surau, just like teenage boys.[323] The responsibility of looking out for the welfare of children did not lie with their fathers, but with maternal uncles.[324]

Minangkabau living arrangements changed under the influence of colonial rule and Islamic reformism. In the aftermath of the Padri wars of the early nineteenth century, the new Dutch administration started clustering the far-flung Minangkabau houses into more easily controllable villages.[325] In 1847 the Dutch introduced a law that prohibited the practice of having multiple hearths in one house. This forced families to split up their longhouses into units with separate cooking spaces that housed less people.[326] Nineteenth- and twentieth-century Islamic reformists, too, argued for the nuclear family model and a patriarchal system of social organization because they believed the Quran required this.[327]

In spite of these challenges to matrilineal culture, the position of women in Minangkabau culture always remained strong, and the enthusiasm for education in the region also included girls. By 1926, girls made up around thirty percent of the student body in the vernacular village schools, and twenty percent in the second-class Native schools.[328] In 1935 the total percentage of children in the Native education system was almost the same among boys and girls. While fifteen percent of school-age boys went to school, thirteen percent of the girls did so. This was the second highest percentage in the Dutch East Indies.[329]

There were educational initiatives specifically for Minangkabau girls from at least the first decade of the twentieth century onwards, when wives of members of the European administration opened small-scale handicrafts courses.[330] A women's organization established

[323] Hadler, *Muslims and Matriarchs*, 63–65.
[324] Graves, *The Minangkabau Response*, 6–7.
[325] Hadler, *Muslims and Matriarchs*, 49.
[326] Ibid., 67.
[327] Ibid., 56.
[328] NA MVK MvO 2.10.39, inv. no. 166, 'Memorie van Overgave van den aftredenden Gouverneur van Sumatra's Westkust, W.A.C. Whitlau', 1926.
[329] Cribb, *Digital Atlas of Indonesian History*. Map 4.70, Proportion of all children in Inlandsch [native] education by region in 1935. Map 4.71, Proportion of female children in Inlandsch [native] education by region in 1935.
[330] Van Bemmelen, 'Enkele aspecten', 60–61.

by the local activist Rohana Koedoes organized courses for domestic education and religious instruction for girls in the same period.[331] The most important Kaum Muda initiative for girls-only education, the reformist Islamic school *Dinijjah Poeteri* [Religious Education for Girls], opened in Padang Panjang in 1923. As will be explored in-depth in the third chapter of this thesis, this school combined Western pedagogical influences with a focus on Islam. After 1921, the government opened five girls' schools for continued education (MVS) in the region, the first one of which was in Padang Panjang. At this school, the students of the local teacher training college gained working experience.[332] By 1926, there were eight such girls' schools MVS in West Sumatra, with a total of 535 students.[333]

As in Yogyakarta, the development of education in West Sumatra clearly bore the mark of the local culture, in this case a matrilineal, specifically Minangkabau culture. Secular schools were introduced in West Sumatra from a relatively early stage onwards when compared to most other regions in the archipelago. Finally, the influence of the reformist Islamic Kaum Muda movement was instrumental in defining the educational landscape of the region.

1.4. Minahasa: Girls' education in the 'Twelfth Province'

Economic and political background

The green, mountainous region of Minahasa is located at the northernmost tip of the island of Sulawesi. The area is surrounded by sea on three sides. Dutch trade involvement in Minahasa can be traced back to the early seventeenth century. The VOC was mainly interested in the area around the town of Manado because it produced rice for its strongholds in the Moluccas. By 1679, a treaty granted the VOC the loyalty of the tribal groups in the Manado region, and this influence was consolidated in a series of wars with a neighbouring kingdom.[334] When Minahasa was incorporated in the state structure of Dutch East Indies in 1817, colonial political influence consolidated quickly. The Manado residency spanned large parts of the northern peninsula of Sulawesi, but in the nineteenth century only Minahasa was directly ruled by the Dutch colonial government.[335]

[331] Safwan and Kutoyo, *Sejarah Pendidikan Daearah Sumatera Barat*, 143–45.
[332] ANRI AS GB TZGA inv. no. 7578, Director of Education to Governor-General, 29 November 1923.
[333] NA MVK MvO 2.10.39, inv. no. 166, MvO Whitlau, 1926.
[334] David Henley, *Nationalism and Regionalism in a Colonial Context: Minahasa in the Dutch East Indies* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996), 31–37.
[335] M.J.C. Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society: Minahasa, 1677-1983* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1998), 54.

The exceptional administrative situation of Minahasa was directly linked to the coffee trade. By 1822 coffee cultivation was made compulsory for all inhabitants under a government monopoly which would remain in force until the turn of the twentieth century. Like the coffee cultivation itself, the construction of roads for the transportation of the crop was based on a system of forced labour.[336] The new economic system deeply affected the lives of Minahasan people, who had difficulties maintaining their subsistence agriculture. The government, in cooperation with the Protestant mission, also interfered in village planning. While people had previously lived in large, multi-family stilt houses, the government now forced the villagers to live according to a nuclear family model for reasons of administrative control.[337]

Under the new economic system, the position of the chiefs of Minahasan tribal communities changed rapidly. These chiefs played an important role in the coercion of the population for the coffee production. Like their counterparts in Yogyakarta and West Sumatra, they received a percentage of the profit.[338] Before colonial intervention, the chiefs had been in charge of local communities, the *walak*. The inhabitants of Minahasan villages were divided into eight ethno-linguistic groups, and the walak were loosely defined alliances of several settlements within these groups.[339] The Dutch, however, interpreted them as fixed territorial unities, and appointed district chiefs based on descent. This lead to the creation of an indigenous aristocracy or *bangsa*.[340] District chiefs [*hukum besar* or *majoor*] and their deputies [*hukum kedua*] were charged with the supervision over one of the twenty-odd Minahasan districts. They acted as intermediaries between the rural population and the colonial government. On a village level, village heads or *hukum tua* were responsible for organizing the forced labour of the population.[341] By 1881, the chiefs had become salaried civil servants.[342] This fast process of economic expansion and bureaucratization set Minahasa apart from its neighbouring territories, where these developments did not take off until the beginning of the twentieth century.[343]

The social and political movements that emerged on the Minahasan scene from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards took on a very different shape than those in Yogyakarta and West Sumatra. Groups such as the political party Persatoean Minahasa [Minahasan Union] strived for more equality and rights for Minahasan people, but did not

[336] Henley, *Nationalism and Regionalism*, 37–38.
[337] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility*, 59–60.
[338] Henley, *Nationalism and Regionalism*, 39.
[339] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility*, 12–19.
[340] Ibid., 93.
[341] Ibid., 75.
[342] Ibid., 131.
[343] Henley, *Nationalism and Regionalism*, 42. Compare, for example, with the neighbouring Gorontalo regency: Hasanuddin et al., *Sejarah Pendidikan di Gorontalo*.

Figure 5: Minahasa, 1921. The village of Tomohon is indicated with a circle. Manado, the capital of the Manado residency, is located on the coast to the north of Tomohon. LU Dutch Colonial Map Collection, LU 06229.

question the colonial system as a whole. Minahasan political leaders even described Minahasa as 'Twelfth Province' of the Netherlands, stressing the region's strong ties with the metropole and demanding equal standing on this base.[344] Local interest groups mainly focused on the expansion of rights in matters of education and the church. Persatoean Minahasa, for example, was initially established to protest the closure of a public MULO school in Tondano for budgetary reasons. Minahasan Christians also strived for the independence of the local Protestant church from the colonial state church. This independence was realized in 1934.[345] All in all, the colonial government saw these movements as valuable allies, and cooperated with them on many occasions.

[344] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility*, 194.
[345] Ibid., 194–96.

Schooling and Christianity

The Christianization of Minahasa was closely linked to its early incorporation into the colonial state.[346] The first Protestant missionaries from the Netherlands, who felt protected by direct colonial rule, arrived in the area in the early 1820s. Ten years later, the *Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap* [Dutch Missionary Society, NZG], an interdenominational Protestant missionary society, sent its first employees there. This society remained in charge of all Protestant church activities in Minahasa until the 1870s, when the mission field was gradually incorporated by the Indische Kerk, the state church.[347] While this view is currently being nuanced by scholars, historians generally agree that Minahasan tribal chiefs were the first to adopt Christianity for a variety of political reasons, followed by the conversion of their subjects. [348]

Prior to Christianization, people in Minahasa adhered to an animist belief system.[349] By 1880 more than three quarters of the population had been baptized, and by the turn of the twentieth century Minahasa was overwhelmingly Christian.[350]

The number of European missionaries in the region, however, was never more than ten. From an early stage onwards, the NZG relied on local intermediaries. The missionaries started training indigenous boys to become assistant missionaries and school teachers. Quite soon, training schools came available to Minahasan boys: in 1851 the NZG opened is first teacher training college, followed by a college for the training of assistant missionaries.[351] Another educational option for Minahasan elite boys by that time was the *hoofdenschool* [chiefs' school], a public school for headmen's sons who were prepared for a position in the colonial administration.[352] This type of school had first been introduced in Java in 1879.[353] Schooling was an important factor in the Christianization process. The NZG funded the salary of teachers in mission schools where children learnt to read, write and count, and received religious instruction.[354] By 1860 Minahasa counted around 150 such rudimentary schools spread over 300 villages.[355] In 1882, in the face of ongoing financial difficulties within the NZG, the government decided to take over a large number of the missionary schools and open a number

[346] Ariel C. Lopez, 'Conversion and Colonialism: Islam and Christianity in North Sulawesi, c.1700-1900' (Leiden University, 2018), 188–90.
[347] Aritonang and Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, 421–25.
[348] Lopez, 'Conversion and Colonialism', 11–14.
[349] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility*, 20–27.
[350] Henley, *Nationalism and Regionalism*, 53.
[351] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility*, 115.
[352] Kroeskamp, *Early Schoolmasters*, 223–32.
[353] Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs*, 180.
[354] Kroeskamp, *Early Schoolmasters*, 131–39.
[355] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility*, 113.

of new schools as well. The better-funded government schools soon gained popularity among Minahasan parents. They saw public education as a way to improve the professional chances of their sons, in contrast to the mission schools, which were mostly valued for religious education.[356]

After the expansion of public and Protestant education, the Roman Catholic mission became a third educational actor in Minahasa. The arrival of priests in the region in the 1870's caused a stir, as the NZG feared that its position would be threatened. Catholics, however, remained a minority among the Minahasans, and the number of Catholic schools was accordingly small.[357] Catholic secondary schools, which often used Dutch as the language of education, quickly gained a reputation for offering high-quality education. These schools were popular among Protestant as well as Catholic families.[358] Until the end of the colonial period, government schools in Minahasa existed alongside Protestant and Catholic subsidized and non-subsidized schools.[359]

The most eye-catching educational development in Minahasa in the twentieth century was a boom in the demand for secondary education. Especially Dutch-medium schools were in high demand, as Minahasan people saw them as a way to upward mobility. In Minahasa, Dutch-medium public primary schools were opened as early as 1900, fourteen years before the HIS was introduced in the rest of the archipelago.[360] Even the public MVS for girls' secondary education used Dutch as the language of instruction, unlike their counterparts elsewhere in the archipelago.[361] By the end of the colonial period, there were seven public HIS in the residence of Manado, and in addition to these schools Minahasa boasted five subsidized HIS. There were three MULO schools.[362] Still, the demand for Dutch-language education was larger than the supply. By the 1920s there were dozens of small-scale, unsubsidized schools in Minahasa which

[356] Ibid., 113–14.
[357] Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia, 1808-1942: A Documented History. Volume 1: A Modest Recovery 1808-1903* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2003), 199.
[358] Aritonang and Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, 430–31. The educational trajectory of Ibu Betty Paruntu (b. Tomohon, 1937) is illustrative of this development. Even though she came from a Protestant family, Betty received her primary school education at the Catholic girls' school in Tomohon. Many of her classmates were Protestant as well. After Indonesian independence she continued her education at a Catholic AMS in Manado. Interview with Betty Paruntu, Jakarta, 1 August 2016.
[359] Leiden University Special Collections (hereafter LU), Collection Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (hereafter KITLV), inv. no. H1179, 'Memorie van Overgave van het Bestuur van den aftredenden Resident van Manado M. van Rhijn', 1941.
[360] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility*, 189–90.
[361] LU KITLV, inv. no. H1179, MvO van Rhijn, 1941.
[362] LU KITLV, inv. no. H1179, MvO Van Rhijn, 1941.

offered some form of education in Dutch.[363] As in other regions in the Dutch East Indies, in the 1930s the public schools in Minahasa suffered from budget cuts.[364]

Girls-only education and religious competition

Because of the early start-off of school education in the region and the fact that local culture that did not object to interactions between children of both genders, girls' school participation rates were relatively high in Minahasa. [365] By the turn of the twentieth century around thirty percent of all children in the Native school system in the Manado residency were girls, while the average percentage of girls among schoolchildren in the Dutch East Indies was fifteen percent. Towards the end of the colonial period Manado still ranked among the residencies with the highest percentage of Indonesian girls in the school system.[366] However, there was an important qualitative difference between girls' and boys' educational careers. Whereas Minahasan girls were often sent to missionary schools, parents preferred to send their sons to government schools, which offered a better preparation for the job market. For girls, they preferred a less theoretical and more religiously oriented education.[367] This attitude was reflected in Minahasa's first girls-only institution, the *Kost- en Dagschool voor de Dochters van Inlandsche Hoofden en Aanzienlijken* [Boarding- and Day School for the Daughters of Native Chiefs and Notables]. This school was opened under the supervision of the NZG in the mountain village of Tomohon in 1881 and remained successful for many years. In 1932 it was eventually merged with the Christian boys' school in Tomohon because the government restricted its subsidies.[368]

In accordance with its religious doctrines the Roman Catholic mission, too, provided girls-only education. The opening of a girls' school in Tomohon by the order of the *Sociëteit van Jezus, Maria en Jozef* [Society of Jesus, Mary and Joseph, JMJ], caused a political scandal that even caused the sacking of the local resident by the Governor General. After their arrival in Minahasa in 1898, the JMJ sisters had to wait for almost ten years before they received permission by the local government to open a school. They eventually opened a Malay-medium

[363] LU, collection V.E. Korn, inv. no. D. Or. 435-85, 'Memorie van Overgave van het Bestuur van den aftredenden Resident van Menado, J. Tideman', 1926.
[364] LU KITLV, inv. no. H1179, MvO Van Rhijn, 1941.
[365] Bemmelen, 'Enkele aspecten', 37.
[366] Van Ibid., 193.
[367] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility*, 119.
[368] J.A.K. W., 'De Louwerierschool', *Omhoog. Orgaan van de Minahasische Christen Jongeren Bond (Omhoog)* 13, no. 4 (1941): 75–79.

school in 1907, but were not allowed to admit European or Protestant girls. These restrictions were designed to avoid competition with the Protestant Tomohon Girls' School.[369] In the city of Manado the sisters started a HIS for girls in 1912.[370] A prominent Minahasan Christian women's organization also became active in this field. PIKAT [*Pertjintaan Iboe oentoek Anak-anak Ketoeroenan*, the Love of Mothers for their Children] opened a school for domestic education in Manado in 1918, and a girls' trade school in 1928. By 1941, the organization had sixteen divisions around Minahasa that organized courses in domestic education for local girls.[371]

In sum, the educational landscape in Minahasa was strongly influenced by its early incorporation into the colonial state and the strong position of the Protestant mission. On the other hand, the strong demand for Dutch-medium education was also instrumental in this process: it transformed Minahasa into the region in the Dutch East Indies where Dutch-medium education was most widespread, while it always remained the prerogative of elites and the middle classes.[372]

1.5. Flores: the Catholic girls' schools in Larantuka and Lela

Political and economic background

The narrow volcanic island of Flores is located in Eastern Indonesia and spans around 700 kilometres from its eastern to its western tip. To the west, the largest neighbouring island is Sumbawa; to the east, Flores borders on the Solor Archipelago. Dutch influence on the island dates back to the heyday of the VOC in the seventeenth century. The Netherlands acquired the complete territory in 1859, when Flores was incorporated into the Residency of *Timor and Onderhoorigheden* [Timor and Dependencies] after Portugal gave up its possessions on the eastern part of the island to cover a debt.[373]

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[369] E.M.D. Stolker, 'Katholieken, protestanten en overheid in de Minahassa (1898-1907). Problematiek rond de oprichting van een R.K. meisjesschool', in *Jaarboek van het Katholiek Documentatie Centrum*, vol. 20 (Nijmegen, 1990), 73–96. For correspondence about this controversy, see NA MvK Kabinet-Geheim Archief (hereafter KGA), entry number 2.10.36.51, inv. no. 26. For letters from the JMJ sisters to government officials, see ANRI AS BZGA, inv. no. 6733, De vergunning van de Eerwaarde Roomsch Katholieke Zusters te Tomohon tot het geven van huis en schoolonderwijs in de Nederlandsche taal aan de vrouwelijke inlandsche bevolking te Tomohon, 1907-1914.
[370] Driessen and Van de Ven, 283–86.
[371] LU KITLV, inv. no. H1179, MvO Van Rhijn, 1941.
[372] Betty Paruntu remembered that Dutch was still a current language among highly educated Minahasans in the 1950s. Interview Betty Paruntu, Jakarta, 1 August 2016.
[373] Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia, Vol. 1*, 71.

At this point, the inclusion of Flores into the colonial state was mainly theoretical. The colonial government in Batavia saw Flores as an obscure and unprofitable corner of the colony, and preferred to interfere on the island as little as possible. Local rulers were effectively in charge of their own communities. The main colonial interference in the area in this period was by way of maritime penal expeditions.[374] Effective colonial rule on the whole island was only established after a colonial expeditionary force bloodily repressed a series of rebellions between 1907 and 1908. Armed resistance against the colonial forces, existed on different places in Flores until the 1920s.[375]

As in other areas of the Dutch East Indies, local structures of governance were incorporated into the new colonial system of rule. This process altered the position of the most important political entities on East Flores, the rajadoms of Larantuka and Sikka. While the local rulers, the rajas, officially remained in charge of their realms, they effectively found themselves at the bottom of the new political hierarchy. [376] Like local rulers in other contexts, however, the rajas and their families, however, did always maintain high social status in local societies. When highly placed clergymen or government officials visited the island, they would always visit local rajas.[377]

In the eyes of the colonial government, Flores always remained a thinly populated, peripheral territory in political and economic terms.[378] The island never yielded large economic profit and the mountainous landscape made it difficult to carry out large-scale development projects. Attempts to start cotton plantations on the island failed because of the dropping prices in the First World War.[379] The export of Flores was mainly limited to livestock and copra. Other commodities which were produced by the 1930s included coffee, peanuts and garlic and onions.[380] The livelihoods of the people on Flores depended mainly on small-scale agriculture, petty trade and fishery. Dutch administrators required farmers to plant cash crops as well.

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[374] Stefan Dietrich, *Kolonialismus und Mission auf Flores (ca. 1900-1942)* (Hohenschäftlarn: Renner, 1989), 2.
[375] Ibid., 62–96.
[376] For the rajas of Larantuka, R. H. Barnes, 'A Temple, a Mission, and a War: Jesuit Missionaries and Local Culture in East Flores in the Nineteenth Century', *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde (BKI)* 165, no. 1 (2009): 32–61; Robert H. Barnes, 'Raja Servus of Larantuka, Flores, Eastern Indonesia', *Moussons. Recherche en sciences humaines sur l'Asie du Sud-Est*, no. 16 (2010): 39–56. For the rajas of Sikka, see E. Douglas Lewis, *The Stranger-Kings of Sikka* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2010).
[377] 'Penjamboetan J. M. Exc. Msgr. H. Leven die Endeh dan di Ndona', *Bintang Timoer* 9, no. 12 (1934): 181–84. This article includes a picture of the raja of Lio, Pius Rasi Wangge, and his family, with the bisshop of the Lesser Sunda Islands. All family members are dressed in fashionable European-style clothes.
[378] Library Sekolah Tinggi Filsafat Katholik Ledalero, (hereafter STFK), Maumere, Memorie van overgave van den aftredend Assistent-Resident van Flores, G.A. Bosselaar, 1932.
[379] Dietrich, *Kolonialismus und Mission*, 11.
[380] Ibid., 146–48.

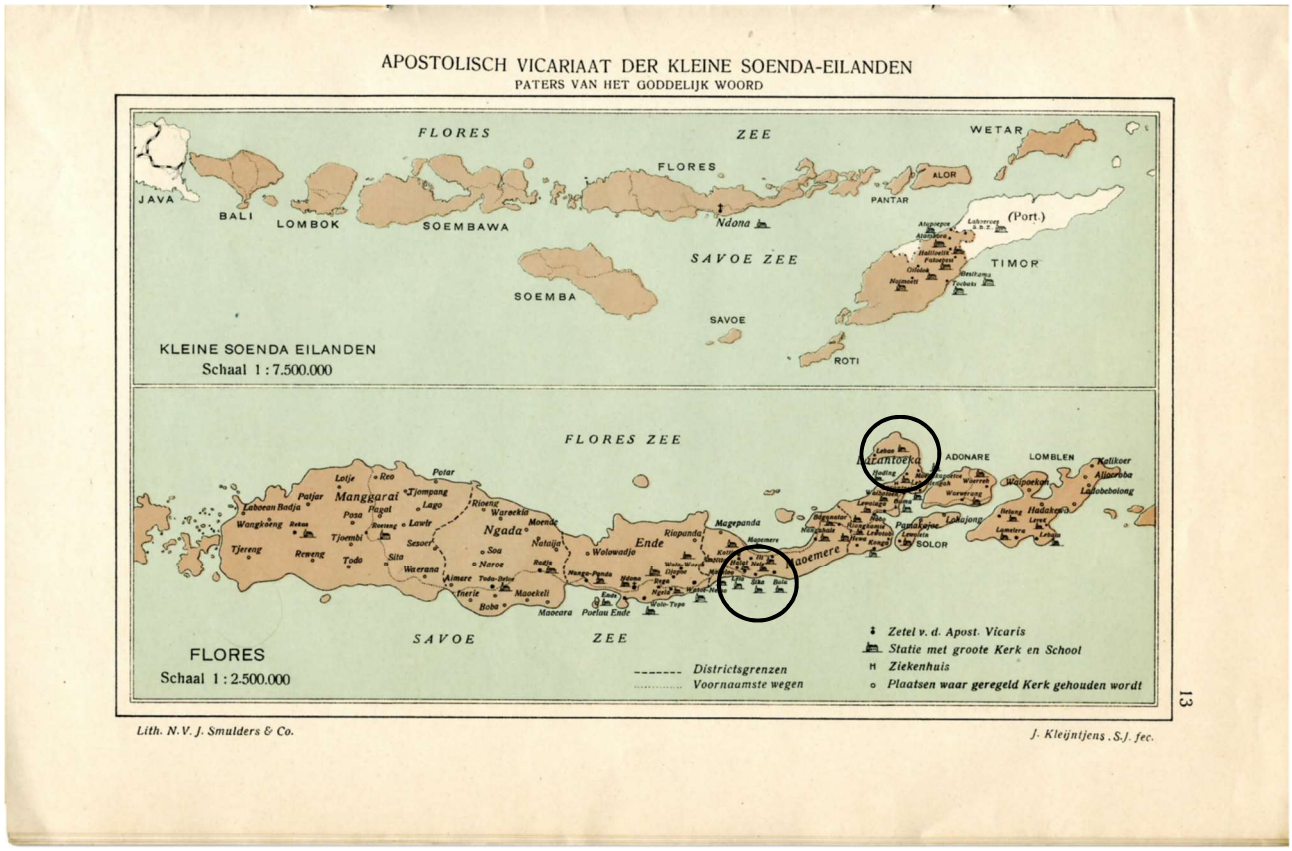

Figure 6: Flores and the Apostolic Vicariate of the Lesser Sunda Islands, 1928. Larantuka on the eastern tip of the island and Lela on the south coast are indicated with circles. J. Kleintjens, *Atlas der R.K. Missie in Nederlandsch Oost- en West-Indië* (Maastricht: Firma van Aelst, 1928), 13.

In the Sikka region, for example, the forced planting of coconut palms led to impoverishment among smallholders.[381] The colonial government interfered in local communities through taxation. Part of the taxation system was based on a system of forced labour. The *Floresweg*, a road stretching from the east to the west of the island, was constructed between 1911 and 1925 by means of such forced labour by Flores men.[382]

The role of the Catholic mission in education

When Portugal ceded its possessions on East Flores to the Dutch state, this happened on the condition that the areas that had been Christianized by Portuguese priests could remain

[381] Lewis, *The Stranger-Kings of Sikka*, 354–56.
[382] Dietrich, *Kolonialismus und Mission*, 168–70.

Catholic.[383] In 1860, the first Dutch Jesuit priest arrived in Larantuka and started working among the population. The position of Catholicism at this point was ambiguous. Priests frequently complained that local people were not observant enough. Most of the people in the inlands adhered to an animist religion, while some coastal areas were nominally Catholic.[384] The first priests started small, rudimentary schools where they provided children with basic knowledge of catechism.[385] From its first mission post, the mission spread steadily throughout the eastern part of the island, starting with the Sikka region where the villages of Maumere and Lela became its strongholds.[386] Eventually, there were mission stations throughout the whole island. The missionaries generally did not interfere with the Muslim communities in the west and along the coastlines.[387]

In 1912, the Apostolic Vicariate of the Lesser Sunda Islands was created and the order of the Divine Word Missionaries (*Societas Verbi Divini*, SVD) took over the work of the Jesuits.[388] The government confirmed the Catholic monopoly on education in the Flores-Sumba Agreement one year later. It started subsidizing the mission schools on the condition that they were open to non-Catholic children as well. The curricula also had to meet the standards of public education.[389]

The educational system on Flores therefore mirrored the governmental school system in the Dutch East Indies in terms of school types. The mission mainly concentrated on village schools that offered an elementary three-year programme of reading, writing and counting, supplemented with religious education. These schools were coeducational and led by indigenous teachers who had been trained by the mission. By 1918, the mission had established sixty such schools.[390] Over the years, their numbers continued to grow. Data from 1932 mention 275 village schools with a total of around 18.000 students, around one quarter of whom were girls.[391]

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[383] Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia, Vol. 1*, 71–73.
[384] Barnes, 'A Temple, a Mission, and a War', 41.
[385] For a description of such a school by one of the first Dutch priests, see: C.J.H. Franssen, 'Catachetisch en gewoon onderwijs in Larantoeka' in: Petrus Laan SVD, 'Larantuka 1860-1863. Drie jaren missiewerk door twee wereld-heren' (typescript; no year [1962]).
[386] For details, see Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia, Vol. 1*, 127–50.
[387] Dietrich, *Kolonialismus und Mission*, 242–43.
[388] Jan Willemsen, 'Van een Nederlandse missiekerk naar een Indonesische katholieke kerk. Een beknopt overzicht van de belangrijkste feiten en gebeurtenissen', in *Tempo doeloe, tempo sekarang: het proces van indonesianisering in Nederlandse orden en congregaties*, ed. Joos Van Vugt, José Eijt, and Marjet Derks (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004), 29–31.
[389] *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië,* no. 309 (1913), De reorganisatie van het Inlandsch Onderwijs in de Residentie Timor en Onderhoorigheden.
[390] Eduard Jebarus, *Sejarah Persekolahan di Flores* (Maumere: Penerbit Ledalero, 2008), 63–64.
[391] STFK, MvO Bosselaar, 1932.

The mission also operated *standaardscholen* [standard schools] with a five-year programme, meant for the most successful students of village schools. For the graduates of these elite institutions the mission envisioned a prominent role in village society as teachers, artisans and catechists.[392] By 1924, there were eight such schools on Flores, two of which were girls' schools under the direction of religious sisters.[393] The small group of children who completed a standard school could enter a teacher-training course. By the middle of the 1920s, there were three teaching courses on Flores.[394] By that time, the SVD also had started to train graduates from the standard school for the priesthood at a recently-opened seminary.[395] Finally, by 1925 a *schakelschool* was opened in Ndao. The Dutch word *schakel* can be translated as 'link', and the colonial government envisioned this five-year programme as a bridge between the Native educational system and secondary education on Java. Geared towards the creation of indigenous white-collar class, the schakelschool remained the highest form of education on Flores until the end of the colonial period. A small number of its graduates went on to pursue further education in Java.[396] Like in other areas of the Dutch East Indies, the economic crisis in the 1930s caused severe cuts in the governmental budget for education. This meant that the Roman Catholic had to close down its teacher training schools in Lela and Larantuka and the number of students at the standard schools was restricted. In this decade, the development of education in Flores thus suffered a setback.[397]

Roman Catholic girls' education

Gender-specific girls' education was a relatively rare phenomenon in the missionary school system. Most girls on Flores who went to school were educated at coeducational village schools, as there were not enough teaching nuns to provide single-sex education to the whole female school population.[398] The girls who did get the chance to go to a sisters' schools were usually family members of rajas or village chiefs.[399]

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[392] J. Van der Loo, 'Van hier en daar en overal!', *St. Claverbond* 29, no. 1 (1917): 53.
[393] LU KITLV, inv. no. H1112, MvO Couvreur, 1924.
[394] LU KITLV, inv. no. H1112, MvO Couvreur, 1924.
[395] For an overview of the development of seminaries on Flores, see: Marie-Antoinette Willemsen, *De lange weg naar Nusa Tenggara: Spanningsvelden in een missiegebied* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2015), 14–23.
[396] STFK, MvO Bosselaar, 1932.
[397]'Niat sembahjang didalam boelan Augustus: sekolah-sekolah dan internat oentoek kanak-kanak', *Bintang Timoer* 10, no. 2 (1934): 17–18.
[398] Kurt Piskaty, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara (Südost-Indonesien): ihre geschichtliche Entfaltung und ihre Bedeutung für die Missionsarbeit*, 5 (St. Augustin etc.: Steyler Verlag, 1964), 139–40.
[399] Ortrud Stegmaier, *Der missionarische Einsatz der Schwestern auf den Inseln Flores und Timor (Südost-Indonesien)* (St. Augustin etc.: Steyler Verlag, 1974), 46.

Women religious had started opening girls' schools at an early stage of the missionary work. In 1879, a group of six sisters from the congregation of the Franciscans of Heythuizen arrived from the Netherlands Larantuka to open a girls' boarding school in Larantuka.[400] The second girls' boarding school was opened in 1890 in Maumere, by the congregation of the Sisters of Charity from Tilburg. Because the climate in Maumere was not favourable, this school was moved to the nearby mission post of Lela in 1899.[401] As in Larantuka, there was a boys' school with dormitories at the same mission station.[402]

Both girls' schools were eventually taken over by the congregation of the Holy Spirit Missionary Sisters [*Servae Spiritus Sancti*, SSpS], an order that was connected to the SVD. The Sisters of Charity left Flores in 1917, followed by the Franciscan sisters in 1925, leaving the SSpS in charge of girls' schools on Flores until the end of the colonial period. The larger boarding schools in Larantuka and Lela eventually were transformed into standard schools with a five-year programme. By 1924, the two girls' standard schools had a total of three hundred students. In the same year, there were nine girls in the coeducational standard schools of the mission, who studied alongside 443 boys.[403] Apart from these schools, the sisters SSpS also established smaller girls' courses for domestic education on Flores.[404] According to data from the archive of the diocese in Ende, by 1941 there were five of such courses on Flores, with a total of around 130 girls going there. This probably included the courses for domestic education which were connected to the girls' standard schools in Larantuka and Lela.[405]

It has become clear that education for both boys and girls in Flores was, more than by anything else, defined by the educational monopoly that the Roman Catholic mission had acquired from the government in 1917. The island remained of minor economic importance to the colonial state until the end of the colonial period, which was reflected in the limited public investments in the educational system on the island. As was the case for all other forms of education, the domestic and religious outlook of the girls-only schools on the island was determined by the religious beliefs of the Roman Catholic mission.

[400] Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia, Vol. 1*, 108–12.
[401] Brouwers, *Na de drie begijnen*, 66–72.
[402] J. Verster, 'De jongensschool te Lela (Flores)', *St. Claverbond* 18, no. 1 (1906): 20–27.
[403] Arsip SVD Ende, Indonesia, Folder Sekolah Statistiek, Jahresbericht ueber die Schulen des Apost. Vicariates der Kl. Sunda Inseln. Stand am 31. December 1924, 1925.
[404] Piskaty, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 138–41.
[405] Jebarus, *Sejarah Persekolahan*, 327.

Conclusion

A comparison of the regional histories of Yogyakarta, West Sumatra, Minahasa and Flores highlights the considerable diversity of the educational landscape of the Dutch East Indies. Between the late nineteenth century and the collapse of the colonial state in 1942, the regions witnessed widely varied economic and political developments. Distinct cultural traditions also accounted for local processes of continuity and change. Religion was one of the most important factors here, as demonstrated by the important role of Christianity and Islam in the development of local school systems. Educational initiatives emerged from various sides, and the relationships between the colonial government and other educational actors such as nationalist activist could be anything from cordial to hostile. Between themselves, educational initiators sometimes viewed one another as unwelcome competitors, but local populations sometimes received new players on the educational market with open arms. The unique position of Flores in this context is marked precisely by a lack of diversity: it is the only region in which one actor, in this case the Roman Catholic mission, held a monopoly position in the educational field. Here too, however, as in the three other regions, the colonial government made sure to always maintain oversight of the educational circumstances, as well as financial control in the form of subsidies.

Despite all these local variations, it is possible to discern some general trends. First of all, this chapter has demonstrated that the introduction of schools was by no means a case of the colonial government alone. Especially in the case of girls'-only education, the colonial government often preferred to take on a supporting role by offering subsidies. The degree to which the colonial government was prepared to do so depended on local people's demands as well as on the economic importance it adhered to a specific region. It is thus important to pay attention to the dynamics between local actors and the colonial government. Secondly, in all regions there was a strong connection between education and the formation of local elites. In all four contexts, school education was never attainable for the majority of the juvenile indigenous population, and access to higher education was even more restricted. Gender-specific education for girls, even more so than coeducational schooling, was largely an elite phenomenon. Finally, Indonesian initiators with had widely varying relations to the colonial state were just as invested in the education of girls as some European actors. As we shall see in the upcoming chapters, some of these indigenous initiatives incorporated colonial domestic ideals, while others tried to offer alternatives. First, however, the next chapter explores the centrality of domesticity in Christian Dutch-led schools for girls.

Chapter 2. From indigenous girls to exemplary housewives? Education and domesticity in Christian schools for girls, c. 1880-1920

> "I would like to have Sisters here, because it seems to me that all work remains only halfway done as long as I only teach the men and fail to educate little housewives. Through her tact, tenderness and piety, the woman has to win or keep her husband and children for God."[406]

> "What could Christianity contribute to civilization, development, elevation, if it would have to go without the help of sensible housewives, of well-trained mothers?"[407]

Both of the historical sources cited above refer to the establishment of Christian school for indigenous girls in the Netherlands Indies. Written by a Roman Catholic priest and Protestant missionaries respectively, they connect notions of Christianity to the domestic training of local girls. As was briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, religious sisters started Catholic schools for indigenous girls in East Flores from late 1870s onwards. Protestant missionaries opened the first all-girls' schools in Minahasa a few years later. The Queen Wilhelmina School, a Protestant school for priyayi girls, was opened by a group of women connected to the Dutch Reformed mission in Yogyakarta just a few years after the turn of the twentieth century. This chapter moves back and forth between Roman Catholic and Protestant educational initiatives for girls, making visible the parallels and differences between the schools.

As the two quotations indicate, Christian schools for indigenous girls in the late-colonial Dutch East Indies emphasized the importance of domestic skills. This discourse was leading in education for elite Dutch girls in the metropole as well.[408] Girls' education was located primarily in the domestic sphere, and girlhoods were framed as a phase before entering into wife- and motherhood. In many cases, Christian reformers in the Dutch East Indies explicitly

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[406] Erfgoedcentrum Nederlands Kloosterleven, St. Agatha (hereafter ENK), archive Zusters van Liefde uit Tilburg (hereafter ZvL), inv. no. 410, Pastor P. Bonnike to his family, 20 May 1889. *"Ik had gaarne zusters want mij dunkt, zoo ik enkel de mannen onderwijs en geen huismoedertjes vorm, is en blijft alles half werk. De vrouw moet door haar beleid, zachtheid en godsvrucht man en kinderen voor God winnen of behouden."*

[407] Utrecht Archives (hereafter UA), Utrecht, collection 1102-1 Raad voor de Zending: Rechtsvoorgangers (hereafter RvdZR), inventory number 1254, 'Een kost- en dagschool voor Minahassische Meisjes', undated. *"Wat vermag het Christendom tot beschaving, ontwikkeling, veredeling, zonder verstandige huisvrouw, zonder wel geoefende huismoeder?"*

[408] Mineke van Essen, *Opvoeden met een dubbel doel. Twee eeuwen meisjesonderwijs in Nederland* (Amsterdam: SUA, 1990), 25–26.

targeted indigenous elites, as these expected these social groups to yield large influence in local society. This chapter focuses on the Tomohon Girls' School in Minahasa, the Queen Wilhelmina School in Yogyakarta and the Catholic girls' schools of Larantuka and Lela in East Flores to illustrate how these processes could work out on the ground.

The domesticity that took centre stage in these schools stretched far beyond table settings and needlework. As a concept, domesticity cannot be explained only in terms of domestic skills. The education at these schools was meant to instruct girls how they could "do Christianity right"[409] within their own prospective homes, and this touched upon many issues besides religious and domestic training. For the girls on the school benches, it included learning how to be 'feminine' and 'civilized' in specific ways.[410] The observation that domesticity was a leading concept in girls' schools, then, gives very little information about the ways in which this idea worked out on the ground. This chapter aims to unpack the notion of domesticity. In doing so, it asks what exactly it meant for indigenous girls to learn how to be a 'good' Christian wife and mother.

While the emphasis on domesticity was by no means unique to Christian educational institutions in late-colonial Indonesia: as was shown in the introduction to this thesis, public gender-specific education for girls, too, stressed the role of Indonesian women in the home. Still, it is worthwhile to investigate how domesticities took shape within Christian elite schools, and what was particular about them. Which elements did teachers and supporters consider to be connected to the Protestant or Catholic religion? Which similarities were there, and how can differences be explained? Were these a matter of differences between different Christian denominations, between the different cultures of the groups that were targeted, or did other factors play a role? Importantly, the motivations of the local people who sent their daughters to Christian schools will be investigated as well.

Historians and anthropologists of gender have thoroughly explored the concept of domesticity. In the broadest sense, the concept of the domestic touches upon all activities that are centred in and around the home. It includes not only the practical tasks that are carried out in the household, but encompasses many elements of everyday life. This includes the material and spatial structure of the house itself, the relationships between the people who inhabit it, and labour divisions in the household. It thus touches upon themes as broad as "gender, space, work,

[409] Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus, 'Introduction: Gendered Missions at Home and Abroad', in *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), 3.
[410] Ibid.

and power".[411] Taking the ambiguity of the concept into account, this chapter does not presuppose a fixed definition of domesticity and the values that underpin it. Instead, the interest of this chapter is in exploring "what constitutes the domestic in context".[412] By zooming in on the different girls' schools, the specificities of 'the domestic' as envisioned in these educational spaces are teased out.

There is a vast literature that focuses on the importance of non-Western homes as a focal point of colonial interference. Colonial actors – governments, missionaries, social workers and the like – often believed that the introduction of new forms of domesticity inspired on European, bourgeois models in colonized people's lives would have a 'civilizing' effect.[413] 'Bourgeois', in this context, refers to a middle- to upper-class civic culture that emphasized strict "modes of social discipline and discourses of sexuality"[414]. Michel Foucault already firmly established that this mentality regarding sexuality was "an integral part of the bourgeois order", even though he did much to undermine the thesis that bourgeois sexuality was 'repressed'.[415] In bourgeois culture, a class-specific respectability was very important, and women in particular functioned as the keepers and guardians of domestic and sexual respectability.[416] This meant that in the eyes of colonizers, indigenous women were the key to moral reform of local societies.

An important section literature of the literature on colonial domestic interventions has focused on Christian domesticities in particular, as within this religion the home was idealised as "the cornerstone of Christian society".[417] Historians and anthropologists alike have zoomed in on missionary interference in indigenous domestic spheres. They have shown how indigenous girls and women came in touch with new forms of domesticity in places as diverse as children's rescue homes, the households of missionaries themselves, women's Bible and sewing groups, and teaching and hygiene courses.[418] Hyaeweol Choi and Margaret Jolly have

[411] Karen Tranberg Hansen, 'Introduction: Domesticity in Africa', in *African Encounters with Domesticity*, ed. Karen Tranberg Hansen (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 2.
[412] Hyaeweol Choi and Margaret Jolly, 'Paradoxes of Domesticity: Missionary Encounters in the Making of Christian Homes in Asia and the Pacific', in *Divine Domesticities. Christian Paradoxes in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. Hyaeweol Choi and Margaret Jolly (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2014), 4.
[413] Tranberg Hansen, 'Introduction', 3.
[414] Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, 'Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda', in *Tensions of Empire. Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 13.
[415] Foucault, *The History of Sexuality 1*, 5.
[416] Stoler and Cooper, 'Between Metropole and Colony', 25.
[417] Tine Van Osselaer, 'Religion, Family and Domesticity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. An Introduction', in *Christian Homes. Religion, Family and Domesticity in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Tine Van Osselaer and Patrick Pasture (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2014), 8.
[418] Hyaeweol Choi and Margaret Jolly, eds., *Divine Domesticities. Christian Paradoxes in Asia and the Pacific* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2014). Also see Karen Tranberg Hansen, ed., *African Encounters with Domesticity* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

described mission schools for girls as "a (…) key platform for cultivating and propagating domesticity."[419] This happened not only through the curriculum offered by the schools, but also through "extracurricular activities and perhaps most importantly dormitory life."[420] Throughout this chapter we will encounter numerous examples of the prominent place of boarding school life within Christian schools.

Scholars of the Dutch East Indies have made similar arguments. Recently, for example, Geertje Mak has pointed at the central position of missionary households in Dutch New Guinea, where Papuan 'foster children' were raised as the core of new Christian communities.[421] Focusing on South Dutch New Guinea and Central Java, Maaike Derksen has explored the importance of gendered household practices in so-called model villages and schools led by the Roman Catholic mission.[422]

Importantly, scholars have been careful not to portray the introduction of new models for domestic life by Christian actors as a one-sided process. Discourses about Christianity and related forms of domesticity did not enter into a vacuum. Indigenous girls arrived at Christian schools coming from specific cultural backgrounds and carrying their own ideas about what constituted home life. They also responded to their education in different ways. Their families, for their part, also had their motives for sending their daughters to these schools. It is important to pay attention to this, especially since scholars have repeatedly emphasized that indigenous people rarely completely accepted lifestyles propagated by missionaries and other European actors.[423] Instead, they linked Christian forms of domesticity with their own beliefs and cultural practices. Scholars have pointed at instances of "creative interaction, resistance, transformation, even indigenization" in the relationship between indigenous people and new domestic practices.[424]

Keeping these considerations in mind, this chapter pays attention to the tensions that were often at the heart of educational practices at the schools, and to local cultural influences on educational practice. There is also some discussion of the responses of individual girls.

[419] Choi and Jolly, 'Paradoxes of Domesticity', 9.
[420] Ibid.
[421] Geertje Mak, 'Huishouden in Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea. Geschiedenis van geslacht op geslacht' (Oration speech, University of Amsterdam, 6 July 2017).
[422] Maaike Derksen, 'Local Intermediaries? The Missionising and Governing of Colonial Subjects in South Dutch New Guinea, 1920-42', *Journal of Pacific History* 51, no. 2 (2016): 111–42; Maaike Derksen, '"On Their Javanese Sprout We Need to Graft the European Civilization." Fashioning Local Intermediaries in the Dutch Catholic Mission, 1900-1942', *Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies* 19, no. 1 (2017): 29–55.
[423] Stoler and Cooper, 'Between Metropole and Colony', 32.
[424] Choi and Jolly, 'Paradoxes of Domesticity', 6.

While the ability to do so was limited by the nature of the source material, it has been possible to retrieve some evidence of schoolgirls' agency and interpretations.

This chapter is structured along thematic lines, including class, language, parents and teachers, disciplinary school regimes and the role of ethnicity and race. The text moves from the more discursive elements of the schools – such as missionaries' opinions of local cultures – to the practical realities of everyday school life, including the curriculum, school buildings and school uniforms. But first, the early history of the Christian girls' schools will be sketched, as this is helpful to place these institutions in their individual contexts.

2.1. First steps towards Christian girls' education

In 1877 the NZG missionary J. Louwerier, who at that point had been stationed in Minahasa for ten years, wrote to the society's headquarters in Rotterdam with a plea for the establishment of an elite girls' school in the mountain village of Tomohon. Louwerier argued that Minahasan girls from the highest classes were not always "the most intellectually developed ones" because parents often failed to send their daughters to the coeducational mission schools.[425] He speculated that elite parents were perhaps not inclined to send their daughters to a "common" school, or failed to see what use education could be to their girls.[426] Later, the prominent NZG missionary Nicolaas Graafland also suggested that headmen's daughters refused to share a classroom with children of a lower social status.[427]

Both Louwerier and Graafland alluded to the families of Minahasan men who worked for the colonial government. As was explained in the previous chapter, their prominent position in colonial society and their income had led to the formation of an indigenous aristocracy known as the *bangsa*. As the commission pointed out, more and more of these Minahasan "headmen and notables" [*hoofden en aanzienlijken*] were eager to obtain Western-style education for their daughters.[428]

[425] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1252, Pre-advies der Commissie, benoemd ter jongste Conferentie, om plannen te beramen en voorstellen te doen, tot oprigting eener school voor meisjes in de Minahassa, received 31 March 1877.
[426] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1252, Pre-advies.
[427] N. Graafland, 'De vrouwen in de Minahassa', *Mededeelingen vanwege het Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap (MNZG)* 25 (1881): 336.
[428] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1252, Pre-advies.

Louwerier elaborated on the growing numbers of Minahasan elite parents who "tried to place girls completely or partly under the guidance of Europeans."[429] This was a reference to the longstanding practice of missionary families to take Minahasan girls into their home as an *anak-piara*, a foster child. Anak-piara entered a European household after they had finished school around the age of thirteen and spent some years doing housework for a missionary family. They usually lived in the missionary home until marriage, when they received a small trousseau. Missionaries praised this practice as a strategy for instilling a sense of 'civilized' Christian family life in girls, meaning they acquired domestic skills and religious knowledge. Minahasan parents, in turn, saw it as a way for their daughters to gain useful experience.[430] A similar practice was in place for boys, who performed manual work in missionary families.[431]

Apart from the popularity of the anak-piara practice, Louwerier identified a trend among wealthy Minahasans to adopt European fashions in their clothing and home decoration, and to follow European "customs and habits."[432] Under these circumstances, the missionary argued, a girls' school would not only represent a chance for the Protestant mission to train Christian mothers – it could also grow into a source of income for the NZG, since parents would surely be prepared to pay significant school fees. Finally, Louwerier alluded to the Roman Catholic mission as a possible threat to the Protestant position in the region, suggesting that the Catholic mission had plans to establish schools in Minahasa as well.[433] Over the years, the threat of Catholic competition in girls' education grew into a much-used trope in fundraising for the Protestant girls' school.[434] As was mentioned in the previous chapter, eventually the JMJ sisters opened a girls' school in Tomohon in 1907.

While the NZG was convinced of the necessity of the school, the society initially lacked funds for the undertaking. It asked Petrus van der Crab, a former resident of the residency of Manado, to establish a committee for fundraising in the Netherlands.[435] The NZG also started raising funds through its various local branches. Women's auxiliary commissions, that had been working for the missionary society since the 1820s, also contributed.[436] Though this concerted

[429] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1252, Pre-advies. *"Allerwege ziet men pogingen aanwenden, meisjes geheel of gedeeltelijk onder de leiding van Europeanen te krijgen."*
[430] H. Bettink, 'Een nog zelden besproken element van christelijke beschaving in de Minahassa van Menado', *MNZG* 42 (1898): 106–18.
[431] Ibid., 107.
[432] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1252, Pre-advies.
[433] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1252, Pre-advies.
[434] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv no. 1254, 'Circulaire', undated. UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1254, 'Een kost- en dagschool voor Minahassasche Meisjes', undated.
[435] P. Van der Crab, 'Eene Meisjesschool in de Minahassa' (n.p., 1877).
[436] Annemieke Kolle, 'In stilte te werken, niet te willen schitteren. De vrouwenhulpgenootschappen voor de zending vanaf 1822', in *Het zendingsbusje en de toverlantaarn. Twee eeuwen zendingsliefde en*

effort enough money was raised to hire two teachers in the Netherlands, and to pay for their boat journey to Minahasa.[437]

When the fundraising process was completed, the missionary society decided to install a support committee for the school in Rotterdam. This committee, consisting out of NZG board members and clergymen, would remain in charge of all practicalities for the school that were arranged in the metropole. The day-to-day management in Tomohon was in the hands of a supervisory committee which consisted out of the school staff and local NZG clergymen and their wives. [438] On the first of November 1881, the *Kost- en Dagschool voor Dochters van Inlandsche Hoofden en Aanzienlijken* [Boarding and Day School for Daughters of Native Heads and Notables] was opened. At the opening day, there were seventeen boarding students and ten day students.[439]

Throughout its existence the *Meisjesschool Tomohon* [Tomohon Girls' School], as the school was usually called, was financially sustained mainly by the parents of the students. The school fees dependent on whether girls were registered as boarding or day students, the income of their fathers, and on their racial status. Because the school was primarily meant for Minahasan girls, European and Chinese parents paid more. Parents who sent more than one child to the school paid reduced fees.[440] Contributions from the colonial government were another important source of income for the school. In 1895, the colonial government decided to grant the school a yearly subsidy of 3000 guilders in reaction to repeated requests for subsidies by the Rotterdam support committee.[441] In 1901, this sum was doubled to a subsidy of 6000 guilders a year.[442] From 1918 onwards, after the colony-wide introduction of the Dutch-medium HIS, the school was subsidized according to the regulations for girls' HIS with a

zendingsorganisatie in Protestants Nederland, ed. G.J. Schutte, J.A. Vree, and G. De Graaf, Jaarboek voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands Protestantisme na 1800 20 (Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2012), 95–104.
Kirsten Kamphuis, 'Giving for Girls: Reconsidering Colonial Civilizing Missions in the Dutch East Indies through Charitable Girls' Education', *New Global Studies* 12, no. 2 (2018): 226–27.

[437] Kamphuis, 'Giving for Girls', 225–29.

[438] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1251, Transcript book 1877-1883, Statuten van de Vereeniging tot het onderhouden van eene Kost- en Dagschool voor dochters van hoofden en aanzienlijken in de Minahassa, 12 July 1882.

[439] J.N. Wiersma, 'De Meisjes- kost- en dagschool, te Tomohon (Minahassa) (1)', *MNZG* 26 (1882): 142–53.

[440] ANRI AS GB TZGA, inv. no. 7085, Rapport omtrent de Kost- en Dagschool te Tomohon (onderafdeeling Tandano, Afdeeling Menado, residentie Menado) voor dochters van hoofden en aanzienlijken in de Minahassa over het jaar 1914, 15 January 1915.

[441] ANRI AS GB TZGA, inv. no. 7085, Decision Government Secretary, 19 April 1895.

[442] ANRI AS GB TZGA, inv. no. 7085, Director of Education to Governor General, 12 October 1918.

boarding school.[443] The school also continued to receive charitable gifts from Protestant circles in the Netherlands.[444]

The early history of the *Koningin Wilhelmina School* [Queen Wilhelmina School] in Yogyakarta, that was opened some twenty-five years later, shows some parallels with that of the Tomohon Girls' School. Like the NZG in Minahasa, the Reformed Missionary Society had gained a strong position in the city of Yogyakarta. The missionary Petronella Hospital had been running since 1900. However, the medical facility failed to reach the higher echelons of Javanese society: the missionary society reported that its patients mainly came from "the *dessa's* and the *kampongs*", the villages and urban residential areas.[445] The mission perceived this as a problem, as they believed that the nobility wielded a large influence over the Javanese commoners and could potentially play an important role in the evangelisation and "uplifting" of Java. They hoped that Javanese educated in Christian environments would ultimately serve as agents of a civilizing mission, helping the Reformed mission to eventually spread the Christian faith in all layers of Javanese society. [446]

The former mission nurse Johanna Kuyper initiated fundraising activities for an elite girls' school upon her return to the Netherlands.[447] Kuyper had a long-standing connection to the Petronella Hospital, as she had been the president of its first support committee in the Netherlands.[448] Together with her sister Henriëtte, Johanna Kuyper would remain a central figure in the fundraising efforts for more than three decades.[449] The sisters' involvement in Protestant charity work in the colony was no coincidence, as they were daughters of Abraham Kuyper, a prominent Protestant politician and one of the advocates of the ethical policy. In 1901, when he was prime minister of the Netherlands, Kuyper advised Queen Wilhelmina on her famous speech that is usually seen as one of the starting-points for the ethical policy.[450]

Making use of their extensive network in Calvinist elite circles in the Netherlands, the Kuyper sisters brought together a group of women who were interested in forming a committee

[443] ANRI AS GB TZGA, inv. no. 7085, Director of Education to Governor General, 26 February 1919.
[444] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, Yearly Reports 1885-1908. The reports include an overview of private donations.
[445] Atria IAV SCHIM, inv.no. 5, Eerste Verslag van het Comité van Bijstand voor de Christelijke School voor Meisjes uit den Javaanschen Adelstand te Jogjakarta, opgemaakt in Juni 1907.
[446] Atria IAV SCHIM, inv. no. 2, draft circular 'Een Christelijke school voor Javaansche meisjes uit den Adelstand', 14 August 1905.
[447] Atria IAV SCHIM, inv. no 2, Notulen der vergaderingen van het "Comité van Bijstand" van de Christelijke School voor Javaansche Meisjes te Jogjakarta, van 5 Aug. 1905 – 12 Dec. 1918, 5 August 1905.
[448] Kerkeraad van Amsterdam, *Vijf-en-twintig jaar zendingsarbeid te Djocja*, 72.
[449] Agnes de Boer, 'Kuyper, Henriëtte Sophia Suzanna (1870-1933)', in *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*, 2017, http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/KuyperHenriette.
[450] Adrian Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 17.

for the prospective school. The group consisted of members of the Dutch nobility and the patriciate, and other members of prominent Protestant families. Some of the committee members were already involved in Christian charity work in the Netherlands, such as Cornelia Countess van Limburg Stirum, who was an activist for Christian girls' education.[451]

At their first meeting in Amsterdam in 1905, the new 'Ladies' Committee' [*Damescomité*] described the aim of the prospective school as the moral and religious education of elite Javanese girls "according to the needs of their social class", based on the Reformed interpretation of the Bible.[452] The committee aimed to bring the Javanese nobility elite under the influence of the Gospel by way of the girls, "the future wives and mothers of the *prijàji's* (sic)" who would in turn spread Christian teachings among their own families.[453] The support committee furthermore predicted that there would soon be a demand for educated young women among priyayi men who, having enjoyed a Western education, would want a spouse of a "similar intellectual level".[454] The women started a range of fundraising activities in both the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies. By 1907, the committee had raised enough money to open the school under the direction of headmistress H. Wellensiek.[455] Like the teachers at the Tomohon Girls' School, Wellensiek was hired in the Netherlands and travelled to the colony shortly before the opening.[456]

Over the course of the years the Ladies' Committee built up a network of regional coordinators, who were in charge of the fundraising in the different Dutch provinces and organized events to publicize the school.[457] In 1919, the committee also assumed the responsibility for fundraising of a similar school in Solo, the Queen Emma School.[458] Finally, it also collected money for the Juliana van Stolberg School, a school for domestic education for primary school graduates.[459] The government contributed to the school through subsidies from

[451] O.W. Dubois, 'Limburg Stirum, Cornelia Gravin van (1868-1944)', in *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*, 2017, http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Limburg_Stirum.
[452] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 1, Stellingen, 2 May 1905.
[453] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 5, Eerste verslag 1907.
[454] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no 6, Tweede verslag van het Comité van Bijstand voor de "Koningin-Wilhelmina-School", Christelijke School voor Meisjes uit den Javaanschen Adelstand te Jogjakarta, van 1 Juli 1907 – 30 Juni 1909.
[455] Kamphuis, 'Giving for Girls', 227–29.
[456] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 5, Eerste verslag 1907.
[457] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 10, Zesde Verslag van het Comité van Bijstand voor de Christelijke Scholen voor Meisjes uit den Javaanschen Adelstand, de "Koningin-Wilhelmina-School", te Jogjakarta en de "Koningin-Emma-School" te Solo, 30 Mei 1917-30 Mei 1919.
[458] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 10, Zesde verslag 1917-1919.
[459] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 13, Negende Verslag van het Comité van Bijstand voor de Christelijke Scholen voor Meisjes uit den Javaanschen Adelstand to Jogjakarta en Solo, 1 September 1927-31 December 1929.

1911 onwards, starting with a yearly sum of 1800 guilders.[460] Finally, the parents of the students paid school fees, as was common in elite private schools. The fees were lower for the second and third sibling that registered at the school.[461]

The circumstances in Flores, where the Christian mission was in a pioneering stage, were very different from those in Minahasa and Central Java. In 1890, six Sisters of Charity from the city of Tilburg in the south of the Netherlands made plans to travel to the island of Flores.[462] It was no coincidence that the church called upon this congregation specifically, as the Sisters of Charity formed a teaching order that had been established in seventeenth-century France precisely to provide teaching and care to poor children.[463] Schools directed by women religious had become widespread in the Roman Catholic parts of the Netherlands, especially in the southern countryside where working-class girls usually went to sisters' schools, while boys went to public primary schools.[464] The sisters from Tilburg followed in the footsteps of the Franciscan Sisters of Heithuizen who had opened the first girls' school on Flores at the mission station of Larantuka, on the easternmost tip of the island, in 1879.[465]

The Sisters of Charity aimed to open a "an institution for the Christian education and the religious and social upbringing of the female youth of Maumerie (sic) and its surroundings."[466] This echoed Roman Catholic girls' education for the Dutch poor and working classes, which was focused mainly on the transmission of religious knowledge and morality.[467] After a months-long sea voyage, the sisters finally reached Maumere. They went to live in a stone nunnery built by local men.[468] The sisters named their school for Saint Peter Claver, the patron of missionaries. In 1899, the Sisters of Charity and the school children, who at that point numbered around two hundred, moved to Lela, where the climate was more favourable.[469]

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[460] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 8, Vierde Verslag van het Comité van Bijstand voor de "Koningin-Wilhelmina-School", Christelijke School voor Meisjes uit den Javaanschen Adelstand te Jogjakarta, van 1 Juli 1911-30 November 1913.
[461] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 5, Eerste verslag 1907.
[462] Brouwers, *Na de drie begijnen*, 67.
[463] Rebecca Rogers, 'Learning to Be Good Girls and Women: Education, Training and Schools', in *The Routledge History of Women in Europe since 1700*, ed. Deborah Simonton (London: Routledge, 2006), 90.
[464] Dolly Verhoeven, 'Christelijke lering en vrouwelijke handwerken. Onderwijs aan meisjes op het Oostbrabantse platteland omstreeks het midden van de negentiende eeuw', in *Een tien voor vlijt. Meisjesonderwijs vanaf de oudheid tot de MMS*, ed. Karen Den Dekker (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1992), 76.
[465] Arn. J. H. Van der Velden, *De Roomsch-Katholieke Missie in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië* (Nijmegen: L.C.G. Malmberg, 1908), 191–92.
[466] ENK ZvL inv. no. 401, 'Overeenkomst aangaande een te Maumerie op het eiland Flores in het Apostolisch Vicariaat van Batavia op te richten Gesticht van Onderwijs en opvoeding voor de vrouwelijke jeugd', Den Bosch, 2 May 1889. *"(...) eene instelling die tot doel heeft het christelijk onderwijs en de godsdienstige en maatschappelijke opvoeding der vrouwelijke jeugd van Maumerie en omstreken."*
[467] Verhoeven, 'Christelijke lering and vrouwelijke handwerken', 83–84.
[468] ENK ZvL inv. no. 410, Father Calon to the family of Father Bonnike, undated.
[469] Brouwers, *Na de drie begijnen*, 72.

At the mission schools in Flores, all the students received their food, clothing and housing free of charge. The schools were therefore completely dependent on the government and the church for their income. The Roman Catholic mission believed that living circumstances on Flores were so dire that no financial support could be expected from the "uncivilized population".[470] From 1919 onwards, the Lela school received a government of maximally 700 guilders per month.[471] Larantuka received a yearly government subsidy of 2250 guilders from 1911 onward.[472] The subsidy grew substantially over the years, and by 1933 the Larantuka school received 5900 guilders.[473] Other costs were covered by the Roman Catholic Church itself.[474] Through the St. Claver Union, a fundraising organisation founded by the Jesuits in 1889, Roman Catholics in the Netherlands contributed to the missionary work in the colony.[475]

By 1917, the Sisters of Charity left Flores because of organizational developments in the Apostolic Vicariate.[476] Their work was taken over by the Holy Spirit Missionary Sisters (Servae Spiritus Sancti, SSpS), a congregation that was originally from Germany but had moved to the Netherlands during the *Kulturkampf*, the conflict between the Roman Catholic church and the German state sparked by Chancellor Otto von Bismarck's anticlerical politics. The SSpS also took over the Larantuka school when the Franciscan sisters left for Java in 1925.[477] The congregation expanded the number of schools and domestic science courses on the island and has remained active in Flores ever since.[478] The SSpS was also active in the parts of New Guinea that were initially colonized by Germany and confiscated by Australia after World War I.[479]

The early histories of the schools give some insight in the reasons for Christian interest in providing education to local girls in Minahasa, Yogyakarta and Flores. These motivations

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[470] ENK ZvL inv. no. 401, 'Circulaire aan het bestuur en de leden van den St. Claverbond', 9 september 1890.
[471] ANRI AS GBB inv. no. 2926, Vicar Apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands to Governor General via Resident of Timor and Dependencies, 2 April 1929.
[472] ANRI AS GBB inv. no. 2926, Advisor for Administrative Affairs in the Outer Islands to Director for Civil Administration, 12 September 1914.
[473] ANRI AS GBB inv. no. 2926, Provicar of the Apostolic Vicariate of the Lesser Sunda Islands, 15 May 1933.
[474] Generalate Servae Spiritus Sancti, (hereafter SSpS), Rome, archive Indonesia, Folder Travel Reports/Correspondence in Dutch 1917-1933, Sister Willibrorda to Mother Superior, 25 February 1918.
[475] Van der Velden, *De Roomsch-Katholieke Missie*, 221.
[476] Brouwers, *Na de drie begijnen*, 72.
[477] Zuster Maria Eliana, 'Het missiewerk der zusters te Larantoeka', *De Katholieke Missiën en het Christelijk Huisgezin. Geïllustreerd Maandschrift in verbinding met het Lyonsch Weekblad v.h. Genootschap tot Voortplanting des Geloofs (De Katholieke Missiën)* 51 (1925): 91.
[478] Jebarus, *Sejarah Persekolahan*, 97.
[479] Nancy C. Lutkehaus, 'Missionary Maternalism: Gendered Images of the Holy Spirit Sisters in Colonial New Guinea', in *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice*, ed. Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), 207–35.

varied from religious proselytization to a demand for girls' education among elite families. When digging deeper into the source material, however, it becomes clear that many of their underlying motives were rooted in criticism of local cultures. Christian reformers often presented girls' education as a corrective to what they perceived as the 'flaws' and 'vices' of indigenous families. The supporters of the Queen Wilhelmina School, for example, believed that Javanese familial relationships caused moral misguidedness in priyayi children. They especially decried polygamy and arranged marriages. Henriëtte Kuyper claimed that Javanese parents encouraged their children to lie.[480] She blamed this on the practice of polygamy, which made it "impossible" for women to be the "life companion" [*levensgezellin*] of their husbands and accounted for a lack of mutual bonding and trust in Javanese households.[481] Publications on the Queen Wilhelmina School evoked an unsettling image of priyayi family life and its gender relations. As Henriëtte Kuyper wrote in the Christian women's magazine *Christelijk Vrouwenleven*:

> When [the girls] are practically still children, they are simply sold without any right of say, to a stranger whose property they become, and who can sell them again or cast [them] out at will.[482]

The age at which this allegedly took place was unclear to Christian commentators. Some school publications mentioned that girls were married off at fourteen,[483] while other sources claimed that girl entered premarital seclusion at the age of eight.[484] At another occasion, a Director of education stated that girls of ten or eleven years old were passed "the age of childhood proper" [*den eigenlijken kinderleeftijd*] according to "Native interpretations".[485] Priyayi public officials

[480] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 48, H.S.S. Kuyper, 'Christelijke Scholen voor Meisjes uit den Javaanschen Adelstand te Jogjakarta en Solo', undated.
[481] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 48, H.S.S. Kuyper, 'Christelijke Scholen voor Meisjes uit den Javaanschen Adelstand te Jogjakarta en Solo', undated.
[482] H.S.S.K. [Henriëtte Sophia Suzanna Kuyper], 'De Christelijke Scholen voor Meisjes uit den Javaanschen adelstand te Jogjakarta en Solo', *Christelijk Vrouwenleven* 10 (1926): 172. *"Ze worden, haast kinderen nog, zonder recht van medezeggenschap, eenvoudig verkocht aan een vreemden man, wiens eigendom ze worden, en die haar, zoodraa hij wil weer kan verkoopen of verstooten."*
[483] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 11, 'Zevende Verslag van het Comité van Bijstand voor Christelijke Scholen voor Meisjes uit den Javaanschen Adelstand, de "Koningin-Wilhelmina-School" te Jogjakarta en de "Koningin-Emma-School" te Solo, 30 Mei 1919-30 Mei 1923.'
[484] J.H. Kuyper, 'Hoe Moertinah op de Koningin-Wilhelminaschool kwam', in *De kruisvlag in top. Zendingsvertelboek voor school en huis*, ed. J. Hobma, H.A. v.d. Hoven van Genderen, and Annie C. Kok (Zwolle: H.H. Kok Bzn., 1926), 343.
[485] ANRI AS GB MGS, inv. no. 4838, Director of Education to Governor General, 15 April 1916.

mentioned ages that ranged from ten to fourteen as the moment when girls were secluded in their homes.[486]

The mentality of Dutch bourgeois Protestant women in the face of Javanese customs surrounding girlhood is reminiscent of what historians have termed "maternalism". According to historian Margaret Jacobs, "maternalist politics" emphasized and idealized women's "most sacred occupation" as mothers and justified women's presence in the public realm by framing it as a "natural extension" of motherhood.[487] This attitude defined the role that bourgeois European women could take up not only in metropolitan, but in imperial spaces as well.[488] In both contexts, social work was seen as an acceptable activity for middle- to upper-class women.[489] In Protestant circles in the Netherlands, the rise of women's social work was connected to the Réveil, a religious movement in the early nineteenth century that stimulated charitable work with its emphasis on emotionality and social involvement.[490]

The moral endeavours of white women in colonial contexts typically targeted indigenous women and children. Historians have demonstrated that this type of white maternalism was strongly connected to metropolitan feminist movements.[491] British feminists, for example, embarked on numerous campaigns to "save" and "protect" Indian women from local traditions ranging their seclusion in women's quarters and widow burning.[492] Early marriage practices were another favoured target of white women's social activism.[493] Through this process, "the Indian woman" as 'the other' was characterized as "a helpless, degraded victim of religious custom and uncivilized cultural practices".[494] Similar mechanisms were at work in the African parts of the British empire, where white bourgeoises ladies tried to 'uplift' African women through education and other "welfare work", while effectively confining

[486] ANRI AS GB MGS, inv. no. 4838, Overzicht van de in 1901 en 1909 door de Residenten en Regenten c.q. Patihs op Java en Madoera geuite meeningen nopens het denkbeeld der oprichting van Inlandsche meisjesscholen, undated.
[487] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*, 89. Also see Firpo and Jacobs, 'Taking Children, Ruling Colonies', 545.
[488] Nicola J. Cooper, 'Gendering the Colonial Enterprise. La Mère-Patrie and Maternalism in France and French Indochina', in *Empires and Boundaries: Race, Class and Gender in Colonial Settings*, ed. Harald Fischer-Tiné and Susanne Gehrmann (New York: Routledge, 2009), 133–37.
[489] Kumari Jayawardena, *The White Women's Other Burden: Western Women and South Asia during British Colonial Rule* (New York/London: Routledge, 1995), 66.
[490] Tineke de Bie and Wantje Fritschy, 'De "wereld" van Reveilvrouwen, hun liefdadige activiteiten en het onstaan van het feminisme in Nederland', in *De eerste feministische golf*, ed. Jeske Reys, Jaarboek voor vrouwengeschiedenis 6 (Nijmegen: SUN, 1985), 32–37.
[491] Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill/London: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 1–62.
[492] Ibid., 10.
[493] Jayawardena, *The White Women's Other Burden*, 91–103.
[494] Burton, *Burdens of History*, 8.

African women to the public sphere.[495] Importantly, as several historians have noted, such narratives allowed white women to fashion themselves as active, "liberated" agents and justify colonialism through a language of protection.[496]

Similar mechanisms were at work in the French empire, where white women undertook charitable work directed towards local women and mixed-race children under the guise of what has been classed a *mission civilisatrice au féminin*.[497] Pointing at the "double mission" of French *coloniales* who were supposed to simultaneously attend to the needs of European and "native" communities[498], Marie-Paule Ha has identified variations on maternalist politics not only in Indochina, but in Egypt, Algeria and sub-Saharan francophone Africa as well.[499] Other scholars have explored similar dynamics between gender, agency and empire in the context of the German possessions in East Africa.[500] In former white settler spaces such as Australia and the United States, white women were often leading figures in indigenous and mixed-race child removal and "protection" schemes.[501] The first historical inquiries into the relationship between empire and white women's agency and citizenship suggest similar links in the context of Dutch colonialism.[502]

The supporters of the Queen Wilhelmina School certainly did not identify as feminists and were very critically of the Dutch women's movement[503] and of "modern emancipation theories" which they interpreted as antithetical to God-given gender relationships.[504] Still, there are significant parallels between their maternalism and that of other white women in empire. British women tended to blame Hinduism, and to a lesser extent Islam, for the "suffering" of their "Indian sisters".[505] Queen Wilhelmina School supporters had a similar relationship with Javanese Islam. According to them, this "half-heathen, half-Mohammedan" religion was to

[495] Barbara Bush, 'Motherhood, Morality, and Social Order: Gender and Development Discourse and Practice in Late Colonial Africa', in *Developing Africa: Concepts and Practices in Twentieth-Century Colonialism*, ed. Joseph M. Hodge, Gerald Hödl, and Martina Kopf (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 273; 278–79.
[496] Burton, *Burdens of History*, 73. Mrinalini Sinha, *Specters of Mother India: The Global Restructuring of an Empire* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2006), 12–16; Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*, 87–89.
[497] Marie-Paule Ha, *French Women and the Empire: The Case of Indochina* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 48.
[498] Ibid., 49.
[499] Ibid., 69–77.
[500] Lora Wildenthal, *German Women and Empire, 1884-1945* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2001). See especially the chapter on colonial nursing, 13–52.
[501] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*, 149–92. Firpo and Jacobs, 'Taking Children, Ruling Colonies', 544.
[502] Berteke Waaldijk et al., 'Ethische politiek in Nederland. Cultureel burgerschap tussen overheersing, opvoeding en afscheid', in *Het koloniale beschavingsoffensief: wegen naar het nieuwe Indië, 1890-1950* (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2009), 186–216.
[503] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 6, Tweede verslag 1907-1909.
[504] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 8, Vierde verslag 1911-1913.
[505] Burton, *Burdens of History*, 76.

blame for Javanese "ignorance" of the blessings of Christian family life.[506] Because love for God was unimaginable within Islam, which merely preached fear and respect, the Javanese simply did not know what love was, one fundraising leaflet concluded.[507]

The supporters of the Queen Wilhelmina School were convinced that only Protestant Christianity could bring salvation to Javanese girls.[508] They saw the school first and foremost as a place where these girls could come in touch with Christianity. The best results were expected from boarding school life, which the support committee described as an opportunity to bring girls entirely under Christian influence for a number of years.[509]

Like in Yogyakarta, marriage practices on Flores attracted harsh criticism from Christian missionaries. Many of these negative commentaries focused on the bride price. Traditionally, the family of the groom offered the bride's family a collection of precious goods such as woven *ikat* fabrics, jewellery, livestock and, in Larantuka, ivory.[510] For local people, the bride price was an investment in social relations between two families.[511] However, in the eyes of the Roman Catholic priests and religious sisters, the payment of the bride price amounted to the "sale" of young girls. The missionaries were not alone in their disapproval: colonial officials were critical of the practice as well.[512]

Sensational stories about the brutal sale of Flores girls were spread all around the world in the Catholic press. In his travel account of the Dutch East Indies, for example, an American SVD missionary recorded that Flores girls were often "sold in marriage" when they were still infants, or even before birth.[513] His description of a Ndona marriage was illustrated with a photograph of two indigenous toddlers and a somewhat older girl looking at the reader, accompanied by the dramatic caption "We are already sold".[514] The Sisters of Charity confirmed that Flores people sold their daughters. When Nonabenta, one of the oldest schoolgirls in Maumere, died unexpectedly, the mother-superior wrote that the "excessive"

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[506] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 10, Zesde Verslag, 1917-1919.
[507] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 48, H.S.S. Kuyper, 'Christelijke Scholen voor Meisjes uit den Javaanschen Adelstand te Jogjakarta en Solo'.
[508] H.S.S.K. (Henriëtte Sophia Suzanna Kuyper], 'De Christelijke Scholen', 172.
[509] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 5, Eerste Verslag, 1907.
[510] Stefan Dietrich, '"We Don't Sell Our Daughters": A Report on Money and Marriage Exchange in the Township of Larantuka (Flores, E. Indonesia)', in *Kinship, Networks, and Exchange*, ed. Thomas Schweizer and Douglas R. White (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 236–42; Bernard Tukan, *Keluarga Larantuka antara tradisi dan modernisasi* (Larantuka: Komisi Pastoral Keluarga Keuskapan Larantuka, 1995), 16–32.
[511] Dietrich, 'We Don't Sell Our Daughters', 242–43.
[512] B.C.C.M.M. Van Suchtelen, *Endeh (Flores)*, Mededeelingen van het Bureau voor de Bestuurszaken der Buitengewesten, bewerkt door het Encyclopaedisch Bureau, XXI (Weltevreden: Papyrus, 1921), 98–99.
[513] Bruno Hagspiel, *Along the Mission Trail II: In the Netherlands East Indies* (Techny: Mission Press SVD, 1925), 105.
[514] Ibid., 111.

expressions of grief by Nonabenta's mother and other local people were not inspired by sincere sadness, but by the loss of the potential bride price.[515] Missionaries across colonial spaces often commented on local people's emotional comportment, branding it as inappropriate or excessive.[516] To this unsettling image, Hagspiel added that there were generally multiple wives in one household.[517] This, however, seems unlikely, as multiple bride prices must have been unaffordable to the average family. It is more plausible that polygamy was the prerogative of wealthy men. In Hagspiel's account, for example, there was a picture of the ruler of Bajawa with his five wives, all dressed in precious ikat cloth.[518]

Apart from marriage practices, the domestic arrangements of indigenous families sparked criticism from religious sisters, who concentrated more on the private sphere of local people than male missionaries. In 1901 Mother Ludmilla, the General Superior of the Franciscan Sisters of Heithuizen, visited the Larantuka convent and school. Her travel companion Mother Madeleine recounted that the kampongs were crowded and filled with people, pigs, chickens and dogs. She had no words for the "huts" in which the families lived, calling them "indescribable".[519] The SSpS sister Pulcheria likewise wrote disapprovingly about the narrow, long wooden stilt houses in which eight to twelve families lived together, separated from one another by bamboo wall.[520] Mother Rudolphis at one occasion told the story of how a one-year-old child got injured when it fell on the floor of the pole house and got its arm stuck between the floorboards. A pig that was scurrying about underneath the house bit off the child's arm up to the elbow.[521] Such images contrasted with the image of the quiet, well-organized and protected "safe haven" that a home was supposed to be in the minds of Roman Catholic missionaries.[522]

Like the Protestant women in Yogyakarta, Roman Catholic missionaries presented their religion as a corrective for local culture. Schools occupied a prominent place in this ideology and were seen as an essential component of any mission station. Ideally, children would live in

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[515] 'Uittreksels uit brieven van de Eerwaarde Moeder Rudolphis aan de algemeene Overste te Tilburg', *Berichten uit Nederlandsch Oost-Indië voor de leden van den Sint Claverbond* 12, no. 4 (1900): 50–52.
[516] Jane Haggis and Margaret Allen, 'Imperial Emotions: Affective Communities of Mission in British Protestant Women's Missionary Publications, c.1880-1920', *Journal of Social History* 41, no. 3 (2008): 693.
[517] Hagspiel, *Along the Mission Trail*, 110. Photo page.
[518] Ibid., 98. Photo page.
[519] Mère Madeleine, *Visitatiereis der Eerwaarde Moeder Ludmilla, Generale Overste der Zusters Franciscanessen van Heithuizen, naar Indië* (Nijmegen: L.C.G. Malmberg, 1902), 91.
[520] SSpS, archive Indonesia, Folder Travel Reports/Correspondence in German 1917-1938, Sister Pulcheria to Reverend Mother, 1 February 1917.
[521] 'Uittreksel uit brieven van de Eerw. Moeder Rudolphus aan de Algemeene Overste der Zusters v. Liefde te Tilburg', *St.Claverbond* 10, no. 2 (1898): 64.
[522] Van Osselaer, '"Religion, Family and Domesticity"', 11; 25.

dormitories so they would be separated from their families.[523] In the words of the missionary Van der Loo, who directed a boys' school in Lela, "[The children] had to be removed as much as possible from the influence of their rough, uncivilized environment."[524] The girls at the Larantuka school were allowed to visit their families once every three months.[525]

The goal of educating Flores girls was to make them into "virtuous people, diligent Christians, efficient housewives and good mothers."[526] Like their Protestant counterparts in Minahasa and Yogyakarta, missionaries in Flores saw girls' education as complementary to that of boys. Schoolgirls were destined to eventually become wives for educated men and support their own children during their school years. Missionaries did not question the importance of gender-segregated education, as coeducational schooling was condemned in Catholic doctrine.[527] As was explained before, the coeducational Roman Catholic village schools on Flores only existed because there were not enough religious sisters to teach all girls, and because it was too expensive to open separate boys' and girls' schools in all villages.[528]

Marriages between former students of Roman Catholic schools were celebrated as a success for the mission. Village heads, teachers, catechists and artisans and their educated wives formed the core of what the Franciscan sister Maria Eliana described as "true Christian families" who held up the faith in Flores and spread it to other islands.[529] Educated girls were thus expected to further the Roman Catholic civilizing mission not only in the private sphere of their own families, but in their wider environments as well, by serving as examples to other Flores women and telling local people about the faith.

Compared to the Christian criticism of gender relations in other contexts, Protestant missionary writings about Minahasa were less condemning. NZG missionaries stressed that Minahasan women were the equals of their husbands.[530] In the twentieth century, this would become a favoured argument among Minahasan activists who aimed to prove the high standards of Minahasan culture.[531] While one missionary acknowledged that the payment of a bride price was still common at the occasion of a wedding, he did not think this was problematic as it had

[523] ENK ZvL inv. no. 401, 'Circulaire aan het bestuur en de leden van den St. Claverbond', 9 September 1890.
[524] Loo, 'Van hier en daar en overal!', 53. *"Dezen moesten dus zoveel mogelijk onttrokken worden aan den invloed eener ruwe, onbeschaafde omgeving."*
[525] Zuster Maria Eliana, 'Het missiewerk', 101.
[526] Ibid., 90.
[527] Essen, *Opvoeden met een dubbel doel*, 186–88.
[528] Piskaty, *Die katholische Missionsschule in Nusa Tenggara*, 139–40.
[529] Zuster Maria Eliana, 'Het missiewerk', 119.
[530] Graafland, 'De vrouwen in de Minahassa', 317.
[531] Ratu Langie, 'De vrouw in de Minahassa', *De Indiër. Weekblad gewijd aan het geestelijk en maatschappelijk leven van Indië en Oost-Azië (De Indiër)* 1 (1913): 235–38; Ratu Langie, 'De vrouw in de Minahassa (2)', *De Indiër* 1 (1913): 243–46; Ratu Langie, 'De vrouw in de Minahassa (3)', *De Indiër* 2 (1914): 3–6.

evolved into a purely symbolic ritual.[532] This remark is in contradiction to the many NZG efforts to change local practices regarding bride wealth, divorce and the legal position of women within marriage law.[533]

The connection between women and Christianity was important for the NZG. Graafland stressed women's exemplary achievements in Bible study, catechism and faithful church visits.[534]The argument that Minahasan women were crucial to Christian community life would survive well into the twentieth century.[535] Still, missionaries often alluded to a lack of intellectual development among women caused by girls' low school attendance.[536] Girls' education was presented as a way to assure the continuity of the Christian faith in Minahasa, as educated girls were expected to create a Christian atmosphere in their own homes after marriage, and to pass on the faith to their own children.[537] The NZG even claimed that

> "[w]hoever images a society without a school for the formation, elevation and education of the youthful weaker sex, is like an architect constructing a building with walls without cement, that will collapse at the most minor gush of rain or wind."[538]

In this way, the NZG stressed the 'civilizing' influence of educated Christian women in their own families, effectively suggesting that Tomohon Girls' School students were destined to become agents of a civilizing mission in their home environment. Girls' education was also framed as a tool for the safeguarding of Minahasan family life. Missionaries identified a difference in educational opportunities for girls and boys from higher social classes, and presented this as a threat to the relationship between the sexes within marriage. Missionary Wiersma mentioned several secondary schools for elite boys in Minahasa and pointed out there were no similar schools for girls. He feared that this gap in intellectual development between men and women would ultimately lead to *"verwildering van het huwelijk en vernietiging van het huiselijk leven"* [degeneration of marriage and the destruction of family life] as husbands

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[532] H.J. Tendeloo, 'De toestand der vrouw in de Minahassa', *MNZG* 17 (1873): 21.
[533] Sita van Bemmelen, 'The Marriage of Minahasan Women in the Period 1861-1933: Views and Changes', in *Indonesian Women in Focus: Past and Present Notions*, ed. Liesbeth Locher-Scholten and Anke Niehof, 2nd ed. (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1992), 181–204.
[534] Graafland, 'De vrouwen in de Minahassa', 325.
[535] Ibid., 321. P. Groot-Marckmann, 'Het ontwaken van het verantwoordelijkheidsbesef bij de Minahassische Christenvrouwen gedurende de laatste jaren', *MNZG* 82 (1938): 136–49.
[536] Tendeloo, 'De toestand der vrouw in de Minahassa', 10; Graafland, 'De vrouwen in de Minahassa', 323.
[537] Wiersma, 'De Meisjes- kost- en dagschool', 146.
[538] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1254, 'Een kost- en dagschool voor Minahassasche Meisjes', undated. *"Wie een maatschappij verlangt zonder vorm-, kweek, en leerschool voor de jeugdige zwakkere sekse, gelijkt een architect, die een gebouw optrekt met muren zonder cement, welke bij de minste wind- of regenvlaag omvallen."*

could not be expected to love a woman whose intellect they could not respect.[539] The Tomohon Girls' School was the missionary society's attempt to close up that gap.

All in all, Christian concerns about local traditions surrounding gender and family were an important motivating factor for the opening of girls' schools. Now that we have gained insight into the gendered arguments behind the establishments of the three schools, we can move on to an investigation of how these ideas worked out on the ground.

2.2 Inside the colonial classroom: teaching practices and curricula

The teaching staff at most NZG schools in Minahasa comprised of indigenous assistant-missionaries. At the Tomohon Girls' School, a different image emerges. To guarantee the quality of education at this prestigious education, and to make sure that the staff was fitted to train future 'Minahasan ladies', the NZG recruited teachers in the Netherlands. For this purpose, the missionary society published numerous advertisements in Christian print media in the Netherlands to attract qualified staff.[540]

The first headmistress of the school, G.C. Krook, arrived in Tomohon together with an assistant teacher, W.C. De Ligt.[541] Krook had previously been teaching at the Christian teacher training school in the village of Zetten, while her colleague De Ligt came from a primary Christian school in Amsterdam.[542] Five years after her arrival, headmistress Krook died unexpectedly after contracting cholera.[543] She was replaced by the headmaster A. Limburg, who moved to Minahasa with his wife and daughter. The practice of sending out married headmasters was held up until the school ceased to exist. The other teachers were Dutch unmarried women, while at a later stage, young Minahasan women sometimes assisted them.[544] Their role will be explored in the final chapter of this thesis.

The NZG often had considerable difficulty finding and keeping teaching staff for the Tomohon Girls' School. Dutch teachers were apparently reluctant to trade their working environment for the unknown Minahasa. While headmasters usually stayed on for quite some time – Limburg worked at the school for sixteen years, and the later headmaster A. Verkuyl was in office between 1914 and 1927 – teachers generally worked at the school for only a few

[539] Wiersma, 'De Meisjes- kost- en dagschool', 145.
[540] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1266, Berichten in de media, 1897-1924.
[541] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1251, Transcript book 1877-1883, 46.
[542] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1251, Transcript book 1877-1883, 46; 74.
[543] J. Louwerier, 'Gijsbertha Catharina Krook', *Maandbericht NZG* 88 (1886): 97–109.
[544] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, A. Limburg to Board, 19 March 1897.

years or even a few months before they resigned, whether for health reasons or because of an engagement.[545] As was the case in the Netherlands, female teachers were expected to give up their jobs once they got married: people from all religious and political currents in the colonial as well as in the metropole saw a professional position as incompatible with life as a married woman.[546]

After Krook's death it took eight years before her successor was hired. During that time two other teachers left, one because she returned to the Netherlands and one because she married a local missionary.[547] The teacher Van de Wetering even went to work temporarily at the Queen Wilhelmina School in Yogyakarta after leaving the Tomohon Girls' School in 1914.[548] There were more instances where staff moved between different elite girls schools in the Dutch East Indies, as did teacher M.P Planjer, who moved on to work at a girls' school in Sukabumi in Java.[549]

In the early years of the school, the teachers did not follow a fixed curriculum. When the first headmistress was asked to propose a curriculum to the school commission, she was merely told that it should include "the regular subjects of primary schools for girls" in the Netherlands, including domestic training and plain and decorative needlework. There were no indications about the amount of time the girls should spend at the school, nor any mention of separate classes. The missionary society stressed that especially the boarding students should be educated in domestic skills, and that the entire education should be founded on Christianity: the girls should be instructed in Biblical history, and should gain knowledge of the Gospel through Scripture readings under guidance of missionary Louwerier.[550]

During Krook's tenure, on weekdays the girls followed lessons in the morning, and in the afternoons they occupied themselves with some needlework or did some light work in the little gardens that Krook had encouraged them to plant. There was also time for the children to play or go for a walk.[551] Shortly after the opening of the school Krook wrote that she had started teaching Biblical history to all children, and also some Dutch history to the two oldest girls

[545] ANRI Alg. Sec. GB TZGA, inv. no. 7085, Rapport omtrent de Kost- en Dagschool te Tomohon (onderafdeeling Tandano, Afdeeling Menado, residentie Menado) voor dochters van hoofden en aanzienlijken in de Minahassa over het jaar 1914, Resident of Manado, 15 January 1915. Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 9, Vijfde verslag van het Comité van Bijstand voor de "Koningin Wilhelmina School", Christelijke School voor Meisjes uit den Javaanschen Adelstand te Jogjakarta, 30 november 1913-30 mei 1917.
[546] Van Essen, *Opvoeden met een dubbel doel*, 107.
[547] UA RvdZ 1102-1, inv. no. 1257, J. Louwerier to Board, 10 September 1889.
[548] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 9, Vijfde verslag 1913-1917.
[549] UA RvdZ 1102-1, inv. no. 1257, M. Planjer to J. Louwerier, 19 November 1919.
[550] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1261, Transcript book 1877-1883, letter of 25 October 1880.
[551] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1147, G.C. Krook to J.C. Neurdenburg, 25 September 1882.

among the twenty students, even though there was no suitable book available. Krook described this subject as *vaderlandsche geschiedenis* [history of the fatherland], suggesting that the education at her school was very much oriented towards the metropole. Some of the oldest girls had also started working on the geography of Europe.[552] In this way, their education encouraged Minahasan girls to forge a connection with Europe in general and with the Netherlands in particular.

When headmaster Limburg arrived in 1894, he immediately set about reorganizing the school. As was noted by other scholars, the personality of one particular (head)teacher could have significant influence on the school atmosphere.[553] This was perhaps especially true for colonial contexts, where supervising institutions were often less well-staffed than in the metropole, or altogether absent for most of the year, especially in far-flung areas.

Arie Limburg was certainly an example of an individual who put a significant mark on the school under his authority. He arrived in Tomohon determined to reform the school as he saw fit. The new headmaster divided the girls up into three classes, each of them with two or three divisions. In this way, girls who followed the entire programme would spend seven to eight years at the school. Limburg also designed the first official curriculum and listed Biblical history, reading, writing, arithmetic, Dutch, needlework, geography, history, music, Malay, drawing, natural history, physical education and domestic training as obligatory subjects. [554] For unknown reasons, the headmaster took physical education off the programme three years later.[555]

Limburg also requested the NZG to provide the school with a new inventory including exercise books, pens, slates, an anatomic poster of the human body, and a wall map of the Dutch East Indies.[556] Only one of the school books that were used at the school in this period was specifically designed for the Indies context. [557] This was a reading method for *Indisch* children that had been introduced in European public schools in the Netherlands Indies in 1883.[558] The other books were used commonly in Christian schools in the Netherlands.[559] School hours were every day from nine to twelve in the morning, and from two to four in the afternoon, with the

[552] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1147, G.C. Krook to J.C. Neurdenburg, 5 March 1884.
[553] Barthélémy, *Africaines et diplômées*, 164.
[554] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, Leerplan voor de Meisjesschool te Tomohon, 28 August 1894.
[555] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, Leerplan voor de Meisjesschool te Tomohon, 1 August 1897.
[556] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, A. Limburg to Board, 10 May 1894.
[557] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, Leerplan, 28 August 1894.
[558] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, Leerplan, 28 August 1894. Groeneboer, *Weg tot het Westen*, 129.
[559] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, Leerplan, 28 August 1894.

exception of the Saturday when the girls had the afternoon off. On Sundays, the staff and all students went to church together.[560]

Limburg went on a personal crusade to orientate the school more towards the household. He was not the first to think that the domestic element of the education was not sufficiently emphasized. Missionary Graafland had already reported to the Resident of Manado that the girls did not learn enough about day-to-day chores. If the school would continue to be "too refined", he warned, it ran the risk of delivering "vain drawing room dolls" [*ijdele salonpoppen*] instead of good housewives.[561] Limburg was of the same opinion.[562] He aimed to educate "practical wives and mothers" by instilling his students with a sense of "tidiness, order and cosiness" [*netheid, orde en gezelligheid*].[563] These values were central to nineteenth-century elite girls' education in the Netherlands as well.[564]

While Limburg was at the school, the girls spent at least an hour of each school day on needlework, including knitting, embroidering, sewing, crocheting and decorative needlework. Girls of thirteen years of age and older took turns in helping Limburg's wife in the household of the boarding school.[565] On Saturday afternoon, all boarding students checked the laundry for traces of wear and tear and mended their own clothes.[566] In 1902, Limburg installed a special "household class" where all girls who had completed the standard school programme gained experience with domestic work.[567] Limburg also limited the content of theoretical subjects to what he considered 'useful'. In natural history class, for example, the curriculum focused primarily on basic knowledge of the human body and hygiene.[568] Theoretical knowledge was redundant for girls according to their headmaster:

> Of what use could it be, if they [the students] would know how to get around in Europe and in the Netherlands, but not in the larder? What use would it be if they would feel at ease in history, but not in the kitchen or in the linen closet?[569]

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[560] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, Leerplan, 28 August 1894.
[561] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1252, N. Graafland to Resident of Menado, transcript J. Louwerier, 29 June 1883
[562] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, Leerplan, 1 August 1897.
[563] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, Jaarverslag van den Directeur A. Limburg, 1897.
[564] Essen, *Opvoeden met een dubbel doel*, 45.
[565] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, Leerplan, 1 August 1897.
[566] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, Verslag 1897.
[567] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, Kost- en Dagschool voor Dochters van Hoofden en aanzienlijken in de Minahassa, te Tomohon, verslag over 1901.
[568] UA RvdZ 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, Kost- en Dagschool voor Dochters van Hoofden en aanzienlijken in de Minahassa, te Tomohon, Jaarverslag van den Heer A. Limburg, 1906.
[569] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, Verslag 1897. "*Wat baat het, of ze den weg weten in Europa en Nederland, maar niet in de provisiekamer? Wat nut het haar of ze al thuis zijn in de geschiedenis, doch niet in keuken of linnenkast?"*

Limburg's reforms left an important mark at Tomohon Girls' School. At the fortieth anniversary of the school in 1921, the missionary journal *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* heralded Limburg as the person who had defined the course of the school.[570] His convictions were certainly still being held up in Tomohon: the journal sketched an image of Tomohon Girls' School graduates as housemothers who spread the "good influence" of the school within their own families.[571] Headmaster Limburg would surely have been satisfied at such results.

Two sources in particular shed light on educational practice at the school in its early stages. In 1892, the headmistress sent two note books filled with exercises and a package of needlework to Rotterdam to be sold for fundraising.[572] In a brief note accompanying the materials, the oldest student, Griet Wenas, showed a keen understanding of this purpose: she expressed her hope that "those rich ladies and gentlemen in Rotterdam" would pay a lot of money for the handiworks.[573] Griet must have been around fourteen years old when she wrote this letter.[574] Her father, the hukum besar of Tomohon, sent his three other daughters Raumanen, Elisabeth, and Anna to the school as well.[575] As we will see later, Griet's youngest sister Anna, who also contributed to the notebooks, would some years later be at the centre of a small scandal at the school. Among the Wenas sisters only the oldest girl Raumanen, who died during a measles epidemic at the school a few days before her fifteenth birthday, had an indigenous name.[576] As will be explored more in-depth later, these naming practices indicate that this bangsa family had strong ambitions to connect itself to the local colonial elite.

The 1882 notebooks contain exercises by the students in the two lowest classes, and in the highest class. The books give a rare insight in the content of the lessons. In the notebooks of the lowest classes, seven girls showed their skills in neat handwriting, the spelling of verbs, mathematics, geometry and musical notation. Barnetje Walangitang's contribution highlighted the importance of moral education in the school: in her best handwriting, she wrote down mottoes about the importance of gratitude.[577] The girls in the highest class – Grietje Wenas,

[570] 'Een edel driemanschap', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 4, no. 11 (1921): 169.
[571] Abr. Van der Hoeven, 'De Meisjesschool te Tomohon, 1881 - 1 november - 1921', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 4, no. 11 (1921): 161.
[572] UA RvdRZ 1102-1, inv. no. 1279, Griet Wenas to NZG, 18 June 1892.
[573] UA RvdRZ 1102-1, inv. no. 1279, Griet Wenas to NZG, 18 June 1892.
[574] School records from 1889 show that Griet Wenas was eleven years old at that time. UA RvdRZ 1102-1, inv. no. 1252, Leerlingen aan de Meisjesschool te Tomohon, 10 June 1889.
[575] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1257, J. Louwerier to W. Frencken, 3 March 1885. UA RvdZR 1102-1 inv. no. 1252, 'Staat van leerlingen der Meisjesschool gedurende het 4e kwartaal 1886.'
[576] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1257, J. Louwerier to W. Frencken, 3 March 1885.
[577] UA RvdRZ 1102-1, inv. no. 1279, Werk van de Laagste Twee Klassen der Meisjesschool te Tomohon.

Elvira Lang, Johanna Kalangie and Paulien Emor – wrote down sums and composed essays on history, geography and human anatomy.[578]

Especially the history and geography essays in the notebooks give an interesting impression of the cultural orientation of the school. Anna Frederik – judging from her name, possibly a girl with Dutch or mixed-race ancestry – wrote an essay about the invention of book printing in the Dutch city of Haarlem in 1423. This was a long-standing nationalist myth in the Netherlands. In her essay, Anna recounted that the German "Johan Gutenberg" stole some printing letters from Haarlem and smuggled them to Germany. "Nowadays, the Germans say that Johan Gutenberg has invented book printing, but we, the Dutch, say that Laurens Jansz. Koster is the inventor", Anna concluded.[579] The fact that she used the first person to write about "the Dutch" shows that the teachers encouraged the girls to identify with the colonial power and Dutch culture and history more broadly. Similar mechanisms were at work in French colonial schooling for indigenous elites in Indochina.[580]

The older schoolgirls had also written two geography essays, one about the river Rhine – in which Elvira Lang dutifully noted that this river entered the Netherlands at the village of Lobith, as generations of Dutch schoolchildren had learnt before her[581] – and one about the mountains of Java. Lessons about the geography of the Dutch East Indies likely had the goal of fostering a sense of identification with the rest of the archipelago, and with the colonial heartland of Java in particular.[582] Elvira Lang had also written a history essay on the Second Anglo Dutch-War. She emphasized the English envy of the prosperity of the Dutch Republic and the bravery of Dutch admirals such as Michiel de Ruyter.[583] Such 'naval heroes' figured prominently in history teaching in the Netherlands at the time. History lessons at the Tomohon Girls' School aimed to inspire pride of the Dutch 'fatherland', as was the case in the metropole.[584]

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[578] UA RvdRZ 1102-1, inv. no. 1279, Werk van de Hoogste Klasse der Meisjesschool te Tomohon.
[579] UA RvdRZ 1102-1, inv. no. 1279, Werk van de Laagste Twee Klassen der Meisjesschool te Tomohon, 'De uitvinding der boekdrukkunst in het jaar 1423.' *"De Duitschers zeggen nu dat Johan Gutenberg de boekdrukkunst uitgevonden heeft, maar wij Nederlandersch* (sic) *zeggen dat Laurens Jansz. Koster de uitvinder is."*
[580] Nicola Cooper, *France in Indochina. Colonial Encounters* (Oxford/New York: Berg, 2001), 52–61; Nicola Cooper, 'Making Indo-China French: Promoting the Empire through Education', in *Empire and Culture: The French Experience, 1830-1940*, ed. Martin Evans (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 138.
[581] UA RvdRZ 1102-1, inv. no. 1279, Werk van de Hoogste Klasse der Meisjesschool te Tomohon, 'De Rijn'.
[582] For the same mechanism in an Indonesian nationalist context, see Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 170–78.
[583] UA RvdRZ 1102-1, inv. no. 1279, Werk van de Hoogste Klasse der Meisjesschool te Tomohon, 'De tweede Engelsche oorlog, 1665-1667'.
[584] Matthijs Kuipers, 'Fragmented Empire. Popular Imperialism in the Netherlands around the Turn of the Twentieth Century' (PhD thesis European University Institute, 2018), 140–65.

Ideas about the importance of patriotism in children's education had been gaining popularity in the Netherlands from the late eighteenth century onwards, and were still very important by the end of the nineteenth century.[585] At the time when the Tomohon Girls' School was established, the teaching of patriotism had come to include the teaching of empire. To a certain extent, this counted for the education offered to indigenous elite children as well, as Marie-Paule Ha has demonstrated for the Indochinese context.[586] This fitted into the larger legitimizing and 'civilizing' project of empire that was inherent to education for colonized children, and of which this chapter shows various examples.[587]

There are many parallels between the education at the Tomohon Girls' School and the Queen Wilhelmina School in Yogyakarta, another elite institution for girls. Just as in Tomohon, the classes at the Queen Wilhelmina School were taught by women teachers. Most of them were hired in the Netherlands through advertisements and articles in Christian magazines.[588] Another important staff member at the school was Walijem, a Javanese Christian woman who worked as a cook at the school for twenty-five years while her husband worked there as a gardener.[589] Other domestic servants, while they were undoubtedly present at the school, have left no traces in the archives.

Because the teachers at the Yogyakarta school, much like their colleagues in Minahasa, believed that Javanese girls were predestined to become housewives, theoretical subjects were limited here as well. In the words of headmistress Wellensiek, it would be of no use to let girls "bother themselves" with topics like mathematics and German.[590] Instead, the subjects taught at the Queen Wilhelmina school included writing, reading, calculation, needlework, geography, singing and Biblical history.[591] The curriculum also mentioned lessons in Malay and Javanese, even though Javanese lessons only started some years after the opening of the school, when finally a "suitable teacher" had been found.[592] In the mid-1920s, physical education was added to the curriculum.[593] Physical exercise was deemed especially important for Javanese girls, as

[585] Jeroen J.H. Dekker, *Het verlangen naar opvoeden. Over de groei van de pedagogische ruimte in Nederland sinds de Gouden Eeuw tot omstreeks 1900* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2006), 179–81.
[586] Marie-Paule Ha, 'From "Nos Ancêtres Les Gaulois" to "Leur Culture Ancestrale": Symbolic Violence and Politics of Colonial Schooling in Indochina', *French Colonial History* 3 (2003): 102.
[587] Ibid., 114.
[588] For an example, see J.C. Wirtz Cz., 'Zelf in de hoed', *Christelijk Schoolblad*, no. 24 (1918).
[589] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 48, J.H.K., [Johanna Hendrika Kuyper], 'Walijem, een Javaansche Christin vijf en twintig jaar in dienst der Zending', clipping from *Timotheüs,* 1932.
[590] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 10, Zesde verslag 1917-1919.
[591] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 5, Eerste Verslag 1907, 'Circulaire aan de prijaji's en inlandsche ambtenaren'.
[592] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 10, Zesde verslag 1919-1917.
[593] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 12, Achtste verslag 1923-1927.

their teachers thought them "somewhat lethargic" and too prone to sitting still.[594] Unfortunately, the sources mention no specific teaching materials or books that were used in the lessons.

As the daily Biblical history classes spoke most directly to their Christian 'civilizing' ideals, the teachers at the Queen Wilhelmina School saw these as the most important part of the school programme. At times, the girls surprised their teachers with their quick understanding of the stories. Demonstrating considerable essentialism, headmistress Wellensiek was convinced that the girls could grasp the context of the Biblical tales much better than their Dutch peers because they were used to "Eastern situations and circumstances, habits and way of life."[595] The teachers also tried to adjust the Biblical stories to the Javanese environment of the children so they would understand them better. In the story of Joseph, for example, his colourful cloak was exchanged for a sarong, and the grain in his dreams became *padi* [rice plants].[596] In this way, the teachers tried to come closer to the mental world of their students, without sacrificing the aim of introducing them to Christian beliefs. This teaching method is a gripping example of the exchange between two cultures that often occurred in colonial classroom. But while the classroom could indeed be a "zone of contact" between two cultures, the circumstances were always strictly hierarchical.[597]

In contrast to the Protestant schools in Minahasa and Yogyakarta, religious sisters were in charge of the teaching at the Roman Catholic girls' schools in Flores. The sisters, too, considered religious instruction to be the most important aspect of school life. At both girls' schools, the full educational programme took six years.[598] The mission provided instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic on the most basic level, supplemented with religious education.[599] In this sense, the boys' and girls' schools of the Catholic mission were very similar, with the exception of the absence of domestic training at the boys' schools.[600] This was in line with the general stance of the Catholic church about missionary education. As recently Christianized people were considered to stand on very low "level of civilization", some basic

[594] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 10, Zesde verslag 1919-1917.
[595] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 7, Derde verslag 1909-1911. *"(...) doordat* [de leerlingen] *de Oostersche toestanden en omstandigheden, gewoonten en levenswijze zooveel beter begrijpen dan hun Hollandsche kameraadjes."*
[596] Kuyper, 'Moertinah', 347.
[597] Joyce Goodman, Gary McCulloch, and William Richardson, '"Empires Overseas" and "Empires at Home": Postcolonial and Transnational Perspectives on Social Change in the History of Education', *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 45, no. 6 (2009): 700–703.
[598] Arsip Societas Verbi Divini (hereafter ASVD), Ende, Folder Sekolah Statistiek, 'Jahresbericht ueber die Schulen des Apost. Vicariates der Kl. Sunda Inseln. Stand am 31. December 1924.'
[599] Velden, *De Roomsch-Katholieke Missie*, 280.
[600] Verster, 'De jongensschool te Lela (Flores)', 21.

education was thought to already "transform them into intellectuals".[601] The teaching programme was somewhat expanded over the years. While no books were used at the earliest stages, by the 1930s the learning materials in Larantuka included the books *Tiga Anak* [Three Children] and *Pendjaga diri* [Taking Care of Yourself], which was specifically designed to teach children in Malay schools about health and hygiene.[602] In 1932, the sisters in Larantuka bought a large wall map of the Dutch East Indies.[603]

The differences in educational ideologies and practices came to the fore in the layout of the different school buildings as well. By the 1880s, the Minahasan elite had adopted European furniture and home décor.[604] It followed that the exclusive Tomohon Girls' School was also decorated in a Dutch bourgeois style, complete with wardrobes and washstands.[605] In 1923 the school moved to an entirely new, comfortable and spacious building.[606] The students were now housed in four separate pavilions that had each had space for 32 students.[607] The new school building had no less than seven classrooms and an art room where religious meetings could be held on Sundays.[608] Some months after the opening of the new buildings, a generator was installed in the river bed behind the school.[609] Electricity in particular was often seen as a hallmark of modern colonial life: at the beginning of the 1940s electric light still took in a prominent place among the technology that that made up the ideal "modern" house in the Netherlands Indies.[610] This can also be seen clearly in late-colonial advertisements published by the electrical supplies company Philips, which portrayed electricity as a prerequisite for a "new, modern lifestyle", as Henk Schulte Nordholt has observed.[611] Electrical light, however, was only affordable for the upper-middle classes families who mainly lived in Javanese urban environments.[612]

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[601] Van der Velden, *De Roomsch-Katholieke Missie*, 280.
[602] ANRI AS GBB inv. no. 2926, ANRI AS GBB inv. no. 2926, Vicar Apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands to Governor General, 15 May 1933.
[603] ANRI AS GBB inv. no. 2926, ANRI AS GBB inv. no. 2926, Vicar Apostolic of of the Lesser Sunda Islands to Governor General, 15 May 1933.
[604] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1147, G.C. Krook to J.C. Neurdenberg, received 8 September 1882.
[605] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1252, J. Louwerier, Rapport. De meisjesschool te Tomohon, June 1883.
[606] A. Verkuyl, 'De nieuwe Meisjesschool te Tomohon', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 7, no. 4 (1924): 51.
[607] Ibid., 52.
[608] Ibid.
[609] UA RvdZR, inv. no. 1278, 'Korte berichtjes', *Het Leven In* 5, no. 6 (1924): 51.
[610] Freek Colombijn and Joost Coté, 'Modernization of the Indonesian City, 1920-1960', in *Cars, Conduits, and Kampongs: The Modernization of the Indonesian City, 1920-1960* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014), 6.
[611] Henk Schulte Nordholt, 'Onafhankelijkheid of moderniteit? Een geïllustreerde hypothese', in *Het koloniale beschavingsoffensief: wegen naar het nieuwe Indië, 1890-1950*, ed. Marieke Bloembergen and Remco Raben (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2009), 114. Also see Tom Hoogervorst and Henk Schulte Nordholt, 'Urban Middle Classes in Colonial Java (1900–1942). Images and Language', *BKI*, Special Issue: New Urban Middle Classes in Colonial Java, 173, no. 4 (2017): 463–64.
[612] Hoogervorst and Schulte Nordholt, 'Urban Middle Classes in Colonial Java (1900-1942)', 463.

Figure 7: The living room of the Queen Wilhelmina School in Yogyakarta, c. 1910.
The girls on the left are playing with a miniature Noah's Ark and two dolls dressed in traditional costumes from the Dutch island of Marken. Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 40, undated.

Equipped with such high-tech features, rarely seen in the mountain villages of North Sulawesi, the Tomohon Girls' School clearly fashioned itself as an elite institution. When the number of students passed 50, the board decided to build a second building.[613] A hand-drawn map of the school grounds shows a row of five classrooms parallel to a garden, and two separate buildings with dormitories for the girls and "ladies' rooms" [*dameskamers*] for the teachers.[614] The layout of the school grounds clearly shows that the Queen Wilhelmina School was located in an urban environment, in contrast to the Tomohon school with its stables, vegetable gardens and a chicken coop. Pictures of the school interior show wall maps of Europe, blackboards, and educative posters with animals and landscapes, while the children are sitting in school benches.[615]

[613] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 9, Vijfde verslag 1913-1917.
[614] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 38, Plattegrond K.W.S., undated.
[615] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 40, Pictures Queen Wilhelmina School, 1912-1937.

Figure 8: The youngest students of the Queen Wilhelmina School in the garden with their toys. Their appearance is a mixture of Javanese and European influences. While their richly decorated batik sarongs are distinctly Javanese and priyayi, not all girls are wearing their hair combed back in a bun as was common in Javanese attire. Note the girl in the back with the two braids and her classmates with close-cropped hair. Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 40, undated.

Girls in the Catholic schools in Lela and Larantuka did not have comfortable classrooms or an assortment of toys. Instead, they made their dolls themselves out of sticks and scraps of fabric.[616] In a rare picture of a classroom in Larantuka, dozens of girls are sitting on their school benches with their arms crossed, their writing slates in front of them on their desks. The white wooden walls of the schoolroom are bare, the only decoration is a blackboard.[617] This was not really a classroom, but a dining room that was used as an makeshift learning space from at least 1917 onwards.[618] Only after much lobbying by the headmistress Sister Seraphica, a new building was opened in 1937.[619]

[616] Zuster Maria Eliana, 'Het missiewerk', 101.
[617] Hagspiel, *Along the Mission Trail*, 164.
[618] ANRI AS GBB inv. no. 2926, 'Schoolverslag over het jaar 1929 betreffende de R.K. Meisjesschool te Larantoeka, Onderafd. Oost Flores en Soloreilanden, van de Afd. Flores, gewest Timor en Onderhoorigheden', 1 January 1930.
[619] Theodora Nahas, 'Sejarah Misi Congregatio Missionalis Servarum Spiritus Sancti Di Flores 1918-1987' (Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan Sanata Dharma, 1990), 176. In 2017, this building was still in use as a kitchen at the school.

The girls' dormitories in Larantuka were similarly Spartan as the classrooms. A picture in Hagspiel's book shows rows and rows of simple beds, made of wooden boards with a pillow and a mat.[620] It seems very unlikely that the schools in East Flores had electricity in the colonial era: by the 1960s, the purchase of a washing machine for the school in Lela was still considered remarkable enough to be included in the chronicle of the convent.[621] The schools were also very crowded: in Larantuka the student number usually hovered round two hundred girls.[622] By 1933, all these girls were supervised by three European religious sisters and three indigenous teachers.[623]

Teachers evidently based their ideas about what local girls should learn, and in what kind of environment, on their interpretation of the local circumstances. The same went for their choice of the language of instruction. Both the Tomohon Girls' School and the Queen Wilhelmina School used Dutch. Especially when the Tomohon school was opened in 1880 this was unusual in the colony: at that point, this only occurred at a few schools for elite indigenous Christians.[624] The NZG envisioned the spread of the Dutch language among the Minahasan upper classes through the concerted efforts of elite schools for bangsa children of both sexes.[625] The choice for Dutch as the language of instruction at the Tomohon Girls' School was a strategic move as well, as it instantly marked the school as an elite institution and thus made it attractive to its target audience.

Initially, there were considerable communication problems between students and their teachers, who spoke hardly a word of Malay.[626] Some children had also grown up speaking a vernacular Minahasan language instead of the lingua franca.[627] Still, from an early stage onwards they were urged to use as little Malay as possible in daily school life because it would hinder their Dutch language acquisition. There were also disciplinary measures against the use of Malay: girls who used Malay three times in a row could not have fruit with their afternoon rice table.[628] Headmaster Limburg introduced a card game for the girls proficient in Dutch to

[620] Hagspiel, *Along the Mission Trail*, 165.
[621] Collection Panti Jompo St. Petrus Claver (hereafter St.PC), Lela, Indonesia, 'Sejarah biara St. Petrus Klaver Lela' (Lela, 1987).
[622] ANRI AS GBB inv. no. 2926, Advisor for Administration in the Outer Islands to the Director for the Administration of the Interior, 12 September 1914. ANRI AS GBB inv. no. 2926, Vicar Apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands to Governor General, 15 May 1933.
[623] ANRI AS GBB inv. no. 2926, Vicar Apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands to Governor General, 15 May 1933.
[624] Groeneboer, *Weg tot het Westen*, 160–65.
[625] Ibid., 164.
[626] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1251, Transcript book 1877-1883, letter of 29 April 1881.
[627] 'Minahassa. Meisjesschool te Tomohon', *Maandbericht NZG* 86, no. 3 (1884): 37–38.
[628] Ibid., 37.

discourage the use of Malay among themselves.[629] In an interesting parallel, a similar type of educational play was used in colonial girls' schools in French West Africa to encourage the use of the French language among the schoolgirls.[630] Headmaster Limburg also introduced a separate class for girls who came from Malay-medium schools and needed to work on their Dutch.[631] This "necessary evil", as Limburg described it, was abolished again four years later. As more and more parents enrolled their daughters at the school, the headmaster decided to change the entrance policy so that girls with limited knowledge of the Dutch language would only be accepted if they were under the age of eleven.[632]

The Queen Wilhelmina School, too, marketed its use of Dutch as its unique selling point. Until Franciscan sisters opened a similar school in nearby Mendut in 1909, it even had the monopoly on Dutch-medium girls' education in Java.[633] The source material about the Yogyakarta school gives no specific explanation for the language of instruction. The Ladies' Committee just assumed that the use of Dutch was fitting for a prestigious priyayi school, and as is demonstrated elsewhere in this chapter, many Javanese parents were of the same opinion.

The Roman Catholic mission in Flores, by contrast, never considered introducing Dutch lessons for local girls, using local languages instead. This was in line with the mission's view about the need to adapt education to local circumstances, so that children would not become estranged from their surroundings.[634] At the Maumere school, the Sikka language of instruction was replaced by Malay in 1917 in order to meet the requirements for governmental subsidies.[635] At the Larantuka school of the Franciscan Sisters, Malay had been the language of instruction from the beginning onward, as this was the local vernacular.[636] All in all, Dutch was introduced to elite Javanese and Minahasan children because it was a marker of prestige and a hallmark of Dutch culture, while the language was not introduced in Flores schools for exactly the same reason. Importantly, language was not the only element in the three schools that showed the importance of class at the schools. The specific nature of domestic education was another one.

[629] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, Kost- en Dagschool voor Dochters van Hoofden en Aanzienlijken in de Minahassa, te Tomohon, verslag over 1902.
[630] Barthélémy, *Africaines et diplômées*, 120.
[631] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, 'Kost- en Dagschool voor Dochters van Hoofden en Aanzienlijken in de Minahassa, te Tomohon, verslag over 1902'.
[632] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, Verslag 1902.
[633] Derksen, 'On Their Javanese Sprout', 39.
[634] ASVD, Folder Sekolah, damaged file, 1935.
[635] SSpS, Archive Indonesia, Folder Travel Reports/Correspondence in Dutch 1917-1933, Sister Willibrorda to Mother Superior, 21 August 1917.
[636] Mère Madeleine, *Visitatiereis*, 76–77.

2.3. Plain and fancy: the role of class in domestic education

At the Tomohon Girls' School, there was a clear elite dimension to the domestic education. This was indicated most clearly by the presence of other Minahasan girls, who worked in domestic service under the supervision of a European housekeeper or the headmaster's wife. Interestingly, they were called anak-piara.[637] The NZG claimed that the anak-piara were taken care of and educated like they were part of the boarding school "family".[638] The term was, however, used interchangeably with *bedienden* [servants] and *meiden* [maids].[639] The girls were not paid for their services, but did receive a marriage gift at their wedding, as had been the custom in missionary households.[640] The term was current in other Christian girls' schools as well. The JMJ Sisters who ran Catholic schools in Minahasa used it for their boarding students.[641]

At the Tomohon Girls' School, the anak-priara slept separately from the students in a designated building, as is evident from on a floorplan of the school grounds drawn by headmaster Limburg.[642] They performed the heavier household chores such as stamping rice and scrubbing the floor. The schoolgirls were exempted from these tasks.[643] Even though students of the Tomohon Girls' School were encouraged to acquire domestic skills, the type of work they undertook was thus determined by a division of labour based on class. Work that the teachers saw as inappropriate for the "daughters of headmen and notables" was taken over by the anak-piara. An anecdote from headmaster Limburg is telling in this respect. When the headmaster encountered a student who was spontaneously scrubbing the staircase of the boarding school, he reminded her that this type of work was not required from her. The girl, Louise, told her surprised teacher that she felt like she needed to learn this skill, so that she would be able to correct her servants at her own prospective home.[644] This points to a clear

[637] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, Kost- en Dagschool voor Dochters van Hoofden en aanzienlijken in de Minahassa, te Tomohon, verslag over 1901.
[638] 'De Kost- en Dagschool voor dochters van Hoofden en aanzienlijken te Tomohon (Minahassa)', *MNZG* 96, no. 7 (1894): 76.
[639] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, Kost- en Dagschool voor Dochters van Hoofden en aanzienlijken in de Minahassa, te Tomohon, verslag over 1901.
[640] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1252, Notulen, 29 June 1883.
[641] *Missies der Zusters van het Gezelschap van J.M.J. in Oost-Indië en Britsch-Indië (J.M.J.)* 24, no. 4 (1926): 5. *J.M.J.* 25, no. 6 (1926): 4.
[642] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, A. Limburg to Board, 15 April 1894.
[643] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, 'Kost- en Dagschool voor Dochters van Hoofden en aanzienlijken in de Minahassa, te Tomohon, verslag over 1904'.
[644] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, Verslag 1904.

conception of distinct categories of domestic tasks: those that an elite Christian housewife was expected to do herself, and those that servants were expected to carry out under her supervision.

One of the most obviously class-related aspects of domestic education in girls' schools was needlework. This was the case in the Dutch East Indies as well as in the Netherlands, where working-class girls mainly learnt to knit, mend clothes and do plain needlework. This would not only come in handy in their own families, but could also easily be turned into a marketable skill and prepared girls for an 'industrious' life.[645] 'Fancy' and decorative needlework, by contrast, was usually reserved to the education of bourgeois and elite girls. From the eighteenth century onwards, especially embroidery was associated with a "leisurely" lifestyle and with the virtues of "femininity", such as obedience, docility and a love for the home.[646] In this sense, the art of embroidery in itself was "an education in femininity" that was widespread around the western and colonial world and as such "crossed religious and political boundaries".[647]

At the Tomohon Girls' School, plain needlework was seen as an important skill for an efficient housewife, but this was supplemented by an emphasis on fine needlework as a way to develop good taste and a sense of beauty. Moreover, fine needlework was seen as way for young girls to keep themselves busy, so that they would not spent their time idling away.[648] In this sense, as various women's historians have noted, needlework was a disciplining factor as well.[649] For the 1892 fundraising shipment to the Netherlands, Tomohon the students made cushions and small rugs from luxury materials such as velvet, silk, tulle and lace.[650]

At the Queen Wilhelmina School, boarders received domestic education on an informal basis. They learnt how to record their pocket money in an account book and mended their own clothing when needed.[651] Of course, the students also practised decorative needlework. They presented the results of their work, such as decorative tablecloths, crocheted baby clothes and embroidered tea cosies at open days.[652] Just as in the context of the Tomohon girls' school, there was a clear class element to this domestic training in Yogyakarta. One teacher mentioned

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[645] Jannie Poelstra, 'Dienstbaarheid en handwerkonderwijs. Opleidingen voor meisjes uit de arbeidende klasse in de negentiende eeuw', in *Een tien voor vlijt. Meisjesonderwijs vanaf de oudheid tot de MMS*, ed. Karen Den Dekker (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1992), 70–71; Verhoeven, 'Christelijke lering and vrouwelijke handwerken', 76.
[646] Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*, 5th ed. (London/New York: I.B.Tauris, 2010), 11.
[647] Ibid., 90.
[648] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, Verslag 1904.
[649] Poelstra, 'Dienstbaarheid en handwerkonderwijs', 70–71; Parker, *The Subversive Stitch*, 10.
[650] UA RvdRZ 1102-1, inv. no. 1279, Griet Wenas to NZG, 18 June 1892.
[651] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 7, 'Derde Verslag van het Comité van Bijstand voor de "Koningin-Wilhelmina-School, van 1 Juli 1909-30 Juni 1911.'
[652] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 40, Photo caption: 'K.W.S tentoonst. handwerken', no year.

that girls sometimes initially considered housework to be *baboewerk*, servants' work. Later they would come to appreciate it, and write to their former teacher that it came in handy to have mastered domestic skills so that they could instruct their servants or carry out the work themselves in case of need.[653] Indeed, at one occasion an alumna wrote to her former headmistress that she was forced to take up all the work around the house herself as she had trouble finding a "trustworthy servant" in Surabaya.[654]

At the Catholic schools on Flores, too, needlework had a very prominent place among the school subjects, but in a different way than at the Protestant schools in Tomohon and Yogyakarta. Headteacher Sister Seraphica reported that schoolgirls in Larantuka learnt to braid from the first class onwards, while their schoolmates in the third and fourth class learnt to make samplers and were initiated into the basics of sewing.[655] Making samplers, which often showed moralistic sayings and images of domestic bliss, was an important part of needlework education throughout Europe.[656] The skill was spread among poor girls through charity schools, as was the case in Flores.[657] By their fifth and sixth schoolyears, the Flores girls were expected to make dresses, kebayas and shirts that the girls wore themselves.[658]

Ikat weaving was a well-known craft on Flores, and the schoolgirls spent much of their time on it. The Franciscan sisters in Larantuka made children weave ikat sarongs according to the traditional local method, but by the mid-1920s there were also three "European-style" weaving looms at the school. These looms were used for making products out of silk, that were sold to colonial officials as souvenirs.[659] In this way, the labour of the girls also added to the income of the school.[660] More than as civilized hobby for young ladies, the religious sisters in the East Flores missionary schools saw craftwork as a marketable skill. Upon graduation, unmarried girls who returned to their villages could make money with laundry or ironing work, or by sewing and weaving.[661] Decorative needlework was done, but mainly in service of the

[653] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 14, 'Tiende Verslag van het Comité van Bijstand voor de Christelijke Scholen voor Meisjes uit den Javaanschen Adelstand the Jogjakarta en Solo, 1 Januari 1930-31 December 1932.'
[654] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Soeliah to H. Wellensiek, 16 April 1930.
[655] ANRI AS GBB inv. no. 2926, 'Schoolverslag over het jaar 1929 betreffende de R.K. Meisjesschool te Larantoeka, Onderafd. Oost Flores en Soloreilanden, van de Afd. Flores, gewest Timor en Onderhoorigheden (Goedgekeurd bij de G.B. dd. 29 januari 1915, no. 14)', 1 January 1930.
[656] Parker, *The Subversive Stitch*, 87.
[657] Ibid., 107.
[658] ANRI AS GBB inv. no. 2926, 'Schoolverslag over het jaar 1929 betreffende de R.K. Meisjesschool te Larantoeka, Onderafd. Oost Flores en Soloreilanden, van de Afd. Flores, gewest Timor en Onderhoorigheden (Goedgekeurd bij de G.B. dd. 29 januari 1915, no. 14)', 1 January 1930.
[659] This is a pararallel with the sale of Algerian embroidery art made by indigenous schoolgirls as souvenirs: Rogers, *A Frenchwoman's Imperial Story*, 189.
[660] Zuster Maria Eliana, 'Het missiewerk', 117.
[661] Ibid., 119.

church instead as a way to pass the time. The sisters instructed the schoolgirls to embellish the vestments of the clergy with embroidery and to make ritual objects such as altar cushions.[662] The focus on marketable skills was common in schools for non-elite indigenous girls in other colonial contexts, as well. In Algeria, for example, local urban girls received vocational training in a several embroidery workshops established by bourgeois Frenchwomen.[663] Their richly embroidered rugs, bed covers and tapestries were even shown at exhibitions in Chicago, London and Paris – flanked by "exotic" Algerian girl embroiderers.[664]

All in all, needlework and textile arts education at the East Flores girls' schools lacked the upper-class sensibility of the Tomohon Girls' School and the Queen Wilhelmina School. The same went for domestic skills. Graduates from the Larantuka and Lela schools were trained to carry out any chore, from laundry to cooking and gardening, themselves. Both sisters' schools also offered advanced domestic education courses to girls who had already finished primary school, and to newlywed girls and women.[665] Indigenous teachers who had been educated at the mission boys' schools would often ask the sisters to take in their future bride for a short time to teach her catechism, reading, writing and domestic skills.[666] Sister Maria Eliana boasted that the houses of her former students stood out in the villages because of their orderliness.[667] Teachers at the Tomohon Girls' School made similar remarks about their graduates.[668]

Both schools must have hired local women as teachers for traditional textile arts, as it is highly unlikely that European teachers would have been able to do this. The only mention of one such indigenous teacher, however, is of a woman named Lucia Weroe who started to work at the Larantuka school as a weaving teacher in the late 1920s.[669] Weroe is the only one of the several women who must have been involved in the schools whose name could be retrieved. This is a clear example of how the agency and presence of indigenous women is often obscured in colonial archives. The same happened in the context of the Algerian embroidery schools, where indigenous teachers were not included in pictures to evoke a more "authentic" image of the girls themselves.[670] While this silence often present in the case of indigenous parents as

[662] Van der Loo, 'Van hier en daar en overal!', 58–59.
[663] Rogers, *A Frenchwoman's Imperial Story*, 190–96.
[664] Ibid., 196–201.
[665] Nahas, 'Sejarah Misi', 167.
[666] Assumpta Volpert, *Ein Rebenhang im Wahren Weinberg: Geschichte der Missionsgenossenschaft der Dienerinnen des Heiligen Geistes, 1889-1951* (Steyl: Herz-Jesu-Kloster, 1951), 293.
[667] Zuster Maria Eliana, 'Het missiewerk', 119.
[668] A. Limburg, 'Bij gelegenheid van het 40-jarig bestaan van de Meisjesschool te Tomohon', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 4, no. 11 (1921): 171.
[669] Nahas, 'Sejarah Misi', 174.
[670] Rogers, *A Frenchwoman's Imperial Story*, 189.

well, it was possible to retrieve some evidence of parents' reasons that led them to register their daughter at the Tomohon Girls' School, the Queen Wilhelmina School or one of the girls' schools on Flores.

2.4. Indigenous families and their motivations

Indigenous parent's motivations for sending their daughters to schools is particularly hard to grasp in the archives. The following anecdote may serve as an illustration for the relationship between schools and parents. In 1899, a conflict arose between the board of the Tomohon Girls' School and J. A. Goedbloed, the owner of a coffee plantation not far from Tomohon. [671] Goedbloed decided to sign his daughter Conny up for piano lessons at the JMJ sisters' convent in Tomohon, in addition to her regular lessons at the Tomohon Girls' School. Headmaster Limburg immediately informed him that the Protestant school was no longer accessible to her.[672] Goedbloed vehemently objected to his decision.[673] After the resident of Menado and numerous NZG men had given their opinion, however, it was upheld, because the school did not wish to "promote" the JMJ school.[674] This case clearly shows that the Catholic sisters and the Protestant missionaries competed for the favours of European parents.

J.A. Goedbloed's letter is a rare example of a parent's voice in the archive. Moreover, his position as a European meant that his opinions were privileged over those of indigenous fathers. Headmaster Limburg even deemed his letter important enough to be sent to Rotterdam. This was not the case with most indigenous parents' writings, that are sometimes mentioned in the yearly reports but have not survived. Still, it is possible to make some remarks about indigenous parents' motivations to send their daughters to the school.

Of course, the sheer popularity of the expensive school is the most important indication of the desirability of the education it offered. It is also quite remarkable that practically all Minahasan girls listed as students at the school had European given names. Some of these were clearly Biblical names. Most importantly, a Christian name, received at baptism, was a sign that a family inscribed itself in the Christian faith. At the same time, many girls had a typically Dutch women's name without a clear Christian origin. Examples from the 1889 lists include

[671] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1257, J. Louwerier to Board, Staat van leerlingen der meisjesschool gedurende het 4e kwartaal 1884, 3 March 1885.
[672] ENK, Archive Gezelschap Jezus, Maria en Jozef (hereafter JMJ), Sister Boniface to Mother Superior, 24 October 1899.
[673] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, J.A. Goedbloed to school committee, 7 October 1899.
[674] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, J.H. Hiebink Rooker to school committee, 7 October 1899.

Grietje, Aaltje, Neltje and Emma, the name of the then Queen of the Netherlands. While traditional Minahasan names such as Woingkin and Mogogunoi still occurred, they were going out of style and would soon disappear from the lists.[675] This shows that elite Minahasan parents felt attracted to a Dutch lifestyle, or at least wanted to link their families to the colonial elite. For indigenous families with such social aspirations, the Tomohon Girls' School was the school of choice.

The school fees at the Tomohon Girls' School were so high that even some indigenous administrators, the most wealthy members of local village communities, struggled to pay them. At some occasions headmaster Limburg tried to make arrangements. Two letters from an indigenous pater familias who corresponded with him ended up in the archives of the NZG. Majoor E. Rotinsulu of the village of Maumbi announced his decision to take his daughters Nellie, Stientje and Rosa out of the Tomohon Girls' School for financial reasons.[676] Limburg agreed that Nellie was indeed becoming "too old", but offered to lower the school fees for Rosa and Stientje. Apart from the benefits for the girls, Limburg pointed at the importance for the school to have the support of the district heads.[677] Majoor Rotinsulu, however, stood by his decision and went on to send his daughters to the public primary school in Manado.[678] The major's fluency in Dutch suggests that the Rotinsulu family had been a part of the Minahasa elite for at least a couple of generations. Despite the challenges that the school fees sometimes posed, students' fathers were attached to the schools' reputation as an elite institution. They also were also prepared to defend this status and complain when it was ostensibly in danger. In 1917, the school committee received complaints by "native headmen" who were unsatisfied that there were also daughters of "the less distinguished" [*minder voornamen*] at the school.[679]

Unlike the Tomohon Girls' School, which was popular from the start, the Queen Wilhelmina School was initially received with scepticism in Yogyakarta priyayi circles. Parents and grandparents repeatedly turned down headmistress Wellensiek as she went door-to-door to advertise the school, on the grounds that "learning was of no use for a girl" and that it went against the tradition of keeping girls in the home. The first girl to enter the school was a four-

[675] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1252, 'Staat van leerlingen der meisjesschool. Gedurende het 4e kwartaal 1889.'
[676] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, E. Rotinsulu to A. Limburg, 11 April 1898.
[677] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, A. Limburg to E. Rotinsulu, 25 April 1898.
[678] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, E. Rotinsulu to A. Limburg, 30 May 1898.
[679] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1252, 'Notulen der vergadering der Commissie van Bijstand van de Meisjesschool, gehouden te Tomohon op 14 mei 1917', 14 May 1917.

year-old toddler who was registered on the condition that her seven-year-old brother could also join.[680]

Initially, the number of students grew only slowly and for some time boys under the age of seven were admitted to the day school to assure financial stability.[681] This practice also occurred in other colonial contexts where the number of female students was low.[682] After a slow start, however, the Queen Wilhelmina School started gaining popularity, and from 1912 onwards the admittance of boys was phased out. In 1913, there were 36 girls and 22 boys at the Queen Wilhelmina School. The number of boys diminished further when the Reformed mission opened a Christian boys' school in the same year. Four later years no male students were mentioned anymore.[683]

The student numbers now grew quickly: by 1922 the school had 129 students, 88 of whom were boarders.[684] Parents often registered their daughters at the recommendation of family members. This meant that many of the schoolgirls were related.[685] There were also instances of siblings frequenting the school. Queen Wilhelmina School alumna Moerti, for example, referred to her older sisters Moertinah and Moerningsih, who had all been at the school and were known under the nickname of "the three *Moertjes*".[686] Johanna Kuyper later published a story for Dutch schoolchildren about a girl named Moertinah. It is possible that the character was inspired on one of the three sisters.[687]

It may seem surprising that Javanese Muslims found a Christian education appropriate for their daughters. However, it is unclear to what extent parents were aware of the Christian identity of the school, especially in the earlier stages. During the first years, at least one girl was taken out of school because her parents objected to its Christian character.[688] In the first flyer it spread among the priyayi, the school committee did not mention the obligatory catechisation and church visits, only referring to the teaching of Biblical history.[689] The first prospectus for parents, written by Wellensiek, did not mention the religious outlook of the

[680] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 40, H. Wellensiek, 'Hoe de Javaansche meisjesschool met een jongen begon', undated.
[681] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 9, Vijfde verslag 1913-1917.
[682] Möller, *Orte der Zivilisierungsmission*, 251.
[683] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 8, Vierde verslag 1911-1913.
[684] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 11, Zevende verslag 1919-1923.
[685] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 12, Achtste verslag 1923-1927. Unfortunately, blood relations between the students cannot be verified in the archives, because no student lists have survived and Javanese people usually do not have family names.
[686] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Moerti to H. Wellensiek, 24 August 1938.
[687] Kuyper, 'Moertinah', 343–44.
[688] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 6, Tweede verslag 1907-1909.
[689] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 5, Eerste verslag 1907.

school at all.[690] Likewise, a bilingual Dutch and Javanese flyer published to attract students to the Juliana van Stolberg School in the late 1920s mentioned the Christian aspect only in the title.[691] The flyer was printed in Latin as opposed to Javanese script, which suggests that it specifically targeted Javanese who already had some connection to Western education.[692]

Even if parents were aware of the religious aspect to the school, they might have been prepared to disregard this if they found other aspects valuable enough. Some remarks by teachers in their yearly reports give some insight in parents' motivations. According to headmistress Wellensiek, the parents appreciated the sewing classes.[693] The needlework classes, however, cannot have been the only reason to register a girl at the school, since sewing was surely also taught elsewhere in the city. It is more likely that parents considered the acquisition of Dutch language skills to be highly desirable. Dutch was the language of the administrative elite that many priyayi families belonged to, and proficiency in this language allowed families to place themselves firmly in this group. When the school had just opened, Wellensiek reported that she had started teaching her oldest student how to read the Javanese script, but that the girl's parents had urged her to stop. "The children need to learn Dutch in the shortest possible time", as Wellensiek explained the opinion of Javanese parents to the support committee.[694] This reflects a parental attitude that sees girls and their education as "the ideal site to display familial social status", as Shenila Khoja-Moolji has phrased it.[695]

At the Queen Wilhelmina School, the teachers paid careful attention to Javanese customs surrounding girlhood so parents would not be offended. This was likely attractive to parents as well. The girls-only school environment was in accordance with the customary seclusion of marriageable girls. The teachers made sure that their students observed the adat: initially, for example, the older girls did not join the Sunday church service, but stayed at home in the company of a teacher who held a prayer meeting.[696] But opinions about Javanese girlhood were changing, and by 1919 parents no longer objected when marriageable girls joined their teachers and their younger school mates on a city walk.[697] Java was by far not the only colonized

[690] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 5, Eerste verslag 1907.
[691] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 48, 'Christelijke Huishoudschool met internaat te Djokjakarta (Klitren lor 13) / Pawijatan "Ngrengga sarta ngreksa Grija" Kristen (nganggé pondokan) ing Ngajogjakarta (Klitren Lor 13)', 1927. The Javanese title literally translates to 'Christian meeting space for 'maintaining cleanliness and managing the home' (board included).'
[692] I am grateful to Tom Hoogervorst for this suggestion and for offering a translation of the flyer.
[693] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 7, Derde verslag 1909-1911.
[694] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 5, Eerste verslag 1907. *"De kinderen moesten in den kortst mogelijken tijd Hollandsch leeren."*
[695] Shenila Khoja-Moolji, *Forging the Ideal Educated Girl*, 57.
[696] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 7, Derde verslag 1909-1911.
[697] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 10, Zesde verslag 1917-1919.

Muslim society where debates about girls, respectability and education occurred at the time. Under the French mandate in Lebanon, for example, there were lively polemics about the veil and coeducation for Muslim girls,[698] and similar debates about educated girls' respectability emerged in colonial Pakistan, for example in women's journals.[699]

The age of marriage was shifting as well. For colonial Bengal, it has been suggested that girls' education contributed to the shifting age of marriage of young girls, who stayed in school instead of getting married between ages nine and eleven.[700] In Java, as well, the average age of marriage was going up. By the beginning of the 1920s some students at the Queen Wilhelmina School were eighteen years old, while most girls had previously gotten married at the fourteen.[701] Feminist scholars have suggested that this shift took place under the influence of debates and "notions of individual rights" introduced by Western-style education.[702] By that time, coeducation was no longer a novelty in Javanese society. The parents who still preferred girls-only education at this stage were likely among the more conservative parts of the local elite.

People in East Flores, most of whom struggled to get by, were in a very different position than wealthy Minahasan and Javanese parents. Clothing and board at the mission schools was free of charge, and this was an attractive factor for families.[703] Parents may also have seen girls' education as beneficial because they would receive a higher bride price when their daughter had domestic skills.[704] The missionary sisters actively campaigned for new students in the villages, trying to persuade the wives of influential men by handing out food and presents.[705] The Catholic raja of Sikka, Andreas, at times also brought in new girls to Maumere and Lela. In distinctly racializing language, Mother Rudolphis described he once brought "eight most adorable darkies from the highest classes" [*acht allerliefste zwartjes van den hoogsten stand*] as a "present" for the sisters.[706] In these cases, it is unclear whether the parents had consented.

As this example shows, it was important for the Roman Catholic mission to enter into an alliance with local rajas. Indeed, forging connections with ruling elites had been an important

[698] Möller, *Orte der Zivilisierungsmission*, 251; 257–60.
[699] Khoja-Moolji, *Forging the Ideal Educated Girl*, 28–50.
[700] Islam Nayeem, 'Did the Bengali Woman Have a Girlhood?', 174.
[701] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 11, Zevende verslag 1919-1923.
[702] Blackburn and Bessell, 'Marriageable Age', 108.
[703] ENK ZvL inv. no. 401, 'Circulaire aan het bestuur en de leden van den St. Claverbond', 9 september 1890.
[704] Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia, 1808-1942: A Documented History. Volume 2: The Spectacular Growth of a Self-Confident Minority, 1903-1942* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007), 135–36.
[705] Zr. M. Rudolphis, 'Brief van de Eerw. Moeder Rudolphis aan de Algemeene Overste der Zusters van Liefde te Tilburg', *Berichten uit Nederlandsch Oost-Indië ten dienste der eerwaarde directeuren van den St. Claverbond* 8, no. 1 (1896): 16–18.
[706] 'Uittreksels uit brieven van de Eerwaarde Moeder Rudolphis', 52.

strategy for the mission from the beginning of its activities on Flores onwards.[707] Missionaries also observed that wealthier families were more likely to realize the value of girls' education.[708] Around the beginning of the twentieth century Raja Andreas' daughters, Maria and Ignatia, were at the girls' school in Lela.[709] The Larantuka mission, as well, received a lot of support from the local rajas.[710]

Apart from village children and the daughters of local leaders, there was a second group that accounted for a portion of the school populations in Larantuka and Lela: the brides-to-be of indigenous educated men. As was briefly mentioned before, Flores men who worked as teachers at mission schools often brought their fiancés to the sisters' schools to learn domestic skills and "Christian customs" [*Christliche Sitten und Gebräuche*].[711] The young men were encouraged by local pastors to do so.[712] The sisters believed that educated wives were a great help to teachers who worked in remote areas: "When the wife has been elevated spiritually through school education and can share her husband's suffering and joy, the job of the teacher is much more enjoyable," as one sister wrote.[713] In the 1920s, two-thirds of the girls at the SSpS household school in Ndona in the Endeh region were destined to become teachers' wives.[714] As only a small part of the male population was trained as teachers, and they occupied a respected position in the villages, these girls after graduation also became part of the elite. Taking into account the audience and the relationship with the rajas, the Flores schools were, to a certain degree, elite schools, even though they had a less distinctly bourgeois flavour than their counterparts in Tomohon and Yogyakarta. An investigation into the material environment of the schools, then, offers an opportunity to come closer to the everyday experiences of the students. This analysis focuses especially on the outward appearance of the girls, as teachers often believed that this area of girls' lives could be a powerful tool towards the attainment of their civilizing missions.

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[707] C.J.H. Franssen, 'Catachetisch en gewoon onderwijs in Larantoeka' in: Petrus Laan SVD, 'Larantuka 1860-1863. Drie jaren missiewerk door twee wereld-heren' (typescript; no year [1962]), 86.
[708] ASVD, Folder Sekolah, damaged file, 1935.
[709] 'Uittreksel uit brieven van de Eerw. Moeder Rudolphus', 65.
[710] G. Vriens, *Sejarah gereja katolik di Indonesia. Wilayah tunggal prefektur-vikariat abad ke-19 awal abad ke-20*, vol. 2 (Ende: Percetakan Arnoldus, 1972), 117.
[711] Nahas, 'Sejarah Misi', 136.
[712] Ibid., 133.
[713] Ibid., 137. *"Wenn dann die Frau durch Schulbildung geistig gehoben ist und teilhenmen kann an des Mannes Leden und Freuden, is die Lage des Lehres um vieles angenehmer."*
[714] Ibid., 136.

2.5. Girls' bodies as a site of Christian reform: discipline and resistance

As Rebecca Rogers has written of French boarding schools, in girls' schools in the Dutch East Indies "rules and regulations dominated (…) institutional life".[715] Much of the school rules focused on girls' bodies, which in this way became sites of 'civilising' efforts. At the Christian girls' schools in Yoyakarta, Tomohon, Larantuka and Lela, teachers paid much attention to the outward appearance of their students. Not only the clothes of the girls were inspected and regulated: the way they wore their hair, the cleanliness of their hands, their posture, and other aspects of their bodies were under scrutiny as well. In the eyes of the teachers, the appearance of the girls was a reflection of the success of the civilizing missions promoted at the school. In this way, the bodies of the girls became sites of reform.

As we have seen before, Protestant missionaries initially accused the Tomohon Girls' School of delivering "vain" and "spoiled" young ladies rather than diligent housewives. The accusation of vanity was not new. Missionaries often referred to an alleged Minahasan preference for expensive, European-style clothing, worn in a display of wealth and bad taste.[716] One NZG school inspector complained that indigenous teachers spent too much money on fashion, buying hats and fashionable "Aceh-coats" [*Atjehjas*] – a type of jacket inspired on military uniforms – for their sons and expensive gowns for their daughters.[717]

While headmaster Limburg admitted that his students did not remain untouched by this allegedly omnipresent vanity, he ensured the readers of his yearly reports that he was doing everything he could to combat *nuffigheid* [snootiness or stuck-up behaviour] at the school. The headmaster liked to ridicule girls when they wore intricate hairstyles or dresses with too many ribbons.[718] Teachers preferred "modest" hairstyles: the hair of the younger girls was cut short, while those above the age of eleven were allowed to grow their hair, but were required to wear it in a braid.[719] Limburg's successor headmaster Beunders also stressed that the girls looked "tidy" and "simple" at the open day of the school, and that all oldest students wore home-made

[715] Rogers, 'Schools, Discipline and Community', 529.
[716] Tendeloo, 'De toestand der vrouw in de Minahassa', 20.
[717] ANRI TZGA inv. no. 6577, Secretaris der Inl. Schoolcommissie voor ressort Hulpprediker Amoerang Koemelamboeai , E.W.G. Graafland, 14 January 1908.
[718] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, Verslag 1904.
[719] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, Verslag 1904.

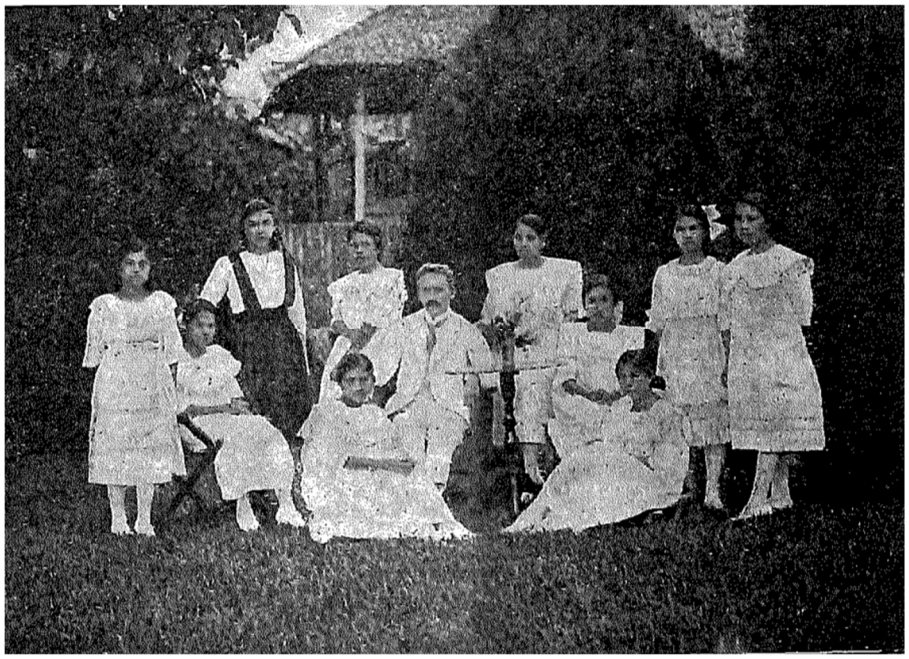

Figure 9: Headmaster A. Verkuyl surrounded by the students of the highest class on the Tomohon Girls' School grounds, 1921. This photo was published in a missionary magazine at the occasion of the school's fortieth anniversary. Source: Nederlandsch Zendingsblad no. 4 (1921) 11.

dresses they had washed and ironed themselves.[720] The headmasters clearly did their best to counter the decadent image of the school and presented their students as diligent, modestly dressed girls. Visual material of the school sometimes tells a slightly different story, showing schoolgirls wearing fashionable European dresses and bows in their hair. It is, of course, quite possible that these girls had dressed up more than usual on picture day. Their parents may also have wanted to show off their wealth and good taste. Girls at the Tomohon school certainly did not dress in traditional Minahasan attire made of loose cloths or bark, that missionaries described as 'primitive' and lacking in modesty.[721]

By contrast, students at the Queen Wilhelmina School usually wore a Javanese batiked sarong and kebaya. This fit the mission of the school as a place where local customs surrounding girlhood were upheld. The same went for the school meals, that consisted out of Javanese dished prepared by the cook Walijem.[722]

[720] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1091, Kost- en Dagschool voor dochters van Hoofden en Aanzienlijken in de Minahassa in 1911, received 22 January 1913.
[721] N. Graafland, *Minahassa. Haar verleden en haar tegenwoordige toestand*, vol. 2 (Rotterdam: M. Wijt & Zonen, 1869), 20.
[722] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 5, Eerste verslag 1907.

Figure 10: Girls at the Catholic Boarding school in Lela doing each other's hair, 1925. Note the difference in clothing and hairstyle of the different age groups. The youngest girls have shaved heads. Source: Hagspiel, *Along the Mission Trail,* 128.

The school promoted traditional Javanese women's dress as the most fitting choice for the students and spread pictures of the girls in their "charming native costume" in fundraising material.[723] Clothing styles, however, did evolve: in a group picture from the early 1930s the children posed in fashionable white European-style dresses and with bobbed hair, while only a few girls were wearing sarong and kebaya.[724] This shows that, however Dutch reformers tried to manage the sartorial choices of their female students, parents and – presumably – girls themselves also had a voice in what they wore.

At the Roman Catholic schools in East Flores, no fashionable European styles were allowed. Instead, the girls wore school uniforms that expressed the basic nature of their formal education. The fabric for the children's clothes was paid for by the congregational mother houses in Tilburg and Steyl.[725] The girls were not allowed to wear jewellery, lace or other embellishments that they sometimes received as gifts from their families.[726]

[723] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 42, 'Juliana van Stolberg School, the Dutch-Javanese Girls' College of Domestic Science in the Ancient City of Djokjakarta', undated. Photo caption: 'A lesson in batiking'.
[724] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 40, Photo caption: '1e klas KWS 1930-1931'.
[725] SSpS, Archive Indonesia, Folder Travel Reports/Correspondence in Dutch, 1917-1933. Sister Willibrorda to Mother Superior, 21 August 1917.
[726] Zuster Maria Eliana, 'Het missiewerk', 90.

Religious medallions were the only jewellery that was allowed: at the school of the Sisters of Charity in Lela, all girls wore a scapular of the Sacred Heart.[727] This emphasis on modesty was in line with Catholic morality and also regulated the dress of the sisters themselves, who wore their elaborate habits with multiple layers, even though they were made of lighter fabric than in Europe. Th sisters also sometimes exchanged their black habits for white ones in the tropical climate of the Dutch East Indies.[728] In Catholic boarding schools in European contexts, as well, there were strict rules for dress and hairstyles for students.[729] As was to a lesser extent the case in Tomohon, in Flores the clothing and the hairstyles of the schoolgirls were regulated by their age. The smallest children in Larantuka, aged around six to eight, wore a jumpsuit [*hansopje*] or a short dress with shorts trousers. At their arrival at the school, their hair was shaved off "for the sake of cleanliness", probably referring to lice.[730] Once they reached the age of eight the girls went over to the *anak tengah*, the 'middle children', who wore a blouse and a *kain lipat*, a Florinese wrapping skirt. From the age of twelve onward, they were allowed to grow their hair and wear it in a short ponytail. At that point, they had finished their primary school education and went on to the domestic science course. They changed their kain for a sarong and kebaya, originally Javanese garments, and put up their long hair in a bun.[731]

Notwithstanding the strict disciplinary regimes at the school, the archives do testify of instances of resistance. Students and their parents were not always receptive to the message of Christian morality that was spread at the schools. Source material about the Tomohon Girls' School and the Roman Catholic schools in Maumere, Lela and Larantuka shows that teachers were confronted with students who ran away or started illicit romantic relationships with boys, and with parents who took their children out of school. Such instances of resistance and disobedience have been recorded by many historians of girls' education in both metropolitan and colonial contexts.[732]

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[727] 'Uittreksels uit brieven van de Eerwaarde Moeder Rudolphis', 54.
[728] Brouwers, *Na de drie begijnen*, 68.
[729] Van Essen, *Opvoeden met een dubbel doel*, xi. Rogers, 'Schools, Discipline and Community', 530.
[730] Zuster Maria Eliana, 'Het missiewerk', 90.
[731] Ibid.
[732] Gail Paradise Kelly, 'Vietnam', in *International Feminist Perspectives on Educational Reform. The Work of Gail Paradise Kelly*, ed. David H. Kelly (New York/London: Garland Publishing, 1996), 146–47. Rogers, 'Schools, Discipline and Community', 534–45. Rita Smith Kipp, 'Emancipating Each Other: Dutch Colonial Missionaries' Encounter with Karo Women in Sumatra, 1900-1942', in *Domesticating the Empire. Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism*, ed. Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda (Charlottesville/London: The University Press of Virginia, 1998), 213–15; Tanya Fitzgerald, 'Jumping the Fences: Maori Women's Resistance to Missionary Schooling in Northern New Zealand 1823-1835', *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 37, no. 1 (2001): 175–92; Karen Vallgårda, *Imperial Childhoods and Christian Mission: Education and Emotions in South India and Denmark* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 94–95.

Material about the Queen Wilhelmina School, by contrast, is conspicuously silent about such instances of resistance. The yearly reports only mention one instance of a girls being removed from the school because of "misbehaviour" [*wangedrag*].[733] This is likely due to the nature of the archive, which contains relatively little internal correspondence. Traces of resistance do come up in Javanese graduates' letters to their former teachers in the Netherlands. These are not instances of conflict between students and teachers, however, but between young women and their parents. Three letter writers decided to convert to Christianity against the wishes of their parents. Miranti wrote four long letters to Wellensiek, describing arguments with her mother about her decision to become a Christian and to take up a job at the Juliana van Stolberg School.[734] Teacher training student Moetinah also told Wellensiek that she was baptized despite her parents explicitly forbidding her to do so.[735] According to these letters, Javanese parents often feared that a conversion to Christianity would estrange their daughters from them.[736]

At the Tomohon Girls' School, where most students were Christians to begin with, such conflicts surrounding religious conversion do not seem to have occurred. But there were other problems, often caused by social relationships between boys and girls that the teachers saw as inappropriate. As we have seen before, at the Queen Wilhelmina School boys were initially admitted to make up for the low numbers of girls. This happened in the Tomohon Girls' School as well, and it is clear this *"jongenskwestie*" [issue of boys] was not taken lightly.[737] While acknowledging the financial assets of admitting boys, Limburg vowed to handle the issue with great care because of the presumed moral hazards attached to male presence on the school grounds. Romantic relationships did not have a place in the Christian elite girlhood that the Tomohon Girls' School envisioned for its students, and so "unwanted relations" between the sexes were to be avoided at all costs.[738] For this reason, Limburg initially only admitted boys under the age of twelve; later, he lowered the maximum age for male students to ten and aimed to lower it further until six years.[739]

Limburg also assured supporters of the school, and most likely Minahasan parents as well, that the girls were under strict supervision. Students' contacts with boys, however,

[733] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 9, Vijfde verslag 1913-1917.
[734] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Miranti to H. Wellensiek, 4 June 1929.
[735] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Moetinah to H. Wellensiek, 10 February 1929.
[736] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Miranti to H. Wellensiek, 4 June 1929. Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Seger to H. Wellensiek, 24 February 1930.
[737] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, A. Limburg to Board, 29 December 1894.
[738] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, A. Limburg to Board, 29 December 1894.
[739] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, A. Limburg to Board, 29 December 1894.

sometimes posed problems to the teachers. Less than a year after the opening of the school, headmistress Krook already complained that Minahasan boys regularly tried to smuggle in letters or packages for the schoolgirls – there were even two girls who had already received a marriage proposal, spurring Krook to watch girls' correspondence more closely.[740] Limburg, too, reported that boys regularly wrote flowery love letters to the girls, but he assured his readers that these letters were always seized and immediately shredded by the teachers.[741] Such regulations, however, were not watertight, and supervision could in some cases be circumvented, as the following example demonstrates.

In 1895 thirteen-year-old Anna Wenas, a daughter of the majoor of Tomohon, caused a scandal at the school: she had repeatedly sneaked out of the dormitory in the evening to meet her boyfriend, a seventeen-year-old student at the chiefs' school in nearby Tondano.[742] To assure her cover, Anna had also stolen money from the teachers to bribe the servants and her classmates.[743] Unsurprisingly, these events were not recounted in the schools' yearly report: the headmaster only mentioned it in a private letter to Rotterdam. Fuming with moral outrage, Limburg claimed that Anna belonged in a reformatory institution rather than in a boarding school. She was immediately expelled. Limburg was particularly disappointed because of the "the eight years of care and trouble, eight years of Christian guidance" that had been lost on the girl.[744] In this instance, we see clearly how girls who had spent the largest part of their lives in a highly restrictive institution still found ways to circumvent school rules.

At the Catholic schools in Flores, too, the religious sisters had to contend with students' disobedience. Here, too, girls lived in a strictly supervised environment. Notwithstanding the supervision, according to the memory of an SVD member who was a seminary student in the 1930s[745], flirtations and letter exchanges between seminarists and schoolgirls did occur. Boys whose love letters were seized were immediately expelled from the seminary.[746]

Instilling a sense of order and discipline was a key component of the education at the sisters' schools. The Franciscan sister Maria Eliana wrote that it cost a great deal of trouble to accustom the girls to this, but she also stressed that it was possible to reform their characters

[740] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1147, G.C. Krook to J.C. Neurdenburg, 25 September 1882.
[741] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, 'Kost- en Dagschool voor Meisjes te Tomohon. Jaarverslag van den Directeur A. Limburg, over 1898.'
[742] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, A. Limburg to Board, 15 April 1895.
[743] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, A. Limburg to Board, 15 April 1895.
[744] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, A. Limburg to Board, 15 April 1895. *"(...) acht jaren van zorg en moeite, acht jaar van Christelijke leiding totaal vruchteloos!"*
[745] Jebarus, *Sejarah Persekolahan*, 285.
[746] Pusat Penelitian Agama dan Kebudayaan Candraditya, Maumere (hereafter PPAKC), Manuscript Collection, inv. no. 300 NTT Ms. 004, L. Lame Uran, 'Sejarah persekolahan pulau Flores. Bagian I: 1862-1985' (typescript; Maumere, no year), 128.

even though they were "little primitives" [*natuurvolkje*].[747] She described dishonesty as a common vice among local people, but boasted that the boarding school students showed considerable progress in this respect as well.[748] This surveillance over students' behaviour and emotions has been noted repeatedly by scholars. Christian missionaries of different denominations often considered control over emotions to be an important aspect of 'civilized' behaviour. They went to great lengths to instil this in indigenous people, whom they often presented as being "governed by, rather than being in control of, their passions".[749]

At the sisters' as well as the boys' schools, this training in morality and discipline was tightly connected to religious instruction. The school days were regulated by the a daily rhythm of prayer, with the angelus bell announcing prayers at six in the morning, midday and six in the evening.[750] The children went to mass every morning and received communion there.[751] At dusk, around six o'clock in the evening, the children prayed the rosary together.[752]

Another way of instilling discipline in the girls was through physical labour. Schoolgirls' labour was indispensable at the schools, which had vegetable gardens and orchards and a large number of livestock.[753] The Larantuka sisters owned around one hundred cows and just as many pigs, while there were only eighteen sisters to take care of all these animals.[754] In Larantuka, the schoolgirls dug in the garden, removed stones from newly claimed grounds, and laid fertilizer on the soil. They also collected wood for the kitchen and the laundry, wove fabrics for the school uniforms, and during times of scarcity during the First World War even cultivated and hand-spun cotton.[755] When there were construction works going on, the girls also collected brick sand on the beach.[756] In Lela, teams of girls worked in the kitchen and the laundry room and made coconut oil that was sold by the sisters.[757]

Life at the Roman Catholic girls' schools was thus far from leisurely, and girls regularly took matters in their own hands. Especially in the early days of the schools the incorporation of

[747] Zuster Maria Eliana, 'Het missiewerk', 101.
[748] Ibid., 102.
[749] Haggis and Allen, 'Imperial Emotions', 692.
[750] Zuster Maria Eliana, 'Het missiewerk', 90.
[751] Ibid., 103.
[752] SSpS, Archive Indonesia, Folder Travel Reports/Correspondence in Dutch, 1917-1933. Sister Willibrorda to Mother Superior, 18 July 1917.
[753] SSpS, Archive Indonesia, Folder Travel Reports/Correspondence in Dutch, 1917-1933. Sister Willibrorda to Mother Superior, 21 August 1917. Theodora Nahas, 'Sejarah Misi Congregatio Missionalis Servarum Spiritus Sancti di Flores 1918-1987' (BA thesis IKIP Sanata Dharma Yogyakarta, 1990), 167.
[754] SSpS, Archive Indonesia, Folder Travel Reports/Correspondence in Dutch, 1917-1933. Sister Willibrorda to Mother Superior, 25 February 1918.
[755] Zuster Maria Eliana, 'Het missiewerk', 116–17.
[756] Ibid., 101.
[757] SSpS, Archive Indonesia, Folder Travel Reports/Correspondence in Dutch, 1917-1933. Sister Willibrorda to Mother Superior, 21 August 1917. Mère Madeleine, *Visitatiereis*, 90–91.

Flores girls into the school system went far from smoothly. At one occasion, some schoolgirls escaped the school and walked ten kilometres through the mountain forest back to their village, just before they were going to take their First Communion.[758] Such escapes appear to have occurred rather often. Running away was a common tool of resistance among indigenous women and girls in colonial contexts. In New Zealand, for example, Maori girls and women were known to "jump the fences" to escape missionary stations.[759] In Flores, children often would simply not return to school after the holidays.[760] The Tomohon Girls' School initially struggled with the same problem: in 1882, only one out of twenty students came to school on the first day after the Christmas holidays.[761]

Families also sometimes actively opposed school rules. When there were deaths at the school, for example, parents would often come get their daughters for fear that they would die as well. This had likewise been a concern of headmistress Krook in Tomohon.[762] After the death of the schoolgirl Nonabenta in 1900, local parents took their daughters home with them. Months after the event, parents still passed by on a daily basis to take their children out of school.[763] At another occasion, when a girl had died of an illness, three fathers from Lela took their children out of school.[764] Discipline at the schools was thus strict, but not hegemonical in the sense that local adults and children were sometimes able to find their way around the rules. Importantly, part of the emphasis on discipline at the schools was derived from teachers' racial thinking. This element is explored in the next section.

2.6. Race and ethnicity

Along with class, race was an important category that regulated social hierarchies at the schools. Tomohon Girls' School was particularly interesting in this respect: in contrast to the schools in East Flores and Yogyakarta, it was an ethnically mixed environment from the start. In 1889 ten of the twenty-seven students had European legal status. Some of them were "of mixed blood", and the supervisory committee mentioned that for these mixed-race girls in particular, their

[758] A. IJsseldijk, 'Het Missiewerk op Midden-Flores gedurende het jaar 1893', *Berichten uit Nederlandsch Oost-Indië voor de leden van den Sint Claverbond* 8, no. 5 (1896): 38.
[759] Fitzgerald, 'Jumping the Fences', 190–92.
[760] Nahas, 'Sejarah Misi', 192.
[761] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1147, G.C. Krook to J.C. Neurdenburg, 7 November 1882.
[762] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1147, G.C. Krook to J.C. Neurdenburg, 7 November 1882.
[763] 'Uittreksels uit brieven van de Eerwaarde Moeder Rudolphis', 52.
[764] 'Uittreksel uit een brief van de Eerw. Moeder Rudolphis aan de Algemeene Overste der Zusters v. Liefde te Tilburg', *St. Claverbond* 7, no. 1 (1895): 32.

school education was "a great blessing", alluding to the widespread colonial fear of mixed-race girls falling to low social status.[765] Some of the European girls were related to NZG missionaries, and headmasters' daughters studied there as well.[766]

Chinese-Indonesians formed a considerable minority in Minahasa, and the school was increasingly open to girls from wealthy Chinese families. In 1905, eleven of the 111 students were Chinese. As their parents paid the highest category of school fees, these girls represented significant income for the school.[767] Teachers also saw the Chinese presence as an opportunity to win new girls for the Christian religion. Headmaster Limburg expressed the hope that Chinese students would be "lost to Confucius" after their time at the school.[768] Sometimes such efforts indeed led to conversions. In the 1920s two Chinese girls students were baptized. They received Christian names during the ceremony: Ho Giok Kiem's name was changed to Jeanne Ho, and Ong Kiem Hiong became Johanna Ong.[769]

The racial hierarchies that underpinned the colonial regime in the Dutch East Indies remained in place, despite the ethnically mixed environment at the school. In some cases, the teachers used explicitly racializing language. Headmaster Limburg described an anak-piara who lacked domestic experience as coming "straight out of the forest" [*zóó uit het bosch*].[770] Other teachers shared such racial sentiments. In a letter to the Rotterdam committee, teacher E. Cramer described a new student who not read, write or do needlework as having "just fallen down a coconut tree" [*zoo uit den klapperboom gegleden*].[771] At other occasions, however, teachers stressed the "normality" of indigenous girls, meaning that they resembled Dutch children in some respects. Trying to convince Dutch teachers to come work at the school, the aforementioned E. Cramer assured her colleagues that the girls were

[765] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1254, Rapport, 18 November 1889.
[766] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1252, Staat van leerlingen der Meisjesschool gedurende het 1e kwartaal, 1884.
[767] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, 'Uit het jaarverslag van den heer A. Limburg, Directeur, over 1905', 1906.
[768] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, Jaarverslag 1905.
[769] W.J. Veenink, 'Onder de meisjes van het internaat te Tomohon', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 7, no. 8 (1924): 121–22. UA RvdZR, inv. no. 1278, 'Korte berichtjes', *Het leven in* 5, no. 7 (1924): 60.
[770] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, Verslag 1901.
[771] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1252, E. Cramer to school committee, 10 June 1889.

> like other girls of their age in Holland, their characters are not more difficult; for example, they completely lack the naughtiness of so-called *Indisch* children. (…) Most of them all full-blooded natives, some of them are descendants [mixed-race], but they are all just like other children, playful, lively, cheerful, also bothersome or stubborn or lazy.[772]

By stressing the universal 'childlike-ness' of the Minahasan girls, and comparing them favourably to mixed-race children, Cremer tried to put them in a positive light. She also assured her readers that the girls did not climb in trees or sleep on the floor, as she herself had initially feared.[773] Headmaster Verkuyl commented on the insulting tropes in some schoolbooks designed for the colonial market, in which Chinese people were portrayed as deceitful and Indonesians as clumsy and stupid.[774] Teachers thus sometimes nuanced or countered racialized stereotypes, but as the example of Cremer shows, this was in some cases done with a specific goal in mind. The racial hierarchy at the school also had practical implications for the students' opportunities. At least from 1888 onwards, the European students were given the opportunity to study modern European languages.[775] In 1901 one girl was taking French, and several European girls were studying German.[776] This option was not open to Minahasan or Chinese girls.

Racial thinking in Tomohon, however, was very different to the role of race in the Flores schools. Roman Catholic missionaries often stressed the dark skin of local people and described them in derogatory terms. In her published letters, the reverend mother Rudolphis habitually called the schoolgirls "our darkies" [*onze zwartjes*][777]; sister Maria Eliana wrote that the frizzy hair of the children from the mountains gave them a "wild" appearance and compared them to brooms.[778] The racialized terms used by the religious sisters were rooted in evolutionary racial thinking that placed the inhabitants of Flores on a lower evolutionary scale than people from the western islands of the archipelago. European anthropologists made a distinction between

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[772] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1252, E. Cramer to teachers in the Netherlands, 25 October 1888. *"De meisjes zijn (...) als andere meisjes van haar leeftijd in Holland, niet moeielijker van karakter dan dezen; zij hebben bv. Volstrekt niet de streken van zoogenaamd Indische kinderen. (...) De meesten zijn volbloed inlanders, sommige afstammelingen, maar het zijn allen geheel kinderen zoals anderen, speelsch, druk, vroolijk, ook wel lastig of koppig of lui."*
[773] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1252, E. Cramer to teachers in the Netherlands, 25 October 1888.
[774] A. Verkuyl, 'De Meisjesschool te Tomohon (Minahassa)', *Maandbericht NZG* 118 (1916): 152.
[775] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1252, Staat van leerlingen der meisjesschool gedurende het 4^{e} kwartaal 1888.
[776] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1265, Verslag 1901.
[777] Zr. M. Rudolphis, 'Brief van de Eerw. Moeder Rudolphis', 51.
[778] Zuster Maria Eliana, 'Het missiewerk', 89.

the "Malay races" in the west and the 'Papuan races' in the east, who had darker skin and frizzier hair and were believed to be less 'evolutionary advanced' than Malay peoples.[779] Although religious sisters were most likely were not acquainted with the latest anthropological theories – even though teaching nuns were often well-educated women[780] – ideas about racial hierarchies and an "evolutionary rhetoric" definitely trickled down into the mainstream in both the colony and the metropole.[781] It is indeed remarkable that the Protestant reformers in Minahasa and Yogyakarta rarely, if ever, commented negatively on the skin colour or hair structure of the students of the Tomohon Girls' School and the Queen Wilhelmina School. In a story for Dutch children about the Queen Wilhelmina School the young teacher M. Banga even encouraged Dutch children not to call their "little Javanese friends" black, because Javanese girls preferred to keep their skin a very light brown.[782]

The attitude of the sisters on Flores was not purely rooted in a sense of racial superiority, but had a religious background as well. In the eyes of missionaries, local people who had not converted to Christianity were "heathens", a term that was never used in the context of the Tomohon Girls' School that worked for a Christianized audience. In Yogyakarta, this term was reserved for other populations than the Javanese. Headmistress Wellensiek, for example, reported that the priyayi girls enjoyed hearing a missionary's stories about the "mission among the heathens" in Papua and the Batak regions.[783]

Conclusion

For Roman Catholic and Protestant social reformers and educators, colonial education for indigenous girls was never a goal in itself. They saw their cause as complementary to the education of young men looking to marry educated wives, and as beneficial to future generations. The Tomohon Girls' School, the Queen Wilhelmina School and the sisters' schools in Flores schools targeted girls from elite families, because they would have the most influence in their local societies once they had grown up. In his way, the students were expected to become agents of civilizing missions in their own environments.

[779] Sysling, *Racial Science and Human Diversity in Colonial Indonesia*, 104–7.
[780] Rogers, *From the Salon to the Schoolroom*, 5.
[781] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas*, 118–56.
[782] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 7, Derde verslag 1909-1911. Mej. M. Banga, 'Iets over Javaansche prijaji-kinderen'.
[783] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 8, Vierde verslag 1911-1913.

According to educational actors in the colony and the metropole, two elements were indispensable to girls' education: domesticity and the Christian religion. Together, these two elements were framed as the antidote to the 'evils' they identified at the heart of family life in local societies. They imagined girls' education as a step towards the eventual reform of the indigenous private sphere, which they considered to be the female domain. Christian girls' education was seen as a was a tool towards moral reform, a balanced family life, and appropriate emotional behaviour.

How all of this worked out on in the classroom differed from one context to another. This is an important point, because it aligns with the idea of civilising missions as flexible discourses that actors adapted to different contexts. Experiences on the ground were determined by the specific Christian denomination to which the school belonged. At the same time, teaching practices depended on the culture and religion of the local school population as well.

The meaning of the domestic in all three schools was twofold. In the first place, domestic education – with regional variations – took in a prominent place in their curricula. Class determined the content of domestic education to a considerable extent. Secondly, especially boarding students spend their schooldays in environments that had their own domestic character. Domestic ideals were also leading in students' dress codes and other forms of discipline, that largely relied on racial thinking and on notions of respectability.

Along with the observation that elite girls were trained to become agents of civilizing missions themselves, the most important contribution of this chapter is that it has provided proof of indigenous people's own objectives for participating in such projects. Girls' education was often in high demand, but it could also met with mixed responses and result in open or covert resistance by parents and students. Dutch educators tended to look for racial explanations for the behaviour of local people. Christian schools, despite their discourse of universal Christian faith and "ethical" purposes, were firmly embedded in the broader colonial hierarchies of race and ethnicity.

European-style domestic education did not find approval among all layers of Indonesian society. In the 1920s and 1930s, Indonesians increasingly tried to offer alternatives for colonial forms of education, especially in the context of the nationalist movements of the 1930s. The following chapter explores some of these newer educational initiatives for indigenous girls.

Chapter 3. Forging new pathways: Indonesian initiatives for girls' education, c.1900-1940

As was demonstrated in the previous chapter, the domestic and educational ideals that the Christian schools in Yogyakarta, Minahasa and Flores propagated spoke to specific segments of local communities. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the majority of Indonesian educators who directed their attention towards indigenous girls followed the examples set by Dutch educators. This chapter will show that this tendency would turn around quickly. By the 1920s, the most prominent Indonesian educational organizations carried out programmes presented as an alternative to European-style schooling, often tailoring European educational philosophies to fit their own ideas. This chapter explores the intersections of thinking about indigenous girlhood and education in the Indonesian educational movement. The chapter specifically focuses on the question to what extent these educational initiatives for girls were inspired by, or proposed an alternative to, Dutch colonial examples.

This chapter looks at the chronological development of Indonesian-led girls' schools int three regions, and in doing so offers an analysis of small-scale noblewomen's schools, the role of regional women's organizations, a nationalist school organization and a Muslim girls' school. This variety highlights the diversity of the Indonesian educational movement. As historians have noted before, Indonesian educational thinkers' opinions about Western-style education varied from outright rejection to enthusiasm and appropriation.[784] This chapter also demonstrates the extent to which educated Indonesians themselves were charmed by the "sweet-smelling cloud of enlightenment that drifted above the colonial project", as Bloembergen and Raben have described the colonial atmosphere in the heyday of 'ethical thinking'.[785] The chapter demonstrates that civilizing missions were constantly evolving and occupied the minds of colonized groups just much as European actors.

The geographical focus here is on Yogyakarta, Minahasa and West Sumatra. Flores is absent here, as the Roman Catholic monopoly on education on the island left very little space for other educational actors. There are indications for local initiatives outside the realm of the church in the residency of Timor and Dependencies: in 1933, the Roman Catholic paper *Bintang Timoer* mentioned the existence of unsubsidized schools established by an organization called the *Timoersch Verbond* [Timorese Union], but these schools were most likely on the island of

[784] Luttikhuis, 'Negotiating Modernity', 173–99.
[785] Bloembergen and Raben, 'Wegen naar het nieuwe Indië, 1890-1950', 8.

Timor, southwest of Flores.[786] On Flores, I have not encountered any educational initiatives outsides of those of the church. The way for local women to become engaged in education on Flores was to join a religious order, or to start a career as a teacher at a Roman Catholic school. These pathways to educational engagement will be explored in the next chapter.

3.1. Following the European example? Javanese priyayi women and girls' education, c.1900-1920

Around the turn of the twentieth century, and in the decades immediately after that, some of the very first schools for girls organized by local women were inspired by European examples. The most prominent instances of this were the so-called kabupaten schools. On Java, priyayi women organized small-scale classes for young girls in the residence of the local regent, the kabupaten. This fitted into the priyayi tradition of taking in boarding children from the extended family, who received their informal education at the kabupaten.[787]

One of the first larger-scale initiatives by a Javanese woman were the *Kaoetamaan Isteri* [Women's Virtue] schools. The noblewoman Raden Dewi Sartika opened the first of these schools, where girls learnt to read in their vernacular language and do needlework, in Bandung in 1904. Dewi Sartika had been educated at a European primary school before entering a teacher-training course. Her efforts were noticed by the colonial government, and the Bandung school became the first opened by an indigenous woman to receive subsidies. With the help of a charitable committee, Kaoetamaan Isteri developed into a network of around ten schools.[788]

While the idea of the school was arguably inspired on the headmistress' own education, the Bandung school was still deeply rooted in priyayi culture. Around 1910, the Dutch documentary maker J.C. Lamster filmed Dewi Sartika's school. The images depict the students greeting their superiors with the utmost reverence, crawling over the floor as kabupaten tradition prescribed.[789] Dewi Sartika also insisted that the girls learnt to cook Sundanese dishes and make batik.[790] In 1924, she received a medal of honour from the colonial government for her efforts in the educational field, and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the school was celebrated

[786] 'Chabar sini sana: Ordonantie sekolah jang ta' bersubsidie', *Bintang Timoer* 8, no. 8 (1933): 125.
[787] Sutherland, *The Making of a Bureaucratic Elite*, 20–21. Carey and Houben, 'Spirited Srikandhis and Sly Sumbradas', 30–31.
[788] Sita van Bemmelen, 'Sartika, Dewi (1884-1947)', in *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*, 2018, http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Sartika.
[789] Jean Gelman Taylor, 'Ethical Policies in Moving Pictures. The Films of J.C. Lamster', in *Photography, Modernity and the Governed in Late-Colonial Indonesia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 62.
[790] Van Bemmelen, 'Sartika, Dewi (1884-1947)'.

extensively in the presence of high functionaries.[791] This recognition at least partly originated from the fact that Kaoetamaan Isteri perfectly fitted the government's intention to leave all-girls education to the initiative of non-governmental, and preferably indigenous, actors.[792]

Even though she was one of the most well-known priyayi educators, Dewi Sartika was certainly not the only priyayi woman to take up the cause of girls' education. In 1909, a governmental survey on girls' education solicited responses from seventy-seven indigenous colonial officials throughout Java and Madura. The kabupaten schools came up in several response letters. The regent of Temanggung in Central Java, for example, mentioned the kabupaten school that had been opened two years previously by his daughter Raden Adjeng Edina. [793] The school had been opened with twenty students, and at the time of writing there were 58 girls who followed lessons in Javanese, Dutch, arithmetic and gymnastics. Their parents appreciated the fact that their daughters were also instructed in plain and fancy needlework, singing and cooking. The school was open for three afternoons every week. Edina, the headmistress, was assisted by Mas Loro Beroek, the daughter of a secretary of the regent. Eight of their pupils also went to a Native primary school, while eight more went to a European school alongside their kabupaten training.[794] Edina, too, had gone to the local ELS when she was younger, and was still practising her skills in needlework and art at a Catholic sisters' school in Magelang.[795] This was most likely the institute of the Franciscan Sisters of Heithuizen that had existed in the city since 1900.[796]

Another example of a kabupaten school was located within the walls of the Paku Alam palace in Yogyakarta. At the suggestion of the local resident, two aunts and a sister of the ruler started providing elementary education to girls from the Paku Alam house. In 1907, shortly after its opening, there were 26 students.[797] The resident of Yogyakarta proposed that the government make a donation as a token of appreciation, but the Director of Education refused: to his mind, the school was hardly worthy of that name, and it was simply the result of a private "hobby" of the priyayi ladies.[798] In the end, the resident was allowed to write to the three Raden

[791] 'Dewi Sartika, de Soendaneesche Raden Adjeng Kartini een kwart eeuw in dienst der volksopvoeding', *Oedaya* 6, no. 3 (1929): 35.
[792] ANRI AS GB MGS, inv. no. 4838, Directeur of Education Hazeu to Governor-General, 4 March 1913. Also published in: Wal, *Het onderwijsbeleid*, 219–23.
[793] ANRI AS GB MGS inv. no. 4838, Regent of Temanggung to Assistant Resident of Temanggung, 14 May 1909.
[794] ANRI AS GB MGS inv. no. 4838, Regent of Temanggung to Assistant Resident of Temanggung, 14 May 1909.
[795] ANRI AS GB MGS inv. no. 4838, Assistant Resident of Temanggung to Resident of Kedu, 2 June 1909.
[796] Velden, *De Roomsch-Katholieke Missie*, 259.
[797] ANRI AS GB MGS inv. no. 4622, Resident of Yogyakarta to Governor-General, 14 November 1907.
[798] ANRI AS GB MGS inv. no. 4622, Advice of the Director of Education, December 1907.

Adjeng that the government took an interest in their school, but he was urged not to make the impression the school could count on financial support.[799] The government clearly was reticent in its distribution of funds, and wanted to make sure that it would only support schools it judged as sufficiently professional.

In the literature, all these initiatives by priyayi women are somewhat eclipsed by the fame of Raden Adjeng Kartini (1879-1904). Kartini opened her school in the residency of her father, the regent of Japara, in 1903. Her life, writings and legacy has inspired a large body of historical scholarship for decades, and continues to do so.[800] This is undoubtedly connected to her extraordinary life trajectory. As a child, Kartini went to an ELS, a rarity for a priyayi girl at the time. To her distress she had to leave school at the age of twelve and was brought into seclusion in her father's house, as was the custom for priyayi girls.[801] The isolation of Kartini and her sisters Roekmini and Kardinah ended in 1894, when their family came in touch with the Dutch colonial official Ovink. The girls received Dutch conversation lessons from his wife Marie Ovink-Soer, an author of children's books.[802]

Kartini published numerous articles in Dutch about the need to educate Javanese girls, but could not realize her ambition of studying in the Netherlands due to the objections of her family. She died in childbirth at the age of twenty-four. When the high-ranking civil servant J.H. Abendanon, a prominent representative of the ethical policy, published her letters in 1911 under the title *Van duisternis tot licht*, Kartini became a household name in colonial circles and beyond.[803]

While Kartini was certainly the most famous Javanese commentator on women's rights of her time, she was not the only priyayi woman to publish on this topic. One Raden Ajoe Mangkoedimedjo from Yogyakarta, for example, wrote a plea for women's emancipation in the women's journal *Poetri Hindia* [Daughters of the Indies] in 1909 under the title *Kemadjoean*

[799] ANRI AS GB MGS inv. no. 4622, Government secretary to Resident of Yogyakarta, 27 December 1907.
[800] Examples include: Cora Vreede-de Stuers, 'Kartini, petit "cheval sauvage" devenu Héroïne de l'Indépendance Indonésienne', *Archipel* 13 (1977): 105–18; Joost Coté, 'Raden Ajeng Kartini and Cultural Nationalism in Java', in *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post)Colonial Education*, ed. Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 175–97; Paul Bijl, 'Legal Self-Fashioning in Colonial Indonesia: Human Rights in the Letters of Kartini', *Indonesia* 103 (2017): 51–71.
[801] R.A. Kartini, *Door duisternis tot licht*, 47–60.
[802] Jean Gelman Taylor, 'Kartini (1879-1904)', in *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*, 2014, http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Kartini.
[803] Ibid. The essential English edition of Kartini's writing is Joost Coté, ed., *Kartini: The Complete Writings 1898-1904* (Clayton: Monash University Press, 2014). Kartini's book has been translated in English as *From Darkness into Light*, and in Indonesian as *Habis gelap terbitlah terang*.

bangsa perempoean [The Progress of the Noble Woman].[804] While she was thus not completely unparalleled, Kartini's connections to the European colonial elite and her moving life story contributed to her quick rise to fame. Her legacy inspired the initiators of the elite Kartini schools on Java, that were funded by the royalties over her posthumous book.[805]

The opinions of a few other Javanese women on girls' education can be found in a government report on women's social position. From 1904 to 1914, the colonial government published the *Mindere Welvaartrapporten* [Lesser Welfare Reports]. This thirty-three-volume report on the economic circumstances of the indigenous population of Java and Madura was an outcome of the ethical policy. The government hoped to be able to implement policies to alleviate the economic hardship of local people based on the report.[806] In the section on the status of women, nine women voiced their ideas on the position of their sex in Javanese society.[807] Almost all of the contributors to the report came from an upper-class Javanese milieu: among them were Dewi Sartika and a sister of the Paku Alam, as well as Kartini's sister Soematri. Djarisah, a midwife from Bandung, was the only contributor from humbler social origins.[808]

Asked about their opinion on education, the large majority of the contributors answered that girls' schooling should be differentiated according to class. Whereas they believed that girls from villages and poorer urban environments were mostly in need of useful marketable skills, upper-class girls would need preparation for their tasks as mothers and civilized life partners of educated men.[809] Like Kartini before them, the women saw girls' education as the key to moral and social change in Javanese society. They hoped that education would make women less likely to accept polygamy and child marriage.[810] The midwife Djarisah even argued that education would make women less vulnerable to venereal disease, because they would build a stronger character and no longer be tempted by promiscuous men.[811] This fitted the interest of the colonial government, as Christian moral ideas about marriage and sexuality were

[804] Raden Ajoe Mangkoedimedjo, 'Le progrès de la gent féminine (1909)', trans. Claudine Salmon, *Archipel* 13 (1977): 119–27.
[805] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas*, 75–100.
[806] Cribb, 'Development Policy', 261.
[807] *Onderzoek naar de mindere welvaart der inlandsche bevolking op Java en Madoera. ixb3. Verheffing van de inlandsche vrouw. Deel VII. van 't overzicht van enz. de economie van de desa (slotbeschouwingen, derde gedeelte)* (Batavia: Papyrus, 1914), 1–38. For a summary, see Blackburn, *Women and the State*, 29–32.
[808] Liesbeth Hesselink, *Healers on the Colonial Market: Native Doctors and Midwives in the Dutch East Indies* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2011), 259–60.
[809] *Onderzoek naar de mindere welvaart*. See for example the contributions of Raden Ajoe Ario Soerio Soegianto (p.3-4), Raden Adjeng Karlina (p.8-9) and Raden Ajoe Sitti Soendari (p.29).
[810] Ibid., 24–25.
[811] Ibid., 14–15.

part and parcel of the ethical policy. This entanglement of morality and politics was exemplified, for example, in changing perceptions of concubinage and prostitution.[812]

While none of the contributors to the report denied that all girls should learn to read and write, the women also regularly mentioned the importance of domestic skills. Raden Ajoe Siti Soendari, who wrote for the women's magazine of a local Boedi Oetomo branch, said a girl had to learn at least some knowledge of child care, gardening, the household and hygiene if she wanted to become "an outstanding mother."[813] Siti Soendari was a sister of the nationalist activist Soetomo and eventually went on to study law in the Netherlands.[814] In 1916 she delivered a speech about girls' education at the First Congress on Colonial Education in The Hague, where she stressed the same argument: girls needed to be educated so that they could become skilled mothers and reliable wives, and could eventually contribute to the uplifting of the entire Javanese people.[815] In a similar vein, various women highlighted the importance of being able to make batik: one example is Raden Adjeng Martini, the daughter of a patih, who wanted girls to learn batik alongside midwifery and health care.[816] Djarisah moreover recommended that girls learn to play indigenous as well as European music, as long as the pieces were *fatsoenlijk* [decent].[817]

When we zoom in deeper on the very first Javanese initiatives taken by women, it becomes clear that their small-scale schools were tailored to the cultural background of the students. Javanese priyayi women's initiatives for girls' education were thus not simply copies of European examples; suggesting this would obscure important aspects of the education their students received. At the same time, however, the schools were clearly influenced by colonial models of education. This was connected to the position of priyayi women, who themselves sometimes had been educated at European schools and who were a part of the indigenous layer of the colonial elite. The next section turns from these small-scale initiatives, often taken on an individual basis, to larger women's organizations and their educational efforts.

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[812] Petra Groen, 'Zedelijkheid en martialiteit. Het kazerneconcubinaat in Nederlands-Indië omstreeks 1890', in *Het koloniale beschavingsoffensief. Wegen naar het nieuwe Indië, 1890-1950*, ed. Marieke Bloembergen and Remco Raben (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2009), 25–51.
[813] *Onderzoek naar de mindere welvaart*, 26–27.
[814] Harry A. Poeze, Cees Van Dijk, and Inge van der Meulen, *In het land van de overheerser. Indonesiërs in Nederland 1600-1950*, vol. I (Dordrecht/Cinnaminson: Foris Publications, 1986), 222.
[815] *Eerste koloniaal onderwijs congres. Stenografisch verslag. 's-Gravenhage 28, 29 en 30 augustus 1916* (The Hague, 1916), 231–32.
[816] *Onderzoek naar de mindere welvaart*, 12.
[817] Ibid., 16.

3.2. Indonesian women's associations for girls' education: the example of PIKAT in Minahasa, c. 1917-1940

Women played an active role in the burgeoning Indonesian organizational life of the early twentieth century from the outset. The first organization to specifically represent women within another organization was Poetri Mardika [The Free Woman], the women's branch of the priyayi organization Boedi Oetomo, that was established in 1912.[818] In the following decades women did not only start separate women's associations, but also started to defend their interests within organizations that were usually dominated by men, such as nationalist activist groups.[819]

In their publications, the women's chapters of political organizations argued for, amongst other things, marriage rights and girls' education.[820] In many cases, they undertook social initiatives: as Cora Vreede-de Stuers has concluded in her classic survey of the early Indonesian women's movement, the numerous women's organizations that were established in the Netherlands Indies between 1913 and 1925 "had nothing but social aspirations."[821] According to Elizabeth Martyn, women saw it as part of their duty as *Iboe Bangsa* [the mothers of the nation] to improve the social conditions for the Indonesian population.[822] A good example of this approach is the women's section of Mohammadijah, the Muslim reformist movement that was established in Yogyakarta in 1912. The section, named 'Aijsijah for the wife of the prophet Mohammed, was added to the organization seven years later. 'Aijsijah was very active in women's education, offering literacy courses to women and girls so they could read the Quran. The organization also informed women about religious rituals, so they could become "better Muslims".[823] The organization was founded on the conviction that "all female religious needs can be achieved and managed by women themselves".[824] In 1919, 'Aijsijah opened its first kindergarten.[825] At a later stage, it also operated women's meeting houses and women-only mosques.[826]

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[818] Blackburn, *Women and the State*, 18.
[819] Ibid., 18–20; Martyn, *The Women's Movement in Postcolonial Indonesia*, 36–43.
[820] Claudine Lombard-Salmon, 'Presse féminine ou féministe ?', *Archipel* 13, no. 1 (1977): 157–92.
[821] Cora Vreede-de Stuers, *L'émancipation de la femme indonésienne* (Paris/The Hague: Mouton, 1959), 41.
[822] Martyn, *The Women's Movement in Postcolonial Indonesia*, 41.
[823] Pieternella van Doorn-Harder, *Women Shaping Islam: Indonesian Women Reading the Qur'an* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 93–95.
[824] James L. Peacock, *Purifying the Faith: The Muhammadijah Movement in Indonesian Islam* (Menlo Park: The Benjamin/Cummings Publishing Company, 1978), 46. Peacock cites from a 1923 Mohammadijah report.
[825] Doorn-Harder, *Women Shaping Islam*, 95. For more about Mohammadijah's activities in the field of children's welfare, see Dirks, 'For the Youth', 128–124.
[826] Peacock, *Purifying the Faith*, 46.

The proceedings of the first Indonesian women's congress are an important source for the role of education in the women's movement. The *Kongres Perempoean* was organized by twenty-two women's organizations in Yogyakarta in December 1928. It was a "Javanese affair", as Susan Blackburn has described it, with only one non-Javanese woman attending.[827] This does not mean that women's associations were only active on Java. One example is the West Sumatran women's association *Keradjinan Amoi Setia* [The Diligence of the Faithful Woman] which around 1911 organized a lottery to raise money for a girls' school in Kota Gadang.[828] Its president was Roehana Koedoes, who later worked as a journalist for *Soenting Melajoe* [Malay Ornament], the first women's magazine in Indonesia.[829]

Notwithstanding the Javanese background of most attendees, the Kongres Perempoean presented itself as distinctively Indonesian. With this, it followed the direction of the *Soempah Pemoeda*, the Youth Pledge. One two months earlier, in October 1928, young nationalists had declared their ideal of one homeland, one Indonesian people and one Indonesian language. This fitted their agenda of national unity in the face of Dutch colonialism.[830] The Indonesian outlook of the Kongres Perempoean came to the fore most clearly in the choice of language: all but one of the speakers spoke in Malay instead of their vernacular.[831] In terms of religion, the congress was diverse. There were religiously neutral organizations present, but also Muslim groups such as 'Aijsijah and the women's wing of the *Jong Islamieten Bond* [Young Muslims' Union]. Christian women were represented the Roman Catholic group *Wanito Katholiek*.[832]

Education figured prominently among the topics discussed at the conference, alongside marriage rights and the role of Western influence on Javanese culture. Several speakers discussed girls' education at length. Siti Marjam, the representative of the Girls' Committee of the youth organization *Jong Java* [Young Java] for example, said that education was the "key factor" for the progress of Indonesian women. She argued that girls should be trained in all fields of work, not only for professions that were considered typically female, such as teaching or nursing. Moreover, women's organizations should not only focus on well-off girls, but advocate the education of village girls as well. Siti Marjam concluded that all girls should have

[827] Susan Blackburn, 'Introduction: The 1928 Women's Congress Revisited', in *The First Indonesian Women's Congress of 1928*, trans. Susan Blackburn (Clayton: Monash University Press, 2008), 7.
[828] ANRI AS GB MGS, inv. no. 4838, Directeur of Education to Governor-General, 4 March 1913. Also published in: Wal, *Het onderwijsbeleid*, 219–23.
[829] Mardanas Safwan and Sutrisno Kutoyo, eds., *Sejarah Pendidikan Daearah Sumatera Barat*, Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Kebudayaan Daerah (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1981), 143–45.
[830] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 233.
[831] Blackburn, 'Introduction', 7.
[832] Ibid., 4–5.

the opportunity to go to single-sex schools: "Because our nation is an Eastern nation we do not agree with the co-educational system."[833] Here, this young activist framed the concept of 'Eastern' as diametrically opposed to 'Western', which represented European culture and morals.

The delegate of *Perserikatan Wanito Moeljo* [The Union of Honourable Women] from Yogyakarta stressed the importance of education as well. She especially stressed the importance of religion in this context: "We should (…) spread the teaching of virtue based in religion."[834] As historian Liberty Sproat has persuasively argued, with the emphasis on the importance of raising children along nationalist lines, the women at the congress presented themselves as reproducers and nurturers of the Indonesian people, the *bangsa*.[835] This was also the way in which women were presented in the context of many other nationalist projects.[836]

Many of the educational initiatives organized by women's associations were small-scale and have not left sufficient source material to allow for an analysis of educational practice. The schools opened by the Minahasan organization PIKAT [*Pertjintaan Iboe Kepada Anak Temoeroennja*, the Love of Mothers for their Children] are an exception to this rule. PIKAT was established in Manado in 1917 by Maria Walanda Maramis (1872-1924). As the adopted daughter of a hukum besar, a village head, Walanda Maramis had only received basic schooling at a Malay school.[837] Despite this modest educational background, she started contributing to the bilingual Dutch-Malay newspaper *Tjahaja-Siang* [The Light of Day].

Walanda Maramis became a prolific commentator on Minahasan women's social position. In one of her articles, she compared the heart of a child to a rice field, and the mother to a planter; the destiny and the good character of the child depended on her efforts.[838] If women would stay true to their roles as wives, mothers and human beings, their children would surely progress in life.[839] Such allusions to women's natural roles as mother and educators were reminiscent of the type of femininity propagandized in Protestant schools such as the Queen Wilhelmina School in Yogyakarta and, closer to home for Maria Walanda Maramis, the Tomohon Girls' School. She also published a list of what she considered to be the most

[833] Susan Blackburn (translation), *The First Indonesian Women's Congress of 1928* (Monash University Press, 2008), 113–18.
[834] Ibid., 120–22.
[835] Liberty P. Sproat, 'Nurturing Transitions: Housewife Organizations in (Colonial) Indonesia, 1900-1972' (Purdue University, 2015), 66–67.
[836] For several examples see Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann, and Catherine Hall, eds., *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Berg, 2000).
[837] 'Riwayat hidup dan penjuangan pendiri utama PIKAT' (PIKAT Manado, 2017).
[838] M.J.C. Walanda Maramis, 'Djempoetan bagi bangsa perempoean', *Tjehaja-Sijang. Soerat Chabar Minahassa* 48, no. 12 (1917): 2.
[839] Ibid.

important duties of women, from avoiding debt and keeping promises to taking care of their husbands and paying servants on time.[840] As *Tjahaja-Siang* was the only newspaper available in Minahasa at the time, and it was also used for reading exercises at school, it is very likely that her articles were widely read.[841]

Walanda Maramis argued for domestic education of girls and young women, to make sure that they would guard the honour of their households after marriage.[842] Protestant Christianity was central to her thought. She saw the Gospel as a force that had civilized the Minahasan people and had relieved them from hardship. In her eyes, it was upon the women of Minahasa to further spread this civilizing influence of God's word by passing it on to their children.[843] PIKAT's main goal was to offer girls and young women post-primary domestic education, so that they could bring these ideals into practice in their family lives. Walanda Maramis and the four other first board members of PIKAT, all married women, opened a school for domestic education in Manado in 1918.[844] The school was open to girls who had finished Malay or European primary education, and it aimed to enable young women to manage their own household or, if need be, make a living out of their domestic skills.[845] The monthly costs for admittance as a boarding student were fifteen guilders, a sum that would have been quite affordable to middle-class families.[846] The teachers were young women of sixteen years of age or older, who lived in the school as well.[847]

PIKAT source material does not mention any subsidies from the colonial government, and apart from the income of school fees the school was funded by donors and by members of PIKAT, who were drawn from both the indigenous and the European populations of Minahasa.[848] The schools, too, were ethnically mixed to a small extent, even though they were in principle established for indigenous Minahasan girls. The second school, opened in 1932 in Manado, had thirty students by the end of its first year. Two of them were Chinese-Indonesian [*Tiong Hoa*], and one was of mixed race descent [*Indo Europeaan*]. Of the indigenous girls,

[840] M.J.C. Walanda Maramis, 'Kehormatan roemah tangga dan kehormatan isteri', *Tjahaja-Siang* 49, no. 21 (1918): 1.
[841] A.B. Lapian, '"Tjahaja Sijang" (The Light of Day), Its Significance for the History of the Indonesian Local Press', in *Proceedings: Seventh IAHA Conference 22-26 August 1977* (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press, 1979), 921.
[842] Walanda Maramis, 'Kehormatan roemah tangga dan kehormatan isteri', 1.
[843] M.J.C. Walanda Maramis, 'Kedjanja Indjil dalam tanah Minahasa', *Tjahaja-Siang*, 1921.
[844] 'Lezing mej. M.E. Sumaijkoe', *Soeara Pikat* 12, no. 3 (1939): 19.
[845] Ibid., 20.

[847] Hoofdbestuur Vereeniging PIKAT, 'Huishoudschool', *Tjahaja-Siang* 49, no. 11 (1918): 1–2.
[848] Hoofdbestuur 'Pikat', 'Chabar "Pikat"', *Tjahaja-Siang* 49, no. 12 (1918): 2.

twenty-two came from Minahasa, while one came from the neighbouring residency of Bolaang Mongondow, and two from the Sangihe Islands north of Minahasa.[849]

At the opening of the second school, a speaker stressed that the main aim of the PIKAT schools was not to teach girls how to make "delicious food and cookies and high-quality clothing"[850] but to educate the women of Minahasa, since a Minahasan people raised by educated mothers would surely be worthy "soldiers" [*bala2*] that could help the government in its efforts for the advancement of Minahasa's people.[851] This echoes the general outlook of Minahasan organizations, who aimed to present themselves as faithful citizens of the colonial state and aim for progress within the colonial framework.[852] At this *meisjesvakschool* [girls' trade school], the three-year curriculum entailed different dressmaking subjects, washing, cooking, hygiene, nursing and childcare, alongside reading, mathematics and Dutch. As a secondary school it was open to girls who had finished the HIS or the fourth class of the European primary school. Graduates could get a diploma for needlework or dressmaking [*diploma modiste*], that could help them get a job at a school or at a hospital.[853] Of the three girls that graduated in December 1932, Fredrika Dumaili went on to work as a domestic help, Emma Taulu stayed on at the school as a teacher, and Adriana Kanine became a teacher.[854]

From the beginning onward, the trade school struggled with low student numbers and financial problems. Less than a year after its opening, PIKAT organized a bazaar in an effort to save the school. This did not have the desired results, and the school was closed down in 1934.[855] The third PIKAT initiative in Manado was Huize Maria, a boarding house opened in 1936.[856] Huize Maria was open to young women and teenage girls who went to the MULO school, or were working for a low wage.[857]

The character of PIKAT was outspokenly Christian – in the magazines *PIKAT* and *Soeara Pikat* [the Voice of PIKAT] the members regularly sang God's praise. At the opening

[849] 'Penjahoetan pendek dari Huishoudschool terhadap kepada perhimpoenan am.', *PIKAT* 8, no. 11 (1933): 3.
[850] 'Rede van Mevrouw Loing-Kalalangie bij de opening der nieuwe Huishoudschool van de Pikat op 9 juli 1932', *PIKAT* 8, no. 7–8 (1932): 39. *"Boekan hanja memboeat makanan2 dan koekis2 dan enak2 dan pakaian2 bagoes2 (...)"*
[851] Ibid.
[852] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility*, 194.
[853] W.J. Ruata, 'Warta Hoofd Bestuur. Pemberitahoen', *PIKAT* 9, no. 5 (1934): 1.
[854] 'Penjahoetan pendek dari Huishoudschool terhadap kepada perhimpoenan am.', 2.
[855] 'Verslag van de Meisjes-Vakschool-Pikat schooljaar 1931-1933 en 1933 t/m heden', *PIKAT* 8, no. 11 (1933): 3.
[856] 'Lezing mej. M.E. Sumaijkoe', 20.
[857] 'Pikat Meisjes Internaat "MARIA"', *Soeara Pikat* 12, no. 8 (1939): 111. PIKAT still owns a boarding house for girls in Manado, Asrama Putri Pikat.

of trade school, president E. Ruata Walangitan repeatedly expressed her gratefulness to God.[858] This Protestant character was paired with loyalty to the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the House of Orange. When Queen Juliana gave birth in 1939, this news was announced on the front page of *Soeara Pikat* and the association asked for God's blessings for the newborn princess Irene.[859] At the beginning of the 1940s, when the threat of war was becoming increasingly palpable in Europe and Southeast Asia, the organization tried to reassure its members by reminding them that they were under the protection of both God and the colonial government.[860] PIKAT members combined this attitude of loyal Christian colonial subjects with a strong regional identity and a sense of Minahasan pride. In its bylaws, the organization stated that it aimed to unite Minahasan women, to improve their position and to spread love for the homeland [*tanah airnja*] among the children of the region.[861] In contrast to other organizations cited throughout this thesis, the 'homeland' as described here is not an independent Indonesia, but Minahasa as a part of the Dutch East Indies. This fitted in the general movement of Minahasan regionalism that, as we have seen in the first chapter of the thesis, in general strived for a better position for Minahasan people without questioning the colonial system.

In terms of social background of the members, PIKAT appear to have had an upper-middle-class character. The fact that about half of the articles in its communications were written in Dutch, the language of the well-educated part of Minahasan society, points to this. The same goes for the connections between the organization and the Tomohon Girls' School. The maiden names of two of the first board members of PIKAT, Rotinsoeloe and Mamahit, can be traced in the Utrecht archives of that elite Protestant girls' school.[862] The board members thus came from families that had been able to provide their daughters with elite education since at least the end of the nineteenth century and were firmly rooted in the local elite. There were other connections as well. J.F.M. Loing-Kalalangie, the president of PIKAT between 1924 and 1928, was a former student of the Tomohon Girls' School. She praised the Christian education she had received there in the 1880s in a speech to the Christian Youth Conference, and urged her audience to wholeheartedly support the organization.[863] Loing-Kalalangie also looked back

[858] 'Rede van Mevr. E. Ruata Walangitan, Presidente Vr. Ver. Pikat bij de opening der nieuwe H.H.Sch.', *PIKAT* 8, no. 7–8 (1932): 37–38.
[859] 'Poetri Irene', *Soeara Pikat* 12, no. 9 (1939): 1.
[860] 'Peperangan dan chabar2 perang', *Soeara Pikat* 12, no. 10 (1939): 81–82.
[861] 'Maksoed Perserikatan 'Pikat', *Soeara Pikat* 12, no. 1 (1939): 1.
[862] UA RvdRZ 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, Limburg to Board, 28 August 1894. UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, E. Rotinsulu to A. Limburg, 11 April 1898.
[863] 'Het werk van de Minahasische vrouw in de Minahasa', *Omhoog. Orgaan van de Minahasische Christen Jongeren Bond* 1, no. 7 (1929): 60–61.

at her schooltime, "the happiest years of my childhood" in a Minahasan newspaper when the school celebrated its forty-year existence and urged Minahasans to donate to the school.[864] At the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the school in 1931, PIKAT formed a committee consisting out of twelve former students who tried to raise money for a present to the school.[865] Ten years later, the organization raised 730 guilders for the school at its sixtieth anniversary. The money was used to build a new school building for toddlers.[866]

PIKAT's message had a strong appeal to local society, and it was not long before women outside of Manado joint the organization and established local branches. Initially this was limited to Minahasa, where its members organized courses for domestic science and cooking in several villages.[867] By the late 1930s there was a local group in Batavia as well. The Minahasan character of the organization, however, remained unchanged: the list of members was full of Minahasan names.[868] The activities of the organization also reached beyond girls' education. PIKAT got involved with the lobby for women's suffrage in the Dutch East Indies and in 1918 the organization supported a petition of the Batavian *Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht* [Assocation for Women's Suffrage] about the elimination of the word 'male' from the election regulations for local councils.[869] By the time the colonial era was coming to an end, PIKAT had built a reputation as one of the oldest women's organizations in Indonesia.[870] After independence, the organization continued its activities and its branches spread out to Sumatra, Kalimantan, Borneo and other areas of Sulawesi. The organization also became more inclusive towards women of non-Minahasan backgrounds and was a prominent voice in the Indonesian Women's Congress that represented women's organizations on a national level.[871] In 2017 PIKAT celebrated its hundred-year anniversary.

The important place that PIKAT accorded to a regional cultural identity, in which Protestant Christianity took a central place, confirms that local circumstances always mattered, even in schools that were inspired by European examples. In comparison with explicitly nationalist and Islamic initiatives that entered the colonial educational scene shortly after,

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[864] J.F.M.L-K, 'Mijn terugblik', *De Minahasa Courant* 48, no. 4 (1921): 1–2.
[865] 'Inzameling 50-jarig bestaan M.S.T.', *PIKAT* 7, no. 3 (1931): 19.
[866] J.A.K. Wenas, 'Comité der herdenking van 't 60-jarig jubileum der Louwerierschool te Tomohon, de verantwoording der ontvangen giften', *Omhoog* 13, no. 11 (1941): 201–8.
[867] M. Palit-Tumbelaka, 'Pemboekaan Huishoudschool Pikat di Langoan', *Soeara Pikat* 13, no. 7 (1940): 63.
[868] 'Lezing mej. M.E. Sumaijkoe', 20.
[869] Susan Blackburn, 'Political Relations among Women in a Multi-Racial City. Colonial Batavia in the Twentieth Century', in *Jakarta - Batavia. Socio-Cultural Essays*, ed. Kees Grijns and Peter J.M. Nas (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2000), 182.
[870] Siti Marijam, *De Indonesische vrouw, 1898-1948* (Batavia: Departement van Opvoeding, Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1948), 13.
[871] Martyn, *The Women's Movement in Postcolonial Indonesia*, 193–94.

organizations like PIKAT might seem a lot less radical. Still, the impact of organizations such as PIKAT on the lives of women and girls should not be underestimated: not only did it provide numerous girls with an education that would have been hard for them to obtain otherwise, the organization was also a platform where women could express themselves.

3.3. Alternative routes: girls' schools in the Indonesian educational movement, Taman Siswa and Dinijjah Poeteri (c.1920-1940)

Setting the stage

While, as we have seen already, far from all Indonesian educational initiatives were explicitly nationalist, this part of the chapter will demonstrate that there was significant overlap between educational and nationalist organizations that strived for political independence from the Netherlands in the final two decades of colonial rule. The focus is on two school organizations that still exist in Indonesia: Taman Siswa in Yogyakarta and Dinijjah Poeteri in Padang Pajang, West Sumatra. They represent two different faces of the Indonesian educational movement in the Netherlands Indies. While the Taman Siswa was explicitly Javanese in character, and had its roots in anti-colonial activism, Dinijjah Poeteri was part of the West Sumatran Kaum Muda movement and prioritized Islam above all other possible affiliations. There was, however, an important point of agreement between the two organizations: their founders were convinced that Western-style education was not suitable for Indonesian children, and aimed to create alternative routes towards a school diploma. This part of the chapter investigates to what extent Taman Siswa and Dinijjah Poeteri rejected or embraced Western-style education, and in which ways this influenced their ideas about gender and coeducation.

As the early history of the two organizations shows, they originated from different cultural and political circumstances. The educational organization Taman Siswa [Garden of Students] was established in 1922 by Raden Mas Soewardi Soerjaningrat (1889-1959). A relative of Paku Alam V, Soewardi was a member of the higher Javanese priyayi classes. He gradually became involved with nationalist activism and in 1912 was one of the founders of the radical *Indische Partij* [Indies Party], that propagated independence from the Netherlands. In 1913, Soewardi published his treaty *Als ik eens Nederlander was* [If only I were a Dutchman]. In his pamphlet, he openly reminisced about what it would be like to be a full member of the citizenry. The text offended the colonial government not only because it openly criticised Dutch

colonial rule, but also because Soewardi placed himself on the same level as a Dutchman. Not long after its publication, Soewardi was exiled to the Netherlands. He and his wife Soetartina Sasroeningrat stayed in the metropole for six years and both attended a teacher-training college in The Hague.[872] In 1922, some years after his return to the Dutch East Indies, Soewardi opened the first Taman Siswa school in Yogyakarta. Several members of a local mystical study group that he was part of took up positions in the board of the new organization.[873] Soetartina became the first head of Wanita Taman Siswa, the women's branch of the organization.[874] Its members were female Taman Siswa teachers, the wives of male members and students' mothers.[875] In 1928, Soewardi renounced his priyayi title of Raden Mas and changed his name to Ki Hadjar Dewantara, while his wife took on the same name, using the the title 'Ni', the female version of Ni. This title is a Javanese mystical term that signals high spiritual consciousness.[876]

The official Dutch name of the Yogyakarta school was *Nationaal Onderwijs Instituut Taman Siswa* [Taman Siswa National Educational Institute] and initially consisted out of a kindergarten and a teacher-training course. In Taman Siswa publications such as the magazine *Poesara* [Bond], the city of Yogyakarta was consistently called by its old Javanese name Mataram. As will be explained later, this fitted the character of the school, that was both nationalist and regionalist in the sense that it rejected colonialism and placed great emphasis on "authentic" Javanese culture. From this starting-point Taman Siswa built up a complete educational system, ranging from kindergartens to primary and secondary education, and several classes for adults. The organization quickly spread throughout Java and Madura, and in 1928 the first school on Sumatra was opened. By 1930, there were 52 schools, six of which were outside of Java and Madura: three in Sumatra, and three on Borneo (Kalimantan).[877] There were also schools of Boedi Oetomo and Sarekat Islam, a Muslim political organization, and of communist organizations that affiliated themselves to Taman Siswa.[878] By 1934, the organization reported that it supervised 135 schools with a total of 11169 students, of whom 8517 were boys and 2652 were girls.[879]

[872] Kenji Tsuchiya, *Democracy and Leadership: The Rise of the Taman Siswa Movement in Indonesia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 20–25.
[873] Ruth T. McVey, 'Taman Siswa and the Indonesian National Awakening', *Indonesia* 4 (1967): 130–31.
[874] Wanita Tamansiswa, *Kenangan tujuh dasa warsa Wanita Tamansiswa, 3 juli 1922 - 3 juli 1992* (Yogyakarta: Badan Pusat Wanita Tamansiswa, 1992), 5–6.
[875] 'Wanita Taman Siswa Golongan Doho', *Poesara* 4, no. 2 (1933): 21–22.
[876] McVey, 'Taman Siswa', 133.
[877] Tsuchiya, *Democracy and Leadership*, 64–78.
[878] McVey, 'Taman Siswa', 143.
[879] 'Statistik moerid-moerid dan goeroe-goeroe persatoean T.S.', *Poesara* 5, no. 2 (1934): 63–68.

Taman Siswa emerged around the same time as the Islamic girls' school Dinijjah Poeteri in Padang Panjang, in the highlands of West Sumatra. The latter was opened in 1923 by Rahmah el Junussijah (1900-1962). Rahmah came from a devout family of *ulama*, Islamic religious scholars.[880] She was the younger sister of Zainuddin Labay el Joenoesy, the founder of a coeducational institution, the Dinijah School, that would eventually evolve into a network. Both Rahmah's and Zainuddin's school belonged to the Kaum Muda, the reformist Islamic movement that gained a large following in West Sumatra.[881] As was briefly explained in the first chapter, the Kaum Muda argued for a more literal interpretation of Islam. The Kaum Muda recognized only the religious authority of the Quran and the Hadith, and rejected local adat beliefs and the authority of the colonial government. As Kaum Muda activists believed it was vital for Muslims to be able to read and interpret scripture, education took in a prominent place in the movement, and the organization was behind many Islamic schools in the hills and the cities of West Sumatra.[882]

While the Kaum Muda was very influential, it is important to realize that there was an opposing movement, the Kaum Tua or Kaum Kuno [Old Group], as well. The Kaum Tua believed in the importance of adat beliefs alongside Islam.[883] While the Kaum Muda educational movement made headway, not all schools followed its philosophy of combining Western and traditionally Islamic education. On the contrary: as the French anthropologist Jeanne Cuisinier noted during her fieldwork in the region, some Kaum Tua ulama initially saw even the introduction of school banks and tables as a "heathen custom".[884] In the face of the success of the Kaum Muda movement, however, many such schools eventually started to adopt similar reforms around the end of the 1920s.[885] In historiography there is no mention of the establishment of Kaum Tua girls' schools in the colonial era, even though they certainly

[880] Aminuddin Rasyad, 'Rahmah El Yunisiyah, Educational Pioneer for Girls', in *H. Rahmah El Yunusiyyah Dan Zaidnuddin Labay El Yunusy. Dua Bersaudara Tokoh Pembaharu Sistem Pendidikan Di Indonesia. Riyawat Hidup, Cita-Cita, Dan Perjuanangnya*, ed. Aminuddin Rasyad, Leon Salim, and Hasniah Saleh (Jakarta: Pengurus Perguruan Diniyyah Puteri Padang Panjang, 1991), 245. Other biographical literature on Rahmah includes: Cora Vreede-de Stuers, 'The Life of Rankayo Rahmah El Yunisiya: The Facts and the Image', in *Indonesian Women in Focus: Past and Present Notions*, ed. Elsbeth Locher-Scholten and Anke Niehof (Dordrecht/Providence: Foris Publications, 1987), 52–57; Junaidatul Munawaroh, 'Rahmah el-Yunusiah: Pelopor Pendidikan Perempuan', in *Ulama Perempuan Indonesia*, ed. Jajat Burhanudin (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2002), 1–38.
[881] Delial Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1942* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1973), 53–56.
[882] Peacock, *Purifying the Faith*, 23–24.
[883] Taufik Abdullah, 'Schools and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra (1927-1933)' (Cornell University, 1971), 22–25.
[884] Jeanne Cuisinier, *Journal de voyage: Malaisie (1933), Indonésie (1952-1955)*, ed. Daniel Perret, Cahier d'Archipel 31 (Paris: Association Archipel, 1999), 99.
[885] Abdullah, 'Schools and Politics', 197–99.

survived well beyond independence: in the 1970s, for example, one competitor of Dinijjah Poeteri was a girls' school based on Minangkabau tradition, owned by a conservative organization that was originally founded to oppose the Kaum Muda.[886]

Rahmah el Joenoesijah, the founder of Dinijjah Poeteri [Religious Education for Girls], was educated at a primary governmental school in Padang Panjang. She studied the Quran under the guidance of different ulama and was also trained as a midwife by her aunt.[887] Her first educational efforts took place in a local *masjid*, a mosque, where she received around 70 students in 1923. These first students were all married women who wanted to gain more knowledge of Islam. At this stage, Rahmah's teaching was limited to some religious knowledge and Arabic grammar. The few schoolbooks that were at the disposition of the students were all in Arabic as well, which Rahmah translated into Malay. On their way to school, the women caused a stir in the streets of the town: people wondered out loud what use it was for a housewife to go to school.[888] There was also a division for illiterate women who never had had a formal education, nicknamed *sekolah menjesal* [the school of regret]. At first, these lessons were given in the evenings, but this caused so much slander about students' morality that they were moved to the mornings.[889] In spite of the objections of some local people, Dinijjah Poeteri gained popularity, and the school soon moved from the masjid to its own building. The first dormitory or *pondok* was opened for sixty of its students in 1925. In Islamic education, there is a distinction between *madrasah* – day schools that are often coeducational – and pesantren, gender-specific boarding schools where students sleep in the pondok.[890] By the time the first dormitory was opened, Rahmah's focus had shifted from educating married women to providing education to young unmarried girls. The pondok was allegedly built by students themselves with the help of male peers from other Kaum Muda schools, using stones which they collected from a river bank.[891]

[886] Peacock, *Purifying the Faith*, 69–70.
[887] Rasyad, 'Rahmah El Yunisiyah', 246.
[888] 'Riwajat ringkas dari Dinijjah School Poeteri', *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen "Dinijjah School Poeteri" Padang Pandjang* (Padang Panjang, 1938), 5–6.
[889] 'Riwajat ringkas dari Dinijjah School Poeteri', Ibid., 8–9.
[890] Eka Srimulyani, *Women from Traditional Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia: Negotiating Public Spaces* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 85–86.
[891] 'Riwajat ringkas dari Dinijjah School Poeteri', *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*, 9.

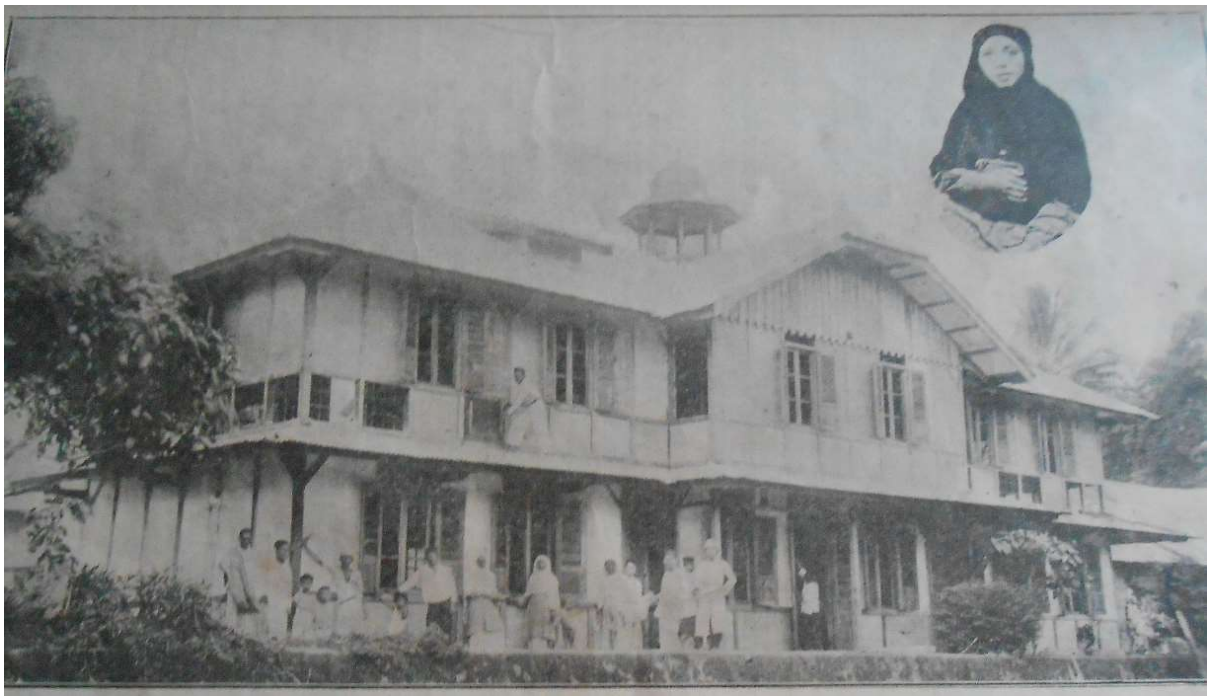

Figure 11: The main building of Dinijjah Poeteri, constructed in 1928, with a portrait of Rahmah el Joenoesijjah. This building is currently still used as a dormitory.
Source: *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*, 1938.

In June 1926, Padang Panjang was hit by a severe earthquake that completely destroyed the town. One of Dinijjah Poeteri's teachers died in this disaster.[892] After the earthquake, Dinijjah Poeteri for a while operated in an improvised bamboo structure, on a piece of land which belonged to Rahmah's mother. This is still the location of the school today. In 1928, after Rahmah had gone on a fundraising expedition across Sumatra, the construction of a new school could begin. The new building had two floors, with classrooms on the ground floor and dormitories on the second floor. This building is currently still used as a pondok. When the new building was opened, there were a total of 350 students of whom 275 lived in the dormitories.[893]

While Dinijjah Poeteri, as a religious school exclusively for Muslim girls, was a novelty in the Dutch East Indies, it certainly was part of a wider movement within reformist Islam. Eka Srimulyani, an expert on women and Islam, has noted the opening of the girls' pesantren Denanyar in 1930.[894] This move towards girls' education occurred throughout the Islamic world. In George Town in British Malaya, the reformist madrasah Al-Mashoor opened a girls'

[892] Ibid., 10–11.
[893] Ibid., 13.
[894] Eka Srimulyani, 'Muslim Women and Education in Indonesia: The Pondok Pesantren Experience', *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 27, no. 1 (2007): 86.

section, *Bahagian Puteri Madrasah Al-Mashoor Al-Islamiah*, in 1934, followed by the Sultan Zainab School for girls in Kota Bharu three years later.[895] In general, the development of reformist Islamic education for both boys and girls in Indonesia and Malaysia in the colonial era show many parallels, in particular on the level of synthesis between secular and religious knowledge.[896] Malay women were also inspired by the Indonesian Muslim women's movements in their activism for more access to religious knowledge.[897] Beyond South-East Asia, similar developments occurred: the first Islamic school for girls in Kenya opened in 1938. Although this school, like Dinijjah Poeteri and al-Mashoor, was part of a reformist Muslim movement that encouraged education for girls, it was different in terms of its audience. The Ghazali Muslim School did not cater specifically to indigenous populations, but increasingly focused on Arab girls whose families lived in Kenya.[898]

The Islamic educational movement stretched far beyond Southeast Asia. Cairo in particular had been a centre for reformist Islamic learning since at least 1880s, and the city was increasingly receiving students from the Indonesian archipelago and the Malay peninsula. The first Indonesian student to gain a degree from the famous Islamic university Al-Azhar, a Minangkabau, enrolled in 1919.[899] A few years later, students from Southeast Asia were sufficiently numerous to start their own association: they numbered around two hundred by the middle of the 1920s.[900] Egypt also had a tradition of Islamic education for girls: the first public school for the training for Muslim girls in the country had been opened by a wife of the khedive as early as the the 1870s.[901] In 1932, two graduates from Dinijjah Poeteri went to Cairo to continue their studies.[902] Twenty-five years later, Rahmah el Junusijjah would become the first woman to be awarded the title of *syaikhah* by Al-Azhar, confirming her status as a respected scholar of Islam.[903]

In spite of their differences, Dinijjah Poeteri and Taman Siswa had the same status within the colonial educational landscape. The government pejoratively termed such unsubsidized schools that operated outside its sphere of influence *wilde scholen* [wild schools], translated by indigenous organizations as *sekolah liar.* During the late 1920s and the 1930s the

[895] Mahani Musa, ed., *Memori 100 Tahun Sekolah Al Mashoor* (Georgetown: Jam'iyah Al-Ikha's Al-Khairiyah, 2016), 24. Muhamad Ali, *Islam and Colonialism: Becoming Modern in Indonesia and Malaya* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 244–45.
[896] Ali, *Islam and Colonialism*, 223–55.
[897] Ibid., 244.
[898] Decker, 'Fathers, Daughters, and Institutions', 273.
[899] William R. Roff, 'Indonesian and Malay Students in Cairo in the 1920's', *Indonesia* 9 (1970): 73.
[900] Ibid., 74.
[901] Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation*, 104.
[902] 'Doea Orang Gadis Bp. Berangkat ke Mesir', *Pandji Poestaka* 23, no. 10 (1932): 365.
[903] Rasyad, 'Rahmah El Yunisiyah', 252.

archipelago witnessed a boom in such schools. During the crisis years, he government tried to restrict access to higher-level Western education for Indonesian children. This was done for financial reasons, but also sprang from a fear that Western-educated young Indonesians would be driven into the arms of nationalists.[904] The new political focus on lower-level education stimulated the growth of Indonesian-led independent schools that corresponded to the local demand for Western education.[905] Another effect of the economic crisis in the 1930s was soaring unemployment amongst highly-educated Indonesians. They could no longer find employment in the colonial administrative service or in Western businesses, and instead took a job at one of the many 'wild schools'.[906]

The religious and political affiliations of these unofficial schools varied widely. Some of them were politically neutral, such as the small schools offering Dutch courses in Minahasa mentioned in the first chapter. Others had an outspokenly nationalist and anticolonial outlook. As they did not fall under the authority of the Department of Education, these schools designed their own curriculum. However, there were limits: when the administration decided a certain school was a threat to the public order, officials did not hesitate to take measures against it. In 1932, amidst mounting tensions between the government and nationalist activists, the former introduced the so-called *wilde scholen ordonnantie* [wild schools ordinance]. This decree ordered that teachers at independent schools needed to obtain a licence from the local resident. The Director of Education needed to assess the risk that the teacher in question would cause any disturbance of public order before such a licence could be obtained.[907] Needless to say, this was a blow against the nationalist movement as the ordonnance gave the government power over the independent schools. Large-scale protest actions, led by Taman Siswa and supported by other educational organizations, followed and the law was eventually repealed one year after its implementation.[908] The ordinance also attracted vehement protests from the young members of Pemoeda Taman Siswa.[909] As can be seen from the picture below, Wanita Taman Siswa women likewise engaged in activism for its repeal.

[904] Suwignyo, 'The Great Depression', 482.
[905] Ibid., 466.
[906] Ibid.
[907] *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* no. 494 (1933), Toezichtordonnantie particulier onderwijs.
[908] Kenji Tsuchiya, *Democracy and Leadership: The Rise of the Taman Siswa Movement in Indonesia*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 150–204. Ki Hadjar Dewantara, 'Ordonnantie baroe. Misbegrijpen dan misgreep', *Poesara* 2–3, no. 12–1 (1932): 92–94.
[909] Diksoewana and Singaranoe, 'Onderwijs Ordonnantie 1 Oktober', *Soeara Taman Siswa* 6, no. 3 (1932): 1–2.

Figure 12: A conference organised by Wanita Taman Siswa in Yogyakarta to protest the government ordinance against so-called 'wild schools'. Several women are posing with their young children. MTS inv. no. 1.62, 1932.

This did not mean, however, that the government ceded all control over the schools. Both when the ordinance was in force and afterwards, the government banned numerous people from the teaching profession. Among them were teachers at schools with a Chinese-nationalist, Indonesian-nationalist and reformist Islamic outlook, as well as teachers who were members of the communist party.[910] In 1934, for example, Darmaarka and Achmad Bahri, two teachers at a Taman Siswa school in Lampung, South Sumatra, were banned from their profession by the local resident. The authorities objected to several aspects of the education at their school. The children had had a day off to commemorate the anniversaries of the birth and the death of Prince Diponegoro, who had led the resistance against the Dutch in the Java War, but the birthdays of the Dutch royal family were not celebrated. The government also took issue with the fact that the children had made portraits of nationalist icons such as Mohandas Gandhi and Sukarno in

[910] ANRI AS GB TZGA inv. no. 9235. This file contains numerous dossiers of people who were banned from teaching between 1932 and 1934. Among them is Mohammad Hatta, the later Indonesian prime minister.

art class.[911] At another occasion, the teacher Soegondo was expelled from the Taman Siswa school in Bandung because he had spread anticolonial literature amongst his students that, according to the colonial administration, "purposely" painted a negative image of the relationship between people classified as Native and Europeans.[912] Soemarto Sastrosendjojo, the director of a Taman Siswa school in East Java, was banned from the teaching profession because the essays by his students expressed "an undesirable (…) anti-Western spirit."[913] The colonial government thus regarded Taman Siswa as a dangerous element that could damage its authority over Indonesians.

Unofficial schools such as Taman Siswa and Dinijjah Poeteri were diverse not only in their ideological outlook, but also in terms of the audience they wanted to reach. The aim of Taman Siswa was to provide a complete educational system for all ages, including classes for adults. There is no doubt that this target group was only indigenous and therefore, in the first instance, Javanese; in Taman Siswa publications, writers consistently spoke in terms of the bangsa [ethnic group]. The female students were described as *gadis kita* [our maidens/girls].[914] The sources do not mention the admission of Chinese, European or mixed-race children to a Taman Siswa school.

Taman Siswa also targeted specific social classes. Judging from the priyayi names of many of the organization's leaders, people in higher positions were often connected to the nobility. There are indications, however, that that children from different social classes entered Taman Siswa schools. One is the fact that both *kromo*, the formal form of Javanese, and *ngoko*, the informal language register, were taught in the schools.[915] A quote of a young priyayi woman, who had been educated at the elite Queen Wilhelmina School in Yogyakarta and took a job as a teacher at a Taman Siswa school in Purwokerto, is illuminating here. She wrote to her former teacher in a desperate tone of voice: "Oh dear Miss, in the highest class we have children from the common people (…) [T]hey need to learn proper Kromo and good manners."[916] Whom numbered among "the common people" in the eyes of a young woman from the priyayi elite, of course, depended on her own social class. The historian Ruth McVey has suggested that

[911] ANRI AS GB TZGA inv. no. 9235, Uittreksel uit het Register der Besluiten van den Resident der Lampongsche Districten, 13 February 1934.
[912] ANRI AS GB TZGA inv. no. 9235, Uittreksel uit het Besluit van den Gouverneur van West-Java, 5 July 1935.
[913] ANRI AS GB TZGA inv. no. 9235, Uittreksel uit het Register der Besluiten van den Gouverneur van Oost Java, 17 Juli 1935. *"een ongewenschte (...) anti-Westerschen geest (...)"*
[914] Tjokrodirdjo, 'Pendidikan oentoek gadis-gadis kita', *Poesara* 2–3, no. 12–1 (1932): 94–95.
[915] Ki Hadjar Dewantara, 'Leerplan pertama. Karseangan K.H. Dewantara pada th.1922', *Poesara* 7, no. 2/3 (1936): 13–30.
[916] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Soekriti to Ms. Wellensieck, 14 August 1935. "*O, lieve Juffrouw in de laatste afdeeling komen kinderen uit 't volk (...) ze moeten behoorlijk kunnen Kromo (sic) en ook manieren kennen."*

people who sent their children to Taman Siswa schools were mainly "clerks and petty bureaucrats" who were unable to get their sons and daughters into the government HIS, but still wanted to connect to the colonial elite at a time of economic insecurity.[917] Taman Siswa thus was an initiative lead by upper-class people, aimed at the wider middle-class population, even though there were also priyayi families who sent their children to Taman Siswa schools out of ideological motives.[918]

At Dinijjah Poeteri, all Muslim girls from the archipelago and even from Southeast Asia in a broader sense could enter. At its fifteenth anniversary in 1938, the school published a memorial book. Rahmah el Joenoessijah's introduction to this book, in which she explained her educational aims amidst Quranic verses in Arabic, is very informative about her ideals. She described her students as "the Muslim daughters of Indonesia", using the nationalist name for the archipelago as adopted by nationalist in the aforementioned Youth Pledge of 1928.[919] Students from across the Indonesian border could were welcome as well, as can be concluded from a list of students published at the fifty-fifth anniversary of the school indicating the geographical origins of the students from 1930 onwards. While most students came from West Sumatra, from the beginning onwards there were girls coming from other regions of the vast Sumatran island.[920] In the second half of the 1930s at least five girls from British Malaya were admitted.[921] According to the memories of Aishah Ghani, a Malayan who entered the school in 1936, she even had schoolmates from the Moluccas, East Timor, Sulawesi and Kalimantan.[922] Clearly, the school was known among parents who adherent to reformist Islam far beyond West Sumatra.

Proposing a gendered alternative

Both Ki Hadjar Dewantara and Rahmah el Junusijjah strongly believed that existing schools after the European model were not suitable for indigenous children. Their respective arguments, however, diverged. Ki Hadjar Dewantara saw Western-style education as the cause of a cultural

[917] McVey, 'Taman Siswa', 146.
[918] Ibid.
[919] Rahmah el Joenoessijah, 'Sepatah kata pendahoeloean', *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*, 1. *"(...) poeteri Islam Indonesia ini."*
[920] 'Nama-nama peladjar jang telah menematkan Dinijjah School Poeteri', *Peringatan 55 Tahun Diniyah Puteri Padangpanjang* (Ghalia Indonesia, 1978), 374–78.
[921] 'Daftar berbagai kegiatan bekas pelajar Diniyah/KMI dalam masyarakat', Ibid., 147.
[922] Aishah Ghani, *Memoir Seorang Pejuang* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia, 1992), 7. For a an account of Ghani's life, see Helen Ting, 'Shamsiah Fakeh and Aishah Ghani in Malaya: Nationalists in Their Own Right, Feminists Ahead of Their Time', in *Women in Southeast Asian Nationalist Movements*, ed. Susan Blackburn and Helen Ting (Singapore: NUS Press, 2013), 147–74.

weakening of the Javanese people. He argued that public education was based on intellectualism, materialism and individualism, principles that he saw as antithetical to the Javanese value system.[923] According to him, the colonial school system had had instilled the indigenous people of the Netherlands Indies with a sense of inferiority. They had started to look down on their own culture and aspired to be European, but were unable to fully realize this. Javanese people had thus gained nothing in return for the loss of their own cultural identity and had ended up in a state of alienation.[924] Non-governmental initiatives in the vein of the ethical policy, such as the Kartini schools, did not form a good alternative for the public school system because they, too, "stank of the colonial spirit" [*berbaoe roch kolonial*].[925] As a solution, Ki Hadjar Dewantara proposed "a return to the national".[926] Under the Javanese adage *Soetji tata ngèsti toenggal*, that Ki Hadjar Dewantoro translated as "Purity and Order, striving for perfection", Taman Siswa offered an educational system based on the HIS, but balanced out with Javanese cultural elements.[927]

Rahmah's motivations for opening Dinijjah Poeteri were also connected to the negative effects of colonialism she identified in indigenous communities, but she proposed a different remedy. In her eyes, the answer to Western domination did not lie in a revival of local culture, but in a reform of Islam. With the ascent of the European colonial entities, Islamic leaders in Asia and North Africa had had lost much of their political power. By the 1920s almost the entire Islamic world had been incorporated in European colonialist systems.[928] Reformist Islamic movements such as the Kaum Muda aimed at to respond to these developments by strengthening Islam from the inside out. These reformists, including the Kaum Muda, strived to fortify Islam by incorporating Western forms of knowledge in Islamic scholarship.[929] Their premise was that Muslims should let go of their adat beliefs and turn to the Quran and the Sunna, coupled with "rational" education, to turn the tide for the "decline" of Islamic civilization.[930] This idea formed the base of the education offered at Dinijjah Poeteri.

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[923] K.H. Dewantara, 'Een en ander over "nationaal onderwijs" en het instituut "Taman Siswo" te Jogjakarta', in *Indisch Vrouwenjaarboek 1936*, ed. M.A.E. Van Lith-Van Schreven and J.H. Hooykaas-Van Leeuwen Boomkamp (Yogyakarta: Kolff-Buning, 1936), 208–9. For an English translation, see Ki Hadjar Dewantara, 'Some Aspects of National Education and the Taman Siswa Institute of Yogyakarta', trans. Ruth T. McVey, *Indonesia* 4 (1967): 150–68.
[924] K.H. Dewantara, 'Een en ander over "nationaal onderwijs"', 207.
[925] Nji Soerat, 'Kommentar Pidato Peringat R.A. Kartini', *Poesara* 2, no. 7–8 (1932): 65.
[926] K.H. Dewantara, 'Een en ander over "nationaal onderwijs"', 211. "*Terug naar het nationale!"*
[927] Ibid., 206. *"Zuiverheid en orde, strevende naar de volmaaktheid".*
[928] Francis Robinson, 'Crisis of Authority, Crisis of Islam?', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, 19, no. 3 (2009): 345.
[929] Hefner, 'Introduction: The Politics and Cultures of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia', 20.
[930] Laffan, *The Umma below the Winds*, 120.

The place of religion in the Taman Siswa context was very different. First of all, Ki Hadjar Dewantara had not grown up in a Kaum Muda milieu. His priyayi background was shaped by a particularly Javanese form of Islam that is strongly influenced by Buddhism, Hinduism and folk beliefs. This is the belief system of *abangan*, nominal Muslims, as opposed to the more orthodox *santri*. This binary has dominated historiography about Javanese Islam to a great extent since the anthropologist Clifford Geertz first identified it in 1960.[931] Even though the abangan gained the reputation of being Muslims in name only, their religion was in fact a synthesis of indigenous spiritual beliefs and observance of the five pillars of Islam.[932]

At the first Colonial Education Congress in The Hague in in 1916, Ki Hadjar Dewantara himself described himself as "no less religious than the most pious Mohammedan", but belonging to no official religion in particular.[933] This was probably a reference to Taman Siswa's deep involvement with Javanese mysticism, a prominent aspect of Javanese Islam. Prominent Taman Siswa members followed Ki Hadjar Dewanatara and his wife in adopting the mystical title Ki or Ni, signifying the status of a spiritual teacher. [934] Many elements of Taman Siswa education referred back to Javanese mythology and cosmology.[935] The ideal relationship between the teachers and his pupils in the Taman Siswa system, for example, was modelled on that of teachers of mysticism and their disciples.[936] The organization called its model of education the 'Among system', after a Javanese term for care, to evoke the centrality of spiritual, mental and physical growth in its ideology.[937]

Rather than marking Taman Siswa as not being Islamic because of its Javanese mystical elements, it is more useful to think of the organization as being rooted in a different current in Islam than Dinijjah Poeteri and the Kaum Muda. Taman Siswa activists often emphasized their Muslim identity, even if Ki Hadjar Dewantara personally preferred not to do so. The men and women of Taman Siswa discussed themes touching on Islam such as polygamy in the journal *Poesara*, supporting their arguments with Quranic citations.[938] Contributors to the journal also often referred to the *batin*, the inner spirit of a person, a central concept in Javanese beliefs. A Taman Siswa member who wrote under the pen name Gadjah Mada, a famous politician from

[931] M.C. Ricklefs, 'The Birth of the Abangan', *BKI* 162, no. 1 (2006): 35–36.
[932] Ibid., 37.
[933] *Eerste koloniaal onderwijs congres. Stenografisch verslag. 's-Gravenhage 28, 29 en 30 augustus 1916*, 221.
[934] Tsuchiya, *Democracy and Leadership*, 63–64.
[935] Ibid., 1–15.
[936] Romain Bertrand, 'Javanese Visions of the Dutch Empire. Early Twentieth Century Priyayi Contributions to the Reform (and Demise) of Dutch Colonialism', Visions of Empire in Dutch History from the Early Modern Period to the 21st Century, Leiden University, 29 September 2016), 6.
[937] R.M.H. Soemarta, 'Taman Siswa', *Oedaya* 5, no. 2 (1928): 22.
[938] Nji Sri Mangoensarkoro, 'So'al Polygami', *Poesara* 4, no. 1 (1934): 138–39.

the mediaeval Majapahit era, argued that the essential education for children was *pendidikan batin*, education of the spirit.[939] The prominent female member Nji Sri Mangoensarkoro also stressed the importance of *kabatinan* in her writings on girls' education.[940] It was precisely this combination of Islamic religious elements and Javanese mysticism that characterized the spiritual outlook of Taman Siswa.

In the case of Dinijjah Poeteri, the Islam that took centre stage at the school was a very particular form of that religion as well. Kaum Muda reform was radical in the sense that it implied a completely different outlook on the notion of which knowledge was valuable, and, indeed, on what counted as knowledge at all. Traditionally, religious authority within Islam depended on the oral transmission of texts, as this was how ulama traditionally passed on the Quran and the Hadith, the words and deeds of the prophet, to the next generation.[941] Their reputation and authority was based on the genealogy of their expertise: in other words, on the line of teachers that had come before them, leading back all the way to the prophet Mohammed.[942] Thus, in the words of the historian of Islam Francis Robinson, "person-to-person transmission was at the heart of authoritative transmission of knowledge."[943] The Kaum Muda thus transformed what knowledge meant in Islamic education, relying on textbooks instead of oral transmission of the sacred texts, and by encouraging its followers to read and interpret scripture for themselves. Even more than blackboards, graded classes and printed textbooks, this was the crucial innovation of Kaum Muda education.

Apart from these underlying motives for setting up her school, Rahmah's motivations also depended on her analysis of gender relationships in local society. Rahmah perceived a lack of general knowledge of Islam among Minangkabau women. According to her, women often ran the risk of "sinking into the valley of ignorance" [*hendam karam kedalam lembah kedjahilan*] because they did not receive enough information about their religion, and were ashamed to ask men questions.[944] Rahmah therefore promised that Dinijjah Poeteri would always strive for two things: to provide women with knowledge about their religion, and to fight for their advancement or progress [*kemadjoean*] as Muslims and as mothers.[945] In the context of Dinijjah Poeteri, *kemadjoean* is usually connected to the advancement of women within Islam and the 'enlightenment' of the Indonesian people as a whole by way of education.

[939] Gadjahmadha, 'Didiklah Kamoe Sendiri!', *Poesara* 2, no. 1–2 (1932): 12.
[940] Nji Sri Mangoensarkoro, 'Pendidikan Anak Perempoean', *Poesara* 1, no. 1–2 (1931): 7.
[941] Robinson, 'Crisis of Authority', 341.
[942] Ibid., 343.
[943] Ibid.
[944] Rahmah el Joenoessijah, 'Sepatah kata pendahoeloean', *Boekoe Peringatan Tahoen*, 2.
[945] Ibid.

Advancement of women's motherly skills and their knowledge about religion were inextricably connected and ultimately came down to the same thing. This is a parallel with the activities of 'Aijsjah, the aforementioned women's chapter of Mohammadijah, whose members educated women about Islam as well. The second part of Rahmah's remark touches upon women's embarrassment to ask men for information about Islam. This indicates that she wanted Dinijjah Poeteri to be a place where women could learn in their own space. This was an important motivation for the opening of a girls-only school, that differed markedly from her brother's coeducational Dinijah School. Rahmah believed that girls would not be able to express themselves freely and develop their intellect unrestrictedly if they had to study in the presence of men.[946] There were also specific topics, such as biological aspects of a woman's live, which she considered shameful to talk about in mixed-gender classrooms. Separate girls' education was thus also needed to avoid feelings of embarrassment.[947]

The latent sexuality of boys and girls was also interpreted as an argument for gender-segregated education. At Dinijjah Poeteri, adulthood was thought about in terms of the Islamic juridical concept *baligh*. According to Islam, boys can be considered adults after their first ejaculation, and girls when they have started menstruating. From this age onward, girls and boys alike are held responsible for their own sins.[948] The age of baligh marks the moment when it becomes necessary to separate boys and girls to avoid unwanted sexual behaviour. This wariness of 'immorality' also guided the Dinijjah Poeteri dress codes. All students were required to cover their hair and body.[949] As shown in the picture below, during prayers girls wore long white *telekung*, a prayer garments over their regular clothes, a common practice in West Sumatra and Southeast Asia more broadly. Outside of the masjid the students adhered to dress rules as well. The girls wore a long skirt, a jilbab [headscarf] that covered their chest, and a *baju kurung basiba*, a Minangkabau garment that covered their body up to the ankles and hid their body shape. This assured that the students would adhere to the Islamic concept of *menutupi aurot* [covering nakedness] which entails dressing rules for both men and women.[950]

[946] Rahmah el Joenoessijah, 'Sepatah kata pendahoeloean', *Boekoe Peringatan Tahoen*, 2.
[947] Interview with Fauzi Fauzan El-Muhammady, Director of Human Resources Perguruan Diniyyah Putri, Padang Panjang, 22 August 2016.
[948] Parker, 'Religion, Class and Schooled Sexuality', 68.
[949] Ghani, *Memoir*, 9.
[950] Parker, 'Religion, Class and Schooled Sexuality', 68.

Figure 13: Dinijjah Poeteri students performing prayer at *maghrib*, sunset prayer. All girls are wearing white prayer garments [*telekung*]. The caption to the left reads: "The most important education." Source: *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*, 1938, 83.

In the Kaum Muda interpretation of the Quran, the entire female body was potentially seductive to men. Dinijjah Poeteri students were therefore not allowed to show body parts other than their face and their hands. Strict dress rules are still in force at the school.[951] In the West Sumatran educational context, compulsory wearing of the jilbab is not uncommon.[952]

In other respects, too, the girls lived a protected life under strict supervision. They were not allowed to interact with boys who were not related to them, and all their letters were read by teachers before they were sent out.[953] In thesis sense, there were thus some parallels between Dinijjah Poeteri and the Christian schools described in the previous chapter. The girls who lived in the pondok were not allowed leave the school grounds by themselves. On Sundays, teachers organized trips outside the city or to the town centre, but always under guidance.[954] Aisha Ghani,

[951] *Peringatan 55 Tahun*, 'Peraturan asrama', 55–56.
[952] Parker, 'Religion, Class and Schooled Sexuality', 74–76.
[953] Ghani, *Memoir*, 9.
[954] *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*, 'Peratoeran internaat tiap-tiap hari', 19. During my visit to Diniyyah Puteri in August 2016, students told me that this rule is still in force.

Figure 14: Rahmah el Junusijjah with students at Dinijjah Poeteri, 1937. Standing in the middle is Aishah Ghani. Note the richly decorated wrapping skirts and the white *baju kurung basiba*, as well as the white headscarves. Source: Ting, 'Shamsiah Fakeh and Aishah Ghani', 149.

the aforementioned student from British Malaya, fondly remembered the school trips to waterfalls, lakes and mountains.[955]

A final reason for girls-only education was that Rahmah, like most other educators discussed in this thesis, believed that girls needed specific knowledge to prepare them for their future role as mothers. According to the current leadership of Dinijjah Poeteri, Rahmah discerned three stages in the life of a woman: that of the daughter, the wife and the mother.[956] This is especially poignant given that Rahmah herself had been married off at the age of fourteen, had divorced after her husband took on more wives, and remained childless.[957] The last stage, that of motherhood, was the most important one, as mothers carried the heavy

[955] Ghani, *Memoir*, 9.
[956] Interview with Fauzi Fauzan El-Muhammady, Padang Pangjang, 22 August 2016.
[957] Vreede-de Stuers, 'The Life of Rankayo Rahmah El Yunisiya: The Facts and the Image', 55.

responsibility of being the primary educators of their children. It was the main goal of Dinijjah Poeteri to raise their students into *Iboe Pendidik*, "mother-educators", who would be able to show to their sons and daughters the straight path of Islam.[958] The incorporation of subjects such as pedagogy and hygiene in the Dinijjah Poeteri curriculum, and the teaching of domestic science, was meant to prepare girls for their task in the family. The girls in the pondok also learnt how to cook and sew, and every day some of them went shopping for food together with their teachers.[959]

In contrast to Dinijjah Poeteri, Taman Siswa schools were coeducational up to a certain age. As Ni Soelasmi, a prominent member of the Batavian Wanita Taman Siswa, explained, young boys and girls could learn from each other through daily contact. The presence of girls would stimulate politeness and gentleness in boys, whereas girls would become braver by playing with their male peers.[960] This is a first indicator that Taman Siswa attached great importance to specifically gendered forms of behaviour, and also wanted to stimulate a gendered environment where boys and girls were assigned different roles.

Differences in the curriculum for boys and girls were underpinned by the idea of the *kodrat*, which translates to 'nature' or 'character'. Within Taman Siswa, kodrat signified the idea that men and women were predestined to fulfil separate, but equally important, roles in the world. Women were mainly held responsible for the household and the spiritual realm of life, whereas men's roles were imagined to be outside of the house and in the material world. Men and women thus played complementary roles. This was also the ideological foundation of the Taman Siswa women's organization, Wanita Taman Siswa.[961] In practice, it meant that its members, many of whom were Taman Siswa teachers, were charged with supervising the education of young children and girls within Taman Siswa. Women's kodrat also regulated the practical division of gender roles within the organization: Wanita Taman Siswa members were usually called upon for kitchen tasks during meetings and conferences.[962]

Taman Siswa activists believed that women who neglected or denied their kodrat ran the risk of becoming "imitation men" [*lelaki tiroean*] instead of "authentic women" [*perempoean jang aseli*].[963] European women, who according to Taman Siswa strived for

[958] Rahmah el Joenoessijah, 'Sepatah kata pendahoeloean', *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*, 2. The term 'ibu pendidik' was still used in the school in the postcolonial context. Peacock, *Purifying the Faith*, 68.
[959] Ibid., Peratoeran internaat tiap-tiap hari', 19.
[960] Ni Soelasmi, 'Pendidikan anak anak. Pidato dimoeka Rapat-Iboe di Djakarta', *Poesara* 3, no. 11 (1933): 168.
[961] Nji Sri Mangoensarkoro, 'Kedoedoekan wanita dalam keloearga Taman Siswa', *Poesara* 4, no. 15 (December 1934): 194.
[962] Wanita Tamansiswa, *Kenangan tujuh dasa warsa*, 10–11.
[963] Nji Sri Mangoensarkoro, 'Arti cultuur dalam pergerakan perempoean Indonesia', *Poesara* 4, no. 13 (1934): 175.

complete equality to men, would pay with their femininity and decency until their households were messy, their marriages collapsed and nothing else counted but appearance and money.[964]

Ki Hadjar Dewantoro stressed that, apart from intellectual education, the core of Taman Siswa was "education in the sense of moral caretaking and training."[965] This was reflected in the curriculum as well. In the 1930 curriculum, for example, classes in morality an etiquette [*kesopanan*] were proscribed for the students of the second class of the Taman Moeda.[966] The programme for the natural sciences included *ilmoe chodrat*: knowledge about the kodrat and skills that were useful for both sexes.[967]

Morality was leading in the education of girls especially. The Taman Siswa leadership held that 'free' social mixing with boys, as was generally accepted for Westerners [*orang barat*], was inappropriate for girls belonging to an Eastern nation [*bangsa kita, orang timoer*].[968] Here again, we see how Western culture is presented as diametrically opposed to 'Eastern' values. Within Taman Siswa, the category of 'Eastern' meant Javanese in the first place, but also could be expanded to include 'Asia', as some authors did, pointing at Taman Siswa students' Asian backgrounds.[969] In fact, many arguments in Taman Siswa publications revolved around the binary between Eastern and Western, Asian and European. According to the author of an article about "education for our girls" [*pendidikan oentoek gadis-gadis kita*], the Western values imported by the colonial power made girls brash and rough in their thoughts and behaviour.[970] *Gadis*, the word used in the article to describe young female students, literally means 'maiden' and signifies a young women who is still a virgin. Even though unmarried Javanese girls could sometimes be attracted to the Western habits of unrestricted contact with their male peers, the author argued that this tendency needed to be combatted by reminding them of their own culture and traditions.[971]

According to Taman Siswa, young girls could be educated alongside boys until around the age of sixteen, when *hawa nafsu* [sexual passion or lust] started to loom in the contact between the sexes. From then onwards, girls should not be allowed to mix with boys until they were around twenty years old, when they had learnt the rules of propriety and were ready to

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[964] Nji Soediro, 'Perempoean dan kesosialan', *Poesara* 4, no. 15 (1934): 199.
[965] K.H. Dewantara, 'Een en ander over "nationaal onderwijs"', 213. "*Wij wenschen niet slechts intellectueele vorming, maar ook en vooral opvoeding in de betekenis van zedelijke verzorging en training.*"
[966] Ki S. Mangoensarkara, 'Daftar Pengadjaran Pergoeroean Kebangsaan "Taman-Siswa"', *Poesara* 7, no. 4 (1937): 32.
[967] Ibid., 39. Puzzlingly, *memasang rota besi* [assembling iron wheels] was included as an example of *ilmoe chodrat*. Maybe this was meant as a technical skill for young men.
[968] Ni Soelasmi, 'Pembatasan Vrije-Omgang', *Poesara* 4, no. 5 (1934): 77.
[969] Tjokrodirdjo, 'Dalton-systeem boekan barang baroe bagi kita', *Poesara* 3, no. 6 (1933): 84–85.
[970] Tjokrodirdjo, 'Pendidikan oentoek gadis-gadis kita', 95.
[971] Ibid.

become dutiful wives. Above all else, girls needed to learn to respect their kodrat and the correct behaviour that was associated with it.[972] Self-correction was important here: both boys and girls needed to be aware that improper behaviour could damage their reputation.[973] It is interesting to see that Taman Siswa called for adherence to adat in these matters, while their educational practices digressed notably from older priyayi traditions. As we have seen before, around the turn of the twentieth century priyayi girls still went into complete seclusion around their twelfth year to await marriage, a practice that was not compatible with Taman Siswa views of girls' education. Instead of strictly adopting adat regulations, then, Taman Siswa aimed to adapt them to twentieth-century Javanese society.

While there was no Taman Siswa primary girls' school in Yogyakarta, the organization did open a girls' boarding house to ensure the chastity of their older female students The boarding house as a concept was important in Taman Siswa education. In the ideal case, Taman Siswa schoolgrounds housed not only a school building, but the headteacher's home and boarding houses as well.[974] The school was meant to function as a "home" for the students, who called their teachers *iboe* [mother] and *bapak* [father]. [975] In a striking resemblance to elite boarding schools such as the Queen Wilhelmina School, Taman Siswa aimed for a *gezins-sfeer* [family atmosphere] in its institutions.[976] The boarders at the girls' boarding house, Wismo Rini [the House of Girls], were supervised by an aged teacher and his wife.[977] According to Soemini, a former boarding student, the girls took care of their own household so they could practice their domestic skills. They also practiced the arts of batik and played gamelan music in the weekends, and sometimes visited members of the Javanese nobility in to become familiar with the traditional etiquette.[978]

[972] Nji Safioedin Soerjopoetro, 'Pendidikan anak-anak perempoean', *Poesara* 4, no. 15 (1934): 197–98.
[973] Ni Soelasmi, 'Pembatasan Vrije-Omgang', 77.
[974] K.H. Dewantara, 'Een en ander over "nationaal onderwijs"', 213.
[975] Ibid., 214.
[976] R.M.H. Soemarta, 'Taman Siswa', 22.
[977] C.P. Gunning, 'De Taman Siswo school', *Oedaya* 5, no. 7 (1928): 110.
[978] Soemini, 'Iets over het meisjesinternaat "Wismo Rini"', *Oedaya* 5, no. 10 (1928): 149.

Figure 15: Students at the Wismo Rini boarding house, 1932. The older woman in the middle is likely the wife of the boarding house supervisor. MTS inv. no. 1.73.

The Taman Siswa Museum in Yogyakarta holds a number of previously unpublished pictures of Wismo Rini. The picture above shows the interior of the boarding house. Aligning with Javanese customs, the students are all dressed in sarong and kebaya, are wearing their hair combed back, and are sitting on the floor. Javanese households traditionally did not make use of chairs. Such gestures were important and even politicized within Taman Siswa, as exemplified by the remark of one supporter on a picture of a group of Taman Siswa girls sitting around their female teacher during a conversation lesson: "How wonderful it is, to see how the girls are sitting on the floor around their teacher, according to the national custom."[979]

At Taman Siswa, sport was one of the areas in which gender differences were most apparent. Taman Siswa education emphasized the physical talents of the students, both male and female. Teachers encouraged their students to play sport, as they believed this was important for their health and character development. Both boys and girls were thus obliged to take part in physical activities, but these were restricted by what was considered proper. For example, in a Dutch-language article one commentator spoke passionately about the "nobility of character" [*karakteradel*] that he believed should be stimulated in male students: the boys needed to be "prepared for every form of labour and for the struggle for life." By practicing

[979] R.M.H. Soemarta, 'Taman Siswa', 22.

athletic sports such as javelin throw and shot put, boys could go from being "languid" to "fresh and fit".[980] These sports were seen as inappropriate for girls, who were encouraged to do other physical activities. Most notably, they were instructed in Javanese dance, and they were also allowed to ride bikes.[981]

Gender differences were discussed not only in the mental or spiritual terms connected to the kodrat: there was a clear physical element to this as well. Being healthy, the Taman Siswa member Nji Safioedin Soerjopoetro explained in *Poesara*, meant something different for a woman than it did for a man. A healthy man needed a strong body, so he would be able to do physical labour. A women's body, by contrast, was predestined to pregnancy, giving birth and breastfeeding. Rough sports like boxing were therefore ruled out for women, because their bodies needed to retain their "soft" qualities.[982] Women's football, as well, would exceed the limits of decency and femininity [*keperempoeanan*].[983] All in all, educators needed to make sure that girls would not wear Western sports clothes or played sports that would cause them to forget their sense of what was feminine and sacred.[984] In line with this kind of reasoning, Taman Siswa also forbade mixed-gender team sports at its schools. All sports during which girls and boys engaged in physical contact were inappropriate for true supporters of the Javanese cultural nationalism that Taman Siswa stood for.[985] This argument had clear practical implications: the popular Dutch mixed-gender ball sport korfball, for example, was played by all-male teams at Taman Siswa schools.[986]

As we have seen, in the context of Taman Siswa gender roles for boys and girls where usually defined with reference to the adat and the underlying ideas about kodrat. At the same time, the pedagogic philosophies that formed the foundation of the Taman Siswa curricula were influenced by contemporary Western modes of thought. This was the case at Dinijjah Poeteri as well. Around the end of the nineteenth century, the theories and methods of so-called reform pedagogy became popular in the Netherlands, as well as in many other countries in Europe and

[980] Tjokrodirdjo, 'Opvoeding der jongelingen: "karakteradel"', *Poesara* 4, no. 10 (1934): 137. *"(...) paraat tot elken arbeid en tot levensstrijd."*
[981] K.H. Dewantara, 'Een en ander over "nationaal onderwijs"', 214.
[982] Nji Safioedin Soerjopoetro, 'Pendidikan anak-anak perempoean', 196.
[983] Nji Soediro, 'Perempoean dan kesosialan', 198.
[984] Nji Safioedin Soerjopoetro, 'Pendidikan anak-anak perempoean', 196.
[985] 'Korfbal boeat gadis ta'pantas!', *Poesara* 1, no. 6–7 (1931): 47.
[986] Photo collection Museum Taman Siswa Dewantara Kirti Griya (hereafter MTS), inv. no. 1.102, 1932. Photo caption: Pemain bola keranjang (korfbal) dan supporter serta pengasuh yang terdiri atas Pamong Tamansiswa Mataram.

beyond, including North America and Australia.[987] Pedagogues such as the Italian Maria Montessori and the American Helen Parkhurst, who developed an educational model called the Dalton system, encouraged parents and teachers to empathize with children. In their view, and that of their nineteenth-century predecessors Friedrich Fröbel and Georg Friedrich Pestalozzi, children needed first of all be stimulated to explore the world around them at their own initiative. Their teaching methods emphasized the importance of educational play, cooperation and creativity.[988] The Fröbel method, that involved a lot of creative craftwork, was often used for toddlers' education in colonial schools in the Dutch East Indies. In the Tomohon Girls' School it had been adopted as early as the 1880s.[989] It was also used in the Queen Wilhelmina School in Yogyakarta from the opening in 1907 onwards.[990] Teachers regularly received boxes full of "Fröbel materials" such as scraps of fabric, paper and beads from their supporters in the Netherlands.[991] In the Netherlands, the teacher Jan Ligthart was the most influential advocate of reform pedagogy. During his studies in The Hague, the young Soewardi Soerjaningrat worked together with Ligthart and was involved with the opening of the first Dutch Montessori school.[992] In his private library, that is held in the Taman Siswa Museum in Yogyakarta, the later Ki Hadjar Dewantoro kept several books that speak to his interest in reform pedagogy, such as a 1901 Dutch edition of *Barnets århundrade* [The Century of the Child] by the Swedish reform pedagogue Ellen Key and Ietje Kooistra's *Menschen in wording* [People in the Making] from 1913. Kooistra was the most prominent Dutch pedagogical thinker of her time and a champion of secondary education for girls.[993]

It is telling that the house of Ki Hadjar Dewantara and his wife, as well as the classrooms at their Yogyakarta school, were decorated with portraits of Maria Montessori and Friedrich Fröbel. These paintings are now part of the collection of the Taman Siswa Museum. Apart from the emphasis on creative play and children's imagination, some currents in reform pedagogy – notably Fröbelian theory – had a strong spiritual element.[994] The German pedagogue Friedrich Fröbel had paid attention to not only the physical and mental development of children, but to

[987] Larry Prochner, 'Tracking Kindergarten as a Travelling Idea', in *Kindergarten Narratives on Froebelian Education. Transnational Investigations*, ed. Helen May, Kristen Nawrotski, and Larry Prochner (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 1–4.
[988] Dekker, *Het verlangen naar opvoeden*, 373–77.
[989] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1252, Rapport. De meisjesschool te Tomohon, June 1883.
[990] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 5, Eerste verslag 1907.
[991] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 8, Vierde verslag 1911-1913.
[992] Tsuchiya, *Democracy and Leadership*, 31.
[993] Nelleke Bakker, 'Kooistra, Ietje (1861-1923)', in *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*, 2017, http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Kooistra.
[994] Michael Shapiro, *Child's Garden: The Kindergarten Movement from Froebel to Dewey* (University Park/London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1983), 20.

their spiritual growth as well.[995] An example of this approach is the centrality of Fröbel's *Spielgaben* or 'gifts', simple shapes that were offered to children as toys in a fixed sequence and that would allow them to discover "metaphysical patterns".[996] Such elements would have undoubtedly spoken to Taman Siswa members who engaged extensively with Javanese mysticism. In a 1928 article, Ki Hadjar Dewantara commented positively on Fröbel's ideas and explained to Taman Siswa members that children's play possessed great educational value.[997] The name of the organization, the Javanese term for 'Garden of Students' was even modelled on the German *Kindergarten*, which had been introduced by Fröbel in 1840.[998] The Taman Siswa version of the kindergarten proper, where toddlers engaged in educational play that emphasized and stimulated sensory perception, was called Taman Indriya [Garden of the Senses].[999] The Taman Siswa museum holds a picture of children in this division, doing handicrafts using what appears to be reed or leaves.[1000]

Ki Hadjar Dewantara's enthusiasm about theories that originated in Europe and the United States may seem contradictory given his critical stance towards Western education. However, Taman Siswa members argued that these ideas had been present in traditional Indonesian forms of education for centuries, and that their value was only now being discovered by European educators. For example, one article in *Poesara* recounted that in traditional pesantren every child had already memorized the Quran at his own speed. The teacher sat on the floor among his students and helped every child according to his own needs.[1001] This teaching method was only now being introduced in Western schools under the influence of Helen Parkhurst's Dalton method, which recommended individually tailored education. By using the Dalton method, the writer concluded, Taman Siswa was bringing children back to their Asian roots.[1002] The Dalton plan itself was also presented in *Poesara*.[1003]

Following contemporary pedagogic theories, play and creativity were important in Taman Siswa schools. In the 1930 curriculum *pekerdjaan tangan* [handicrafts] figured

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[995] Ibid., 21.
[996] Ibid., 23.
[997] Ki Hadjar Dewantara, 'Methode Montessori, Fröbel dan Taman-Anak. Permainan anak itoelah pendidikan', in *Pola-Wasita. Karangan Ki Hadjar Dewantara. Kitab ke-1* (Mataram [Yogyakarta]: Madjelis Peroesahaan Kitab dari Persatoean Taman-Siswa, 1933), 23–27.
[998] Tim Harper, 'The Tools of Transition: Education and Development in Modern Southeast Asian History', in *History, Historians and Development Policy. A Necessary Dialogue*, ed. C.A. Bayly et al. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 210.
[999] McVey, 'Taman Siswa', 145.
[1000] MTS inv. no. 1.35, 1939. Photo caption: Taman Indriya di Pendapa Tamansiswa Yogyakarta.
[1001] Tjokrodirdjo, 'Dalton-systeem boekan barang baroe bagi kita', 85.
[1002] Ibid.
[1003] 'Principles of the Daltonplan', *Poesara* 4, no. 10 (1934): 137–38.

prominently: children made objects out of paper, leaves, coconut shells and other materials so that their "desire to create" would be stimulated. This class was followed by boys and girls alike.[1004] In the first draft of the Taman Siswa curriculum, Ki Hadjar Dewantara also reserved a lot of space for *zintuigoefening* [sensory practice] and handicrafts, recommending that the children worked with flowers, plant seeds, beads and paper. He wanted the youngest children in the preparatory class, around the age of four, to use "Fröbel- and Montessori-materials", but emphasized the need for "an own interpretation rather than an 'imitation' of the Fröbel- and Montessori-methods."[1005] In concrete terms, this 'nationalisation' of Western pedagogic methods meant that children were stimulated to play Javanese games and sing local songs rather than European ones, and that they would use materials from their own environment for creative play. Ki Hadjar Dewantara reminded his followers that imported methods needed to be adapted so that they would be in harmony [*dilaras*] with indigenous culture. Only those things should be adopted, he wrote, which "are useful for us and add to our wealth in terms of spiritual or physical culture."[1006] This quote excellently summarizes Taman Siswa's attitude towards Western education and Western culture more general. It is no coincidence that the Taman Siswa Museum holds various pictures of children playing 'national children's games' [*permainan anak setjara kebangsaan*].[1007] In the context of Taman Siswa, the choice of games for children in this way held political importance because it could strengthen children's sense of *kebangsaan*, their feelings of belonging and cultural pride.

While the influence of reform pedagogy on Taman Siswa has been noted in some of the historiography about the organization,[1008] this has not been the case for Dinijjah Poeteri. In this Muslim girls' school the Western reform pedagogy of the early twentieth century nonetheless played a role as well. In her introduction to a 1938 memorial book, published at the occasion of Dinijjah Poeteri's fifteenth anniversary, Rahmah quoted the Swiss reform pedagogue Pestalozzi: "Always strive for dignity, so that your life may be useful to the people around you."[1009] In line with reform pedagogy, she emphasized the need for "harmonious development"

[1004] Ki S. Mangoensarkara, 'Daftar Pengadjaran', 33.

[1005] Ki Hadjar Dewantara, 'Leerplan pertama', 22. *"(...) meer een eigen interpretatie dan 'imitatie' van de Fröbel- en Montessori-methode."*

[1006] Ki Hadjar Dewantara, 'Permainan anak itoelah pendidikan', 25. *"Tjarilah barang-barang jang berfaidah oentoek kita dan jang dapat menambahkan kekekajaan kita hal kultuur lahir atau batin!"*

[1007] 'Moelai T.S. berdiri maka permainan anak setjara kebangsaan (nationale kinderspelen) dipeladjaran didalam bagian Taman Anak', *Poesara* 5, no. 3 (1935): 115. MTS inv. no. 1.72, 193. Photo caption: Permainan anak, no date.

[1008] McVey, 'Taman Siswa', 133; Harper, 'The Tools of Transition', 193–94.

[1009] Rahmah el Joenoessijah, 'Sepatah kata pendahoeloean', *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*, 2. *"Hidoep: hendaklah selamanja menoeroet martabat, supaja ia bergoena bagi orang jang berkeliling."*

[*harmonische ontwikkeling*] of students' characters.[1010] She did not want her school to be a place for work and intellectual development only; instead, it was her goal to "sow seeds of politeness and order" in student's characters, without forgetting religion, which had to be at the base of all progress.[1011] An article in the same memorial book by Mara Soetan, an educator and writer of schoolbooks, was clearly inspired by reform pedagogy as well. He advised parents and teachers to let their children explore the world independently, and to encourage the natural curiosity and the playfulness of the child. He also warned against harshness towards children: this would work counterproductively and would only stimulate rebellion against the parental authority.[1012] Marina Mahmoed, who graduated from the school in 1932,[1013] remembered that the teachers at Dinijjah Poeteri tried to create a pleasant atmosphere and formed a "bridge" between the subject matter they were teaching and the students.[1014] All of this is reminiscent of the pedagogical elements that were incorporated by Taman Siswa as well, including the bond of trust between students and teachers.

Taman Siswa and Dinijjah Poeteri were not the only independent educational initiatives in colonized spaces that drew on reform pedagogy; instead, these two school organizations for indigenous children were part of a much wider movement. In India the first Montessori school was opened in Bombay in 1925 by the local Parsi community.[1015] The women's rights activist Pandita Ramabai, who participated in the political struggle for an independent India, promoted Fröbelian education.[1016] While Mohandas Gandhi was not a supporter of the Montessori method, because it had not originated in India, the poet and pedagogical thinker Rabindranath Tagore recognized many of his own methods in Maria Montessori's ideas.[1017] Ki Hadjar Dewantara was an admirer of both Indian activists, and Gandhi's and Tagore's portraits had a prominent place on the walls of the Yogyakarta Taman Siswa school. Taman Siswa maintained cordial relationships with Tagore, who also visited the school.[1018] Now that this part of the chapter has

[1010] Ibid.
[1011] Ibid. *"Dan akan menanamkan bibit TERTIB-SOPAN, jang membawa kepada kemadjoean jang berpadanan (harmonische ontwikkeling) dengan tak meloepakan dasar agamanja jang moelia itoe."* Emphasis in the original.
[1012] Mara Soetan, 'Pendidikan jang salah', in *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen "Dinijjah School Poeteri" Padang Pandjang* (Padang Panjang, 1938), 42–44.
[1013] 'Nama-nama peladjar jang telah menamatkan Dinijjah School Poeteri', *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*, 88.
[1014] Marina Mahmoed, 'Rentjana kenangan', in *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen "Dinijjah School Poeteri" Padang Pandjang* (Padang Panjang, 1938), 18.
[1015] Allender, *Learning Femininity*, 253.
[1016] Ibid., 219.
[1017] Ibid., 253.
[1018] Gunning, 'De Taman Siswo school', 111.

sketched the ideological foundations of Dinijjah Poeteri and Taman Siswa education, it is time to explore what was happening at these schools on a day-to-day basis.

Taman Siswa and Dinijjah Poeteri inside and beyond the classroom

At a first glance, both the Dinijjah Poeteri and Taman Siswa classrooms resembled European schools in the Netherlands Indies to a great extent. Both schools used the graded system and divided the students into classes on the base of their age. The students sat on school benches and their teacher used text books and a blackboard. This was an important deviation from the traditional *halaqah* [circle] system in religious schools on Java and Sumatra, in which the teachers sat on the floor amongst students of all ages and levels. These innovations were important in many independent Indonesian educational initiatives, including the Kaum Muda.[1019]

Beyond these material aspects of the schools, curricula are a good starting point to assess to degree to which Taman Siswa and Dinijjah Poeteri were influenced by European-style education, since they formed the basis for what happened in the classroom. Ki Hadjar Dewantara's first *leerplan* or curriculum for Taman Siswa, published in 1922, was written in Dutch and based on the example of the Hollands-Inlandse school. Just like the HIS, the Taman Siswa school consisted out of seven grades, which children entered around the age of six. Before that, they could go to the kindergarten or a preparatory class. Even though most classes were in Javanese, Dutch was the language of instruction in some cases. It is unclear in which subjects Dutch was used exactly: in the first curriculum, it was merely written that Javanese was the language of instruction in the "Javanese subjects" and Dutch in the 'Dutch subjects". It was strictly forbidden to mix these two languages.[1020] In a later publication, Ki Hadjar Dewantara explained that Dutch was the preferred language of instruction where Malay or Javanese could "only be used with difficulty, such as for mathematics."[1021] Javanese and Dutch were both taught as independent subjects as well.[1022]

Taman Siswa were taught geography and arts from the third year onwards. In this year, girls took up domestic science classes, which they continued to follow until the end of the

[1019] Abdullah, 'Schools and Politics', 327–28.
[1020] Ki Hadjar Dewantara, 'Leerplan pertama', 22. *"Het Javaansch is voertaal bij het onderwijs in de Javaansche vakken; (Het "Nederlandsch" bij dat in de Nederlandsche vakken). Het gebruik van het gemengde Hollandsch-Javaansch worde krachtig tegengegaan."*
[1021] K.H. Dewantara, 'Een en ander over "nationaal onderwijs"', 215–16. *"(...) waar het Javaansch of Maleisch nog bezwaarlijk als voertaal kan fungeren (wiskunde)."*
[1022] Ki Hadjar Dewantara, 'Leerplan pertama', 13–14.

seventh grade. Domestic science classes at Tamana Siswa were always exclusively for girls. In the original curriculum, musical education and dancing were introduced in the fourth year, just as Malay, geography and history. First aid and manual work were incorporated in the sports classes. In the final year, students started learning bookkeeping, mathematics and English.[1023] In 1930, the organization developed a second version of the curriculum, which the general board of Taman Siswa approved in 1932. This divided the school into two departments, the *taman anak* [garden of children] for the first three years and *taman moeda* [garden of youth] for the last four years, when children would roughly be aged nine to twelve years.

This new curriculum reflected some important developments within the organization and within the nationalist movement at large. In line with the spread of Taman Siswa outside of Java and the adoption of the Indonesian language as the new national lingua franca by the nationalist movement in 1928, the subject of Javanese was replaced by either *Bahasa Daerah*, the regional language, or Bahasa Indonesia. Regulations for the teaching of Indonesian were also presented in the curriculum. For example, it was allowed to adopt certain words from regional languages, Sanskrit or Arabic, while words from other languages could only be used if they were perceived as contributing to the language. If teachers deemed it necessary, local alphabets and Arabic letters could also be taught.[1024] Dutch was still taught, albeit only from the third class onward. In the original curriculum, Dutch had been taught as early as the preparatory class and in the first class, while children had only started learning Malay three years later. The introduction of the word 'Indonesia' in the geography courses was a novelty as well. The focus in the geography and history classes was on Indonesia, its directly neighbouring countries, and Asia more general.[1025] The original curriculum had still mentioned 'the Dutch Indies' [*Hindia Belanda*] and had adhered much more importance to the geography and the history of the Netherlands and Europe.[1026]

The first Taman Siswa curriculum clearly shows the centrality of Javanese culture. In arts class, children used drawing examples from the Javanese decorative arts such as *wayang*, Javanese puppet theatre. Girls were taught to make batik as soon as they took up domestic science. Dance and music classes also concentrated on traditional Javanese forms of expression, such as the *gamelan* percussion instruments and *serimpi* dance. In history class, children were read from the *Babad Tanah Jawi*, ancient chronicles about the island; 'Javanese exercises' were

[1023] Ibid.
[1024] Ki S. Mangoensarkara, 'Daftar Pengadjaran', 33.
[1025] Ibid., 36–37.
[1026] Ki Hadjar Dewantara, 'Leerplan pertama', 25.

important in the sports classes.[1027] The latter were likely inspired on Javanese dance or martial arts. In the 1930 version of the curriculum, batik, gamelan and wayang continued to play a prominent role.[1028] It is possible that in other regions were Taman Siswa became active, such as Kalimantan and Sumatra, these Javanese cultural elements were substituted with local traditions in arts, dance and sports, but no evidence of this has been found in the sources.

Like Taman Siswa, other independent nationalist schools also seemed to have incorporated local cultural elements. The *Indonesisch-Nederlandsche School* [Indonesian-Dutch School] in West Sumatra, opened in 1926 by a future Minster of Education of independent Indonesia, adopted a curriculum based on Western education and had cordial relationships with the Sumatera Thawalib.[1029] At the same time, however, the school seems to have adopted Minangkabau cultural elements. A picture in the collections of the Taman Siswa museum shows Ki and Nji Hadjar Dewantara at a visit to this school, wearing Minangkabau adat clothes, surrounded by students who are also dressed in Minangkabau sarongs. The girls are also wearing Minangkabau headdresses.[1030] While the students may well have dressed up for the occasion, the fact that the school wanted to present itself in this way shows that it did not want to explicitly distance itself from local cultural traditions.

Compared to the Taman Siswa curriculum, the students at Dinijjah Poeteri spent much less time on general secular subjects, as may be expected from a religious school At the same time, as was explained earlier, the incorporation of general secular knowledge in the curriculum of religious schools was one of the most important educational reforms of the Kaum Muda.[1031] The French anthropologist Jeanne Cuisinier has quoted Rahmah as having said, in response to a visitor who was astonished at the amount of time spent on secular subjects: "At my school, the students learn about Islam, and everything in this world is a part of Islam."[1032] Cuisinier visited the school in September 1954 and had the occasion to interview Rahmah.[1033] The fact that the school library in August 2016 still held a complete Dutch-language Winkler Prins encyclopaedia from the colonial era bears witness to Dinijjah Poeteri's commitment to secular knowledge.

[1027] Ibid.
[1028] Ki S. Mangoensarkara, 'Daftar Pengadjaran', 33.
[1029] Abdullah, 'Schools and Politics', 186.
[1030] MTS inv. no. 1.113, 1936. Photo caption: 'Kunjungan Ki Hadjar Dewantara dan Nji Hadjar Dewantara mengunakan pakaian adat'.
[1031] Abdullah, 'Schools and Politics', 307.
[1032] Muséum National de l'Histoire Naturelle (hereafter MNHN), Paris, Fonds Jeanne Cuisinier, inv. no. 2 AP 12/16C, notes 'Ecoles coraniques', undated. Jeanne Cuisinier, 'Les madrasah féminines de Minangkabau', *Révue des Etudes Islamiques* 23 (1955): 114.
[1033] MNHN, Fonds Jeanne Cuisinier, inv. no. 2 AP 12/16, Notes de terrain, 24 September 1954.

As in the case of Taman Siswa, the curriculum of Dinijjah Poeteri expanded over time. At its establishment in 1923, there were two classes which were open every day for three hours, with the exception of Friday. All subjects focused on religion: *fighi* (jurisprudence), *tafsir* (Quranic interpretation), *tauhid* (the teaching of the unity of God) and Hadith, the words and deeds of the prophet Mohammed. Furthermore, the women learnt Arabic grammar and conjugations, and finally, one hour every week was devoted to *adab*: Islamic morality.[1034] By 1925, there were three classes and apart from two other religious subjects, writing was introduced.[1035]

The next year, the school was transformed from a course for illiterate women into a primary school with a six-year programme for girls from around the age of six onwards. Geography was added while the religious subjects were further expanded.[1036] A seventh grade was opened in 1931, after the example of the HIS, and a lot of other secular subjects appeared on the curriculum: dictation, political science [*staatsinrichting*], healthcare, English, biology, drawing, calculation, and psychology and pedagogy [*ilmoe djiwa dan pendidikan*, literally 'knowledge of the soul and education'].[1037] In 1938, this programme was expanded to include singing, bookkeeping and Dutch.[1038] Unfortunately, it is unclear what kind of songs were taught at the school. The number of school hours taught each week was also gradually expanded, from 22 in 1928 to 35 in 1938, of which around 20 hours were spent on the study of Islam.[1039]

As far as this curriculum is concerned, local Minangkabau elements were absent from the Dinijjah Poeteri programme. This fit the Kaum Muda ideology of reformist Islam, in which adherence to traditional local cultural practices and adat were discouraged in favour of a universalist view on religion, meaning a scripture-based Islam. To name one example, even though the girls did learn to weave at the school,[1040] there are no indications that they made the traditionally Minangkabau *songket* cloth. On the contrary, a picture of an exhibition of handicrafts suggests that the girls practiced decorative needlework based on fashionable flowery Western designs.[1041] On a different level, however, Minangkabau adat has continued to play a role in the organizational structure of Diniyyah Puteri. All school directors following

[1034] 'Batas-batas pengadjaran (Leerplan) dari Dinijjah School Poeteri', *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*, 60.
[1035] Ibid.
[1036] Ibid., 61.
[1037] Ibid.
[1038] Ibid., 62.
[1039] 'Batas-batas pengadjaran (Leerplan) dari Dinijjah School Poeteri', Ibid., 60–62.
[1040] Ghani, *Memoir*, 7.
[1041] *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*. Photo caption: *'Keradjinan tangan 'P.M.D.S.' poeteri Padang Pandjang.'*

Rahmah have been their family members in the female line, including her direct successor who was her niece. This mirrors the matrilineal tradition of Minangkabau culture.[1042]

While local cultural forms of expression were thus not incorporated in the curriculum, organizational life was important at Dinijjah Poeteri. When the school opened in 1923, Rahmah added a girls' chapter to Persatoean Moerid-moerid Dinijjah School [PMDS, The Union of Students of the Dinijjah School]. This was the students' association of the coeducational Dinijah School founded by Rahmah's brother Zainuddin. The organization was open to all students of religious schools – *sekolah Dinijah* – in West Sumatra.[1043] PMDS spread newsletters and speeches, and its members held meetings regularly.[1044] Taman Siswa also had a students' association, Pemoeda Taman Siswa [Taman Siswa Youth] that organized activities in the fields of sports, debating and theatre. It was also involved with charity: its members collected clothing for the poor and tried to combat analphabetism.[1045] Apart from the Yogyakarta chapter, there were regional Taman Siswa youth associations that organized all kinds of activities for their members. An example is the Persatoean Moerid-Moerid Taman Siswa Medan [Taman Siswa Students Association Medan] in North Sumatra, that organized sport activities, excursions and opened its own libraries where members could borrow books.[1046] Such student's associations fitted into a much broader trend of student activism throughout the archipelago, which was often based on ideology or religion: in Java, for example, students at European-style secondary schools formed the *Jong Islamieten Bond* [Young Muslims' Union] in 1925.[1047] They organized debates about topics that were relevant to the lives of young educated Muslim men and women, such as religious rules surrounding love and marriage, and the degree to which Muslims should adopt 'European' values.[1048] Similar debates about the role of young people took place within the nationalist movements were debated within Pemoeda Taman Siswa and were expressed, for example in the magazine *Soeara Taman Siswa* [Voice of Taman Siswa] that was published by the Yogyakarta branch.[1049]

At Dinijjah Poeteri, scouting in particular was seen as a useful extension of the curriculum. In 1930 a number of prominent members of local society established the scouting

[1042] Interview with Fauzi Fauzan El-Muhammady, Padang Pangjang, 22 August 2016.
[1043] *Peringatan 55 Tahun*, 84.
[1044] 'Statuten dari (P)erkoempoelan (M)oerid (D)inijjah (S)chool', *Soeara Moerid* 1, no. 1 (1926): 3–4.
[1045] K.H. Dewantara, 'Een en ander over "nationaal onderwijs"', 214.
[1046] N. Soetardjo, 'Persatoean Moerid-Moerid Taman Siswa Medan', *Taman Siswa. Madjallah boelanan oentoek pergoeroean dan roemah-tangga (Taman Siswa)* 1, no. 12 (1939): 186–87.
[1047] Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam*, 136.
[1048] Ibid., 136–38.
[1049] 'Keadaan Djaman Sekarang Diekalangan Pemoeda2 Indonesia', *Soeara Taman Siswa. Madjallah Boelanan Dari Pemoeda Taman Siswa Mataram (Soeara Taman Siswa)* 6, no. 3 (1932): 2–3; Doegel van Mooren, 'Bagaimana kita akan menghormati Noesa dan Bangsa kita Indonesia', *Soeara Taman Siswa* 6, no. 4 (1932): 4.

club *Kepandoean Indonesia Moeslimin* [KIM, Indonesian Muslim Scouts] in Padang Panjang. Its members were both students from Dinijjah Poeteri and male pupils from the Thawalib school.[1050] The scouting movement spread throughout the region as local KIM branches were established at Dinijah schools throughout the region.[1051] As in Western contexts, the scouting club was deeply gendered. In the KIM girls' chapters, the students of Dinijjah Poeteri practiced first aid and baby care, cooking, sewing and arts. They also held parades in the town. KIM adopted the official structure of the Western scouting movement, including pledges and rules of behaviour.[1052] Other extracurricular activities at Dinijjah Poeteri included a debating club that met every Thursday.[1053]

Like Dinijjah Poeteri, Taman Siswa stimulated the practice of scouting among its female students. Scouting was praised as a way in which the character of a girl could be developed. In *Poesara,* the Batavia branch of Wanita Taman Siswa published a piece about scouting clubs as places were girls could learn "women's work" [*hal pekerdjaan orang perempoean*] such as domestic and nursing skills.[1054] They would also learn to be diligent and selfless.[1055] Apart from these elements, there was a distinctly nationalist aspect to the Taman Siswa conception of scouting for girls. Every meeting should start with the singing of the national anthem Moreover, scouting trips to the countryside would inspire appreciation for nature and love for the fatherland [*Tanah-air*].[1056] While scouting in the European context, too, was strongly connected to patriotism – see, for example, the recent discussions of the role of empire in the Dutch scouting movement[1057] – this took on a particular salience when colonized people adopted it, as Christina Jialin Wu has shown for the Malayan context in her discussion of Girl Guiding. Wu has noted that this movement, the female equivalent of scouting, gave Malayan girls from different ethnic backgrounds space for "alternative expression and forms" of feminine gender roles.[1058] While Guiding was originally introduced in Malaya by British women, some Chinese-Malay Guides became active in the Chinese communist movement.[1059] This shows that indigenous activists in Southeast Asian colonies adopted scouting and Girl Guiding practices

[1050] *Peringatan 55 Tahun*, 110–11.
[1051] 'Resepsi pelantikan KIM', *Kodrat Moeda* 2, no. 2 (1933): 2.
[1052] *Peringatan 55 Tahun*, 233–41.
[1053] 'Peratoeran internaat tiap-tiap hari', *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*, 19.
[1054] W.T.S. Djakarta, 'Kepandoean sebagai alat pendidikan anak perempoean', *Poesara* 4, no. 6 (1934): 87.
[1055] Ibid., 88.
[1056] Ibid.
[1057] Kuipers, 'Fragmented Empire', 166–98.
[1058] Wu, '"A Malayan Girlhood on Parade"', 93. For more on scouting, race and gender in British Malaya, see Jialin Christina Wu, '"A Life of Make-Believe": Being Boy Scouts and "Playing Indian" in British Malaya (1910–42)', *Gender & History* 26, no. 3 (2014): 589–619.
[1059] Wu, '"A Malayan Girlhood on Parade"', 105.

for their own ideological or even nationalist goals, as exemplified by the KIM and the Taman Siswa scouts in the Dutch East Indies. This observation leads to the question what 'nationalism' entailed specifically within Dinijjah Poeteri and Taman Siswa.

Different faces of nationalism

Questioning the role of the concept of the 'fatherland' or 'homeland' within Taman Siswa and Dinijjah Poeteri education can provide further insight into the extent to which the schools rejected colonialism and colonizers' worldviews. However, it is a topic that requires a great deal of analytical scrutiny. In todays' Indonesia, Ki Hadjar Dewantara is known as "the father of national education" [*Bapak Pendidikan Nasional*], and his birthday is celebrated as National Education Day. He is also featured on the official list of *pahlawan nasional*, Indonesia's national heroes. While the current administration of the Diniyyah Puteri school in Padang Panjang has been lobbying for years to have Rahmah el Joenoessijah added to this list, they have not succeeded in this.[1060] However, in local stories she is framed as an ardent Indonesian nationalist. Rahmah is said to have been the first person in Padang Panjang to have raised the Indonesian red-white flag after Sukarno and Hatta's declaration of independence in 1945.[1061] I have not been able to find any historical evidence for such accounts. The fact that Rahmah described her students as "the children of this nation, the Muslim daughters of Indonesia" is an indication of her adherence to the political ideal of an independent Indonesia, but from her writings alone it is difficult to draw any conclusions about the degree of Indonesia-focused nationalism was reflected in educational practice at Dinijjah Puteri in the colonial.[1062]

Other sources, however, do contain clues about the schools' political affiliations. It would certainly not have been unusual for Dinijjah Poeteri to incorporate overtly anticolonial learning content in its curriculum, as many Kaum Muda schools did so. Girls' schools were no exception to this.[1063] During a police raid of girls' teacher-training college in Fort de Kock in in 1933 for example, the colonial police found numerous nationalist materials, including Sukarno's booklet *Mentjapai Indonesian Merdeka* [Realizing Indonesia's Independence] and nationalist magazines with titles such as *Fikiran Raajat* [The Thoughts of the People] and

[1060] Interview with Fauzi Fauzan El-Muhammady, Padang Panjang, 22 August 2016.
[1061] *Peringatan 55 Tahun*, 186.
[1062] Rahmah el Joenoessijah, 'Sepatah kata pendahoeloean', *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*, 1. *"(...) anak bangsanja, poeteri Islam Indonesia ini".*
[1063] I am grateful to Marieke Bloembergen for pointing this out to me. For her own analysis of the source material mentioned in the following, see Marieke Bloembergen, 'The Perfect Policeman: Colonial Policing, Modernity and Conscience on Sumatra's West Coast in the Early 1930s', *Indonesia* 91 (2011): 165–93.

Persatoean Indonesia [Indonesian Unity].[1064] The school in question was owned by the political organization PERMI (*Persatoean Moeslim Indonesia*, Indonesian Muslim Union) which had been founded in 1930 under the slogan of *Islam dan kebangsaan*, Islam and nationality.[1065] PERMI was the successor organization of Sumatra Thawalib, the leading Kaum Muda school network in West Sumatra. During the raid of the PERMI girls' college the police seized publications by Sukarno, Mohammad Hatta – who was of Minangkabau descent – and nationalist ulama, but also students' essays and notebooks. The policeman reporting on the events pointed out that the girls' notebooks were very organized and written in a neat handwriting which, according to him, showed that the girls diligently took in the political messages spread at their school.[1066] After the presentation of this evidence to the colonial authorities, the resident of Sumatra's West Coast ordered the closure of the PERMI girls' college.[1067]

The police report on the findings cites some examples from students' work in Arabic, including one essay about the circumstances under which Islam would permit the killing of infidels. The answer of the student Soeri Ibrahim, who wrote that it is allowed to wage war against non-Muslims who refused to surrender themselves, surely must have been very worrying to Dutch colonial functionaries. Soeri's essay was awarded with a ten, the highest grade.[1068] The students also wrote an essay about Western education [*pendidikan Barat*]. In the answers, Western-style education was likened to "the most dangerous poison" [*ratjoen jang paling berbahaja*] and held responsible for the "enslavement of the children of Indonesia" [*perboedakan semata terhadap kepada anak Indonesia*].[1069] According to the estimates of the police officer, at least ninety percent of the students' were members of political organizations: five of the 87 students were found to be members of the PMDS, the association of students of religious Dinijah schools.[1070]

Despite this connection between PMDS and PERMI, Dinijjah Poeteri never seems to have worried the colonial government to a great extent. According to a 1978 memorial book,

[1064] ANRI Archive Binnenlands Bestuur (hereafter BB), inv. no. 3592, Rapport over het onderwijs aan godsdienstscholen, in verband met de ontdekkingen tijdens de huiszoekingen in September 1933, 18 October 1933.
[1065] ANRI Archive Binnenlands Bestuur (hereafter BB), inv. no. 3592, Rapport over het onderwijs aan godsdienstscholen, in verband met de ontdekkingen tijdens de huiszoekingen in September 1933, 18 October 1933.
[1066] ANRI BB inv. no. 3592, Rapport, 18 October 1933.
[1067] ANRI AS GB TZGA inv. no. 9235, Uifttreksel uit het register der besluiten van den resident van Sumatra's Westkust, 5 January 1934.
[1068] ANRI BB inv. no. 3592, Rapport, 18 October 1933.
[1069] ANRI BB inv. no. 3592, Rapport, 18 October 1933.
[1070] ANRI BB inv. no. 3592, Rapport, 18 October 1933.

the colonial police discovered political books in Arabic at the school in 1933, after which three teachers were expelled from their profession.[1071] However, I have not been able to find even one reference to Dinijjah Poeteri in the archives of the colonial government, while other Islamic schools were the subject of many alarming reports. Perhaps the colonial government looked at Dinijjah Poeteri with relatively benevolent eyes, as it did at certain other Islamic educational organizations, notably Mohammadijah which it viewed as "doctrinally moderate, politically quiescent, and a modernizing influence".[1072] As was shown in the discussion of the Yogyakarta educational landscape, the government was willing to subsidize Mohammadijah schools because it believed that the message of the organization could contribute to political stability in the colony. [1073]

Another possible explanation is that Rahmah el Joenoesijjah wanted her school to remain politically neutral. She stuck to a strategy of non-cooperation with the colonial government and refused government subsidies.[1074] This was common practice within the Kaum Muda movement in West Sumatra.[1075] What set the school apart from other Kaum Muda schools, however, was that Rahmah did not wish to involve her school in party politics. This came to the fore most clearly in 1930, when a conflict arose between Rahmah and Rasoena Said, a PERMI member and ex-student of the coeducational Dinijah School who taught at Dinijjah Poeteri. Rasoena wanted to introduce political elements into the curriculum and clashed with Rahmah over this. Eventually, Rasoena was forced to leave the school and move to Padang.[1076] She then became a teacher at the PERMI girls' teacher training college that was described above.[1077] In 1932, she would become the first Indonesian woman to be sent to prison for agitation against the colonial government.[1078] A similar event occurred in 1931, when PERMI organized a conference in Padang Panjang with the aim of uniting all Islamic educational organizations in one overarching organizational body, so they could fight the wild schools-ordonnance together. According to the 1937 memorial book, Rahmah refused to join as she feared that that a membership of such an organization would endanger the independence

[1071] *Peringatan 55 Tahun*, 184.
[1072] David Kloos, *Becoming Better Muslims. Religious Auhority and Ethical Improvement in Aceh, Indonesia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), 45.
[1073] NA MVK MvO 2.10.39, inv. no. 141, MvO v. Gesseler Verschuir, deel I, 1932.
[1074] Interview with Fauzi Fauzan El-Muhammady, Padang Panjang, 22 August 2016.
[1075] Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, 42–43.
[1076] *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*, 14–15.
[1077] ANRI BB inv. no. 3592, Rapport, 18 October 1933.
[1078] Sally White, 'Rasuna Said: Lioness of the Indonesian Independence Movement', in *Women in Southeast Asian Nationalist Movements*, ed. Susan Blackburn and Helen Ting (Singapore: NUS Press, 2013), 107–11.

of the school.[1079] It is also possible that Rahmah suspected the school would come under heightened governmental scrutiny if it associated itself with PERMI.

But even if the content of Dinijjah Poeteri lessons was not overtly political, this did not automatically prevent the circulation of nationalist ideas among its students. The aforementioned Aishah Ghani, for example, remembered that her conversations with an Acehnese classmate whose father had been imprisoned in the notorious Boven-Digoel camp by the colonial government, made her aware of the injustices of colonialism.[1080]

The activities of PMDS, the students' organization of the Dinijah Schools, also became increasingly politicised. While the organization had in the first instance been established to create more unity among the students of religious schools[1081], there was a distinct political character to it. The surviving PMDS publications, the journals *Soeara Moerid* [The Voice of the Students] and *Kodrat Moeda* [Spirit of the Young], clearly stated a political agenda. In the bylaws of the PMDS, published in *Soeara Moerid*, encouraging progress within Islam was highlighted as one of the main aims of the group. As the organization considered it one of its goals to defend Islam, and the government interpreted this as hostility against the colonial regime, it wasn't long before the Binnenlands Bestuur grew suspicious.[1082] The imprisonment of the editor-in-chief Ajoen Sabiran by the colonial police meant the end of the journal.[1083]

In *Soeara Moerid*, students of the Dinijjah School and Dinijjah Poeteri expressed their opinion about diverse topics, often touching on gender roles. In one article, for example, the anonymous author pointed out the differences between Western and Islamic traditions regarding the social interaction of young men and women. Muslim girls, the author warned, were under no circumstances allowed to wear revealing clothing or interact freely with men who were not family members. The shocked author quoted an anecdote about a Muslim student of a European primary school who had danced with a boy on a Sinterklaas party. The conclusion of the article was that Muslims needed to learn from a young age onward which Western habits were incompatible with Islam and local adat.[1084] In the same journal, a schoolgirl encouraged her fellow female students to strive for progress at the sides of their male "brothers". Religious rules, she pointed out, needed to be kept in mind while advocating the advancement of women in society. If progress was in contradiction to Islam, it would always be worthless.[1085] Another

[1079] *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*, 15–16.
[1080] Ghani, *Memoir*, 9.
[1081] *Peringatan 55 Tahun*, 84.
[1082] 'Statuten', 3.
[1083] Witrianto, 'Dampak Pendidikan Terhadap Munculnya Pergerakan Nasional Di Padangpanjang', 29–30.
[1084] 'Ketjil Terandja-Andja Besar Terbawa-Bawa', *Soeara Moerid* 1, no. 2 (1926): 1.
[1085] M. Kasjad, 'Mesti Bertoekar', *Soeara Moerid* 1, no. 2 (1926): 1–2.

student, Djawana, wrote a piece about women's education and Islam under the title *Tjoba fikiran!* [Try to think about it!]. She pointed out that in other Islamic countries such as Egypt and Turkey women worked as journalists and even held positions in the army. Moreover, the wife of the prophet Muhammad had also been educated. Those who said that Muslimas did not need knowledge, and that is was even sinful for Muslim girls to study, were therefore wrong. Djawana expressed her disagreement with a heartfelt *"Helemaal niet!"* [Not at all!], a Dutch exclamation.[1086]

After *Soeara Moerid* had been closed down, PMDS members established *Kodrat Moeda* at the second congress of the organization in 1932. By that time, the message of the organization had become overtly anticolonial. In its opening message, the board of the journal declared that it would respect and honour no one and nothing else than Allah and the Quran.[1087] "The Indonesian homeland calls upon its sons and daughters, it asks for effort and vigour, for honesty and sincerity of the heart, for determination and readiness"[1088] – such urgings must sure have been exciting to the readership and was sure to ignite the suspicions of the colonial police. The journal also explicitly referred to the nationalist movement, declaring that Sukarno himself wanted the youth movement to show strength and steadfastness.[1089]

In its first issue, in December 1932, *Koedrat Moeda* printed an announcement of the board protesting the 'wild schools ordonnance,' the recent government measure that restricted the against unofficial schools. The board feared that the ordonnance would hold back the development of education in the *tanah air*, the homeland, and would deprive children of learning opportunities.[1090] Despite this, the PMDS had decided not to get involved with direct actions against the ordonnance.[1091] At the same time, the organization resolved to work together more closely with other youth groups and schools in the face of government opposition.[1092]

Apart from such articles, the journal was filled with announcements for PMDS and KIM scouting meetings. The involvement of young women and girls in the organization is evident here. At the occasion of Idul Fitri, the end of Ramadan, numerous PMDS women expressed their best wishes on the pages of *Kodrat Moeda.* These included members of local PMDS boards, teachers at religious schools, and female members of PERMI and KIM from all over

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[1086] Djawana Basir, 'Tjoba Fikiran!', *Soeara Moerid* 1, no. 2 (1926): 2.
[1087] 'Pemboeka Kata', *Kodrat Moeda* 1, no. 1 (1932): 1.
[1088] Ibid., 1. "*Tanah Air Indonesia meminta poetera dan poeterinja, meminta oesaha dan tenaganja, meminta ketoeloesan dan keichlasan hatinja, meminta ketegoean dan ketetapan oesahanja."*
[1089] 'Pengaroeh dan kekoeasaan pergerakan pemoeda', *Kodrat Moeda* 1, no. 1 (1932): 1.
[1090] M. Nasaroeddin Soetan A.S., 'Onderwijs Ordonantie: Ma'aloemat Dewan P.B.P.M.D.S. tentang Onderwijs Ordonantie', *Kodrat Moeda* 1, no. 1 (1932): 4.
[1091] Ibid.
[1092] 'Makloemat!', *Kodrat Moeda* 1, no. 1 (1932): 4.

West Sumatra, as well as students of Dinijjah Poeteri and Rahmah el Joenoessijah herself.[1093] The journal also published articles by female PMDS members, who wrote about women's roles in nationalist movements. Frida, for example, passionately wrote that women were just as important as men in every nation, giving examples of militant women in Turkey, China and India.[1094] Another article, titled "Women and the Movement", argued that women were Allah's creation and had the same ideals as men.[1095] Twenty years before, women's status in West Sumatra had been that of "animated dolls, who were used like mere toys" [*satoe boneka bernyawa jang mendjadi alat permainan semata2*], and even today there were educated men who did not respect women. They needed to understand that the world could improve without the efforts of both men and women.[1096] The anonymous writer urged women to unite and fight for their rights and a dignified position in society.[1097]

Dinijjah Poeteri students must have been aware of this political message of the student organization, as they, as PMDS members, probably read its communications, and as they went to a PMDS meeting every Sunday morning.[1098] Rahmah also actively helped in spreading the PMDS message by acting as an expert in education for the organization, giving speeches about the topic at PMDS events.[1099] While Rahmah el Junussijjah thus seems to have tried to keep the political independence movement out of her school, there was no putting a stop to her students getting in touch with such ideas.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided new insights into the Indonesian-led schools that emerged in the Dutch East Indies between 1900 and the end of colonial rule. In the first place, it has demonstrated that there was no uniform way in which colonized subjects responded to colonial models of girls' education. Some educators, especially in the first two decades of the twentieth century, aimed to provide girls with an education that was inspired by the European public school system. Even such teachers, however, made sure to incorporate local elements, especially when it came to domestic education and handicrafts. Others regarded colonial public education as unsuitable and even harmful for indigenous children and provided alternatives.

[1093] '1 Sjawal 1351', *Kodrat Moeda* 2, no. 3 (1933): 1.
[1094] Frida, 'Soeara Poeteri', *Kodrat Moeda* 2, no. 4/5 (1933): 4.
[1095] 'Perempoean dan pergerakan', *Kodrat Moeda* 2, no. 3/4 (1933): 4.
[1096] Ibid., 4.
[1097] Ibid.
[1098] 'Peratoeran internaat tiap-tiap hari', *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*, 19.
[1099] 'Berita PMDS', *Kodrat Moeda* 2, no. 1 (1933): 4.

The men and women behind these schools tried to find the ideal balance between offering and alternative and appropriating elements derived from Dutch-led schools in the colony: what this meant, however, differed from context to context and was dependent on such factors as religion and regional cultures. All educational initiatives were organized on the base of an explicitly gendered ideology, and this went for coeducational schools as well. Especially the period between 1920 and the end of the colonial period in 1942 witnessed a boom in various strands of nationalist education that increasingly rejected colonial authority. In such schools, the figure of the Indonesian mother, who raised her children of the nation in the 'right' way was very prominent, and this was expressed in the classroom through activities such as domestic education according to adat and scouting. Through this education, girls were thus expected to become agents of nationalist, Islamic or Javanese nationalist civilizing missions themselves. This important conclusion could only have been reached through an investigation of gender and age at the heart of non-governmental schools in the Dutch East Indies, a perspective that hitherto has not been included in the relevant historiography.

Chapter 4. Changing times. Indonesian girls, secondary education and the teaching profession, c. 1920-1942

From around the beginning of the 1920s onwards, girls' education in the Dutch East Indies gradually entered a new phase. While domesticity remained a leading concept in the schools, educators and their supporters in the metropole and the colony began – albeit sometimes grudgingly – to consider the possibility that their graduates would take up a professional position after school. Within the classroom, this development was felt on a concrete level as Indonesian women increasingly acted as teaching assistants and, especially at a later stage, as teachers. At the same time, expanding educational opportunities for girls increased the competition on the educational market, leaving schools scrambling for government subsidies in the face of major budget cuts. The work experiences of many educated young women were shaped by the worldwide economic crisis of the 1930s, which was exactly the time when the first large group of highly educated Indonesian women entered the labour market.

This chapter goes into these developments and the tensions and possibilities that they created. It explores the tensions that girls' ambitions to pursue secondary education or take up a paid job caused in the context of Christian schools. The topic of educated women's work also sparked discussion in Indonesian-led school organisations, as can be concluded from the debates in Taman Siswa publications. Overall, educators of diverse ideological backgrounds considered teaching to be an appropriate activity for young Indonesian women. The final part of this thesis explores how teacher training opportunities for indigenous girls developed. The chapter therefore also offers glimpses of the hopes and ambitions of educated girls themselves.

The historiographical significance of this final chapter of the thesis is twofold. By considering women's work in relationship to education, this chapter contributes not only to the literature about girls' education in the Dutch East Indies, but also to the growing body of work on women's economic activities in the colony. Strikingly, the latter, the type of work executed by highly educated women figures only marginally, as historians' interest has been primarily in industrial labour. Historians seems to have presumed the primacy of industrial labour over other types of work. Ben White, for example, has provided an analysis of (post)colonial debates on children's labour and women's night-time employment in Indonesia. Political discussions about labour regulation in the Dutch East Indies were concerned with agricultural work, for example in the sugar and rubber industry.[1100] Studies by Elsbeth Locher-Scholten and the economic

[1100] White, 'Constructing Child Labour: Attitudes to Juvenile Work in Indonesia, 1900-2000'.

historian Siddharth Chandra have focused on women's labour in rice cultivation and in various industrial sectors respectively.[1101] Graduates from the schools that figure in this thesis remain invisible in such labour histories.

An exception to this rule is the recent work of Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, who has combined research on unskilled and semi-skilled labour with an interest in girls' education. Her book about women's work deals with both sides of the colonial relationship, connecting the labour histories of the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies. Admittedly, Van Nederveen Meerkerk's interest is mainly in mass education, for this was the primary focus of the ethical policy.[1102] But her book also provides some tentative insights in the ambitions of a few highly-educated Indonesian girls. It explores a collection of letters in which some graduates of the private Van Deventer teacher training schools expressed their wishes to open a village school, or to "uplift" the Javanese people in other ways.[1103] Their education had instilled in them the conviction that they, as educated elite women, had a task in carrying out a civilizing mission among the wider population. As we shall see, the Van Deventer Schools were a feared rival of the Queen Wilhelmina School. In her own analysis of the letters, Frances Gouda concludes that these girls, by using such a 'civilizing' vocabulary, had "mastered the cultural idiom of the colonial elite", even though some insecurity about the value of their education sometimes shone through.[1104] This ambiguity is a first indication that there is much to be gained from research that focuses on young Indonesian women who were among the first in their social group to receive continued education and subsequently entered the labour market. Throughout this chapter, snippets of evidence from girls' own writings provide a first insight into how they negotiated their educated status, their educational background and their position as colonial subjects.

[1101] Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 49–83; Siddharth Chandra, 'The Role of Female Industrial Labor in the Late Colonial Netherlands Indies', *Indonesia* 74 (2002): 103–35.
[1102] Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in the Netherlands and Java. Comparisons, Contrasts, and Connections, 1830-1940* (London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 239.
[1103] Ibid., 245–46.
[1104] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas*, 99–100.

4.1. Trying to turn the tide: Christian responses to the demand for diplomas and secondary education

As was argued in the second chapter of this thesis, education at the Christian girls' schools in East Flores, Yogyakarta and Tomohon was almost completely geared towards a future as a housewife and mother for their graduates. If the teachers took the possibility of girls working for a wage into account at all, they saw this as a last resort for girls who remained unmarried and were forced to make their own living. The religious sisters in Flores, for example, hoped that the weaving, sewing, and laundering skills of their graduates would keep them on the straight and narrow if they happened to leave the schools unmarried.[1105] By the 1920s, however, ideas about the meaning of education for girls' futures had started to change in the minds of schoolgirls and their parents. Teachers and their supporters in the Netherlands responded ambivalently to this. The first part of the chapter therefore analyses the responses that girls' ambitions sparked within Christian schools. It also explores how the educational trajectories of girls changed as they increasingly took up secondary education.

Once again, the situation at the Roman Catholic girls' schools diverged markedly from the Protestant schools in Yogyakarta and Tomohon. While female graduates in those areas took up office jobs, such opportunities hardly existed in rural Flores, which lacked much of the bureaucratic infrastructure present in Java and Minahasa. By the early 1930s, the few white-collar positions on Flores in the private and the public sector were still occupied by non-local men who worked on the island only temporarily.[1106] The only option on Flores for an education that could lead to such a job was the schakelschool in Ndoa that had opened in 1925, but there is no evidence of girls entering this school.[1107] Options for office work for girls were thus very limited. When there were discussions of girls' professional future in the context of Roman Catholic education on Flores, these focused on a very specific occupation: that of a religious sister. From around the beginning of the 1930s onwards, the mission actively tried to interest indigenous children in a life in service of the church.[1108] These articles also served to convince parents that this was the right choice for their children.[1109] Parents often objected to their

[1105] Zuster Maria Eliana, 'Het missiewerk der zusters te Larantoeka', *De Katholieke Missiën* 51 (1925): 119.
[1106] STFK, MvO Bosselaar, 1932.
[1107] Jebarus, *Sejarah Persekolahan*, 87–90.
[1108] Bréoen, 'Si Sina ke Seminarie', *Bintang Timoer* 7, no. 4 (1931): 54–55; 'Zuster boemipoetera dalam tanah2 Missie', *Bintang Timoer* 8, no. 3 (1932): 38–40.
[1109] Pondaag, 'Ketjakapan Goeroe Rewo', *Bintang Timoer* 6, no. 10 (1931): 155–56.

daughters entering a religious congregation because this meant that their family would miss out on the bride price.[1110]

Flores girls who aspired to a future as a religious sister had requested admission to the SSpS already in 1923, but the congregation had refused them, arguing that the girls lacked "upbringing and education" to be able to adapt to congregational life.[1111] As an alternative for pious girls, a local priest started up a girls' congregation dedicated to the virgin Mary.[1112] In the context of Catholic girls' education, Mary was upheld as a model for pious and civilized womanhood, as she was identified with 'womanly' virtues such as patience, humility and purity.[1113] Some years later, the raja of Larantuka established a similar girls' group called Maria Immaculata, that drew more than fifty members at its opening meeting.[1114] Such Marian congregations were common at Roman Catholic girls' schools in Europe as well, for example in the Netherlands and France.[1115]

In 1930, five years after the opening of a minor seminary for boys, the mission on Flores started its first training programme for girls.[1116] The first prospective sisters took their vows to become novices some two years later.[1117] As the young indigenous women were not allowed to join the SSpS, a new congregation was founded for them: the Sisters of the Imitation of Jesus [*Congregatio Imitationis Jesu*, CIJ]. By 1940, the new congregation had 16 members.[1118] Only in 1954 were the first Flores girls allowed to enter the SSpS ranks.[1119] The CIJ sisters mainly worked in a girls' boarding school and a retreat house in the Endeh regency, also teaching at schools after the Japanese invasion of 1942 when most European sisters were detained in internment camps.[1120]

In Protestant contexts, of course, the question of a religious life for young women did not come into play. The internal debates at the Queen Wilhelmina School and the Tomohon Girls' school instead focused on questions of secondary education and the professional futures

[1110] Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia, Vol. 2*, 135–36. Sister Yoangela (b. Theresia Eli Gain, Maumere, 1935) recounted her own conflict with her father, who was forced to return her bride price when she decided to join the SSpS in the 1950s. Interview with Sister Yoangela SSpS, Kewapante, 13 August 2017.
[1111] Stegmaier, *Der missionarische Einsatz der Schwestern*, 60.
[1112] Ibid.
[1113] Marieke Hilhorst, *Bij de zusters op kostschool. Geschiedenis van het dagelijks leven van meisjes op rooms-katholieke pensionaten in Nederland en Vlaanderen* (Utrecht: A.W. Bruna, 1989), 81–83; Rogers, 'Learning to Be Good Girls and Women', 97.
[1114] 'P.P. Soenda Ketjil: Lela', *Bintang Timoer*, 1931.
[1115] Hilhorst, *Bij de zusters op kostschool*, 79–83; Rogers, 'Schools, Discipline and Community', 533.
[1116] 'P.P. Soenda Ketjil: Todabeloe', *Bintang Timoer* 6, no. 7 (1931): 111.
[1117] 'Sembilan Perawan Pertama Boemipoetera Soenda Ketjil diterima dalam Novisiat "Persekoetoean Zoester-zoester Ketoeroetan Jésoes"', *Bintang Timoer* 10, no. 12 (1935): 178–79.
[1118] Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia, Vol. 2*, 135.
[1119] St.PC, 'Sejarah biara St. Petrus Klaver Lela' [Unpublished chronicle] (Lela, 1987).
[1120] Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia, Vol. 2*, 135.

of girls. Especially at the Queen Wilhelmina School, there seems to have been a marked difference between the opinions of teachers on the one hand, and those of girls and their parents on the other. Up until its closure, the supporters of the Queen Wilhelmina School firmly held on to their initial ideas about raising mothers for a Christian and civilized family life. They continuously framed domestic life as the sole future destination of priyayi girls.[1121] By the 1930s, education for girls certainly was no longer a foreign element in elite Javanese society, but fundraising material for the Queen Wilhelmina School still insisted that going to school was an extraordinary experience for Javanese girls that "opened the door to the unknown."[1122]

Such claims no longer aligned with the everyday reality at the school, where there was a growing demand for official certificates and diplomas. When the first cohort of students graduated from the Queen Wilhelmina School in 1916, some girls seized the opportunity to sit for the *kleinambtenaarsexamen*, an exam that tested their Dutch language skills. This diploma, created especially for mixed-race and indigenous graduates of primary schools, served as proof that someone had successfully finished a primary school in the European school system. It gave access to lower-level jobs in the colonial civil service.[1123] The first two girls who took this exam at the Queen Wilhelmina School both passed.[1124] One of the graduates wanted to continue her education at a MULO school, whereas her classmates did not plan to do so and, according to headmistress Wellensiek, would probably get married soon after leaving the school.[1125] In 1917, three more girls took the kleinambtenaarsexamen, and two entered the MULO.[1126] Not all girls who passed the exam thus continued on to secondary education or wanted to search for a job. Instead, it is likely that they saw the diploma as tangible evidence of their successful education at an elite institution.

At the Queen Wilhelmina School, the 1920s were a decade of change and even of conflicting interests between teachers and students. In terms of student numbers, the school board had little reason to complain: the school reached an unprecedented number of 130 students by 1922,[1127] and this number seems to have been stable throughout the decade. Even when there were discussions about closing the school in the early 1930s, the students still

[1121] A. v. H.-S. [Amanda van Hoogstraten-Schoch], 'Van schuld en gave', *Christelijk Vrouwenleven* 15 (1931): 5.
[1122] Ibid., 4.
[1123] Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs*, 151–52.
[1124] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 9, Vijfde verslag 1913-1917.
[1125] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 9, Vijfde verslag 1913-1917.
[1126] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 10, Zesde verslag 1917-1919.
[1127] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 11, Zevende verslag 1919-1923.

numbered around 130.[1128] The growing number of students at the Queen Wilhelmina School who decided to continue their studies, however, caused unease among the staff. While the education remained geared to a domestic future, as was sketched in the second chapter, the teachers observed that only very few girls aspired to domestic life. "Everybody wants to get a diploma, the Javanese prijaji (sic) girls aspire to a professional position, at the post agency or in an office", headmistress M. Reimsma noted.[1129]

By the end of the decade, the majority of the Queen Wilhelmina School graduates entered an institution for secondary education. The MULO or teacher training schools were the most popular options. When a group of nine girls finished the seventh grade in 1924, only two of them left school. Their classmates went to the MULO or went on to train as teachers.[1130] In 1927, four out of eighteen graduates did not continue their studies; in the following year, only four out of twelve opted for this.[1131] Parents and girls reportedly put a lot thought into their decision whether to continue their studies, and where to do so.[1132]

The developments in Minahasa were similar to those in Yogyakarta; if anything, they took of somewhat earlier, as Minahasan women had been taking the *kleinambtenaarsexamen* since at least 1898.[1133] The Tomohon Girls' School introduced the exam the early 1910s.[1134] Later teachers at the school described this decision as a "regrettable choice" – it clearly was a case of the school unwillingly yielding to the pressure of the "changing times".[1135] Teachers feared that students would come to see their diploma, and not the acquisition of housewifely skills, as the main goal of their education.[1136] Like in Yogyakarta, MULO education gained popularity among the Tomohon graduates. In 1916 five girls sat for the kleinambtenaarsexamen at the Tomohon Girls' School, while five girls – it is unclear if these were the same students – passed the entrance exam for the MULO.[1137] This meant that half of the girls who had completed

[1128] UA entry no. 1133, Generaal Deputaatschap voor de Zending, Zendingsbureau, Zendingscentrum en aanverwante instellingen van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland (hereafter GDZ), inv. no. 3114, J.M. Lips and T. Reimsma to board, undated [1932/1933].
[1129] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 11, Zevende verslag 1919-1923. *"Ieder wil een diploma hebben, de Javaansche prijajimeisjes willen graag een betrekking bekleeden, hetzij bij de post of op een kantoor."*
[1130] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 12, Achtste verslag 1923-1927.
[1131] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 13, Negende verslag 1927-1929.
[1132] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 11, Zevende verslag 1919-1923.
[1133] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility*, 118. The first woman to pass this exam was Wulan Kayes Rachel Wilhelmina Ratu Langie. Her brother, the journalist and political activist Sam Ratu Langie, wrote about her achievement: Ratu Langie, 'De vrouw in de Minahassa (3)', 11. For more about this prominent Minahasan family, see Gerry van Klinken, *Minorities, Modernity and the Emerging Nation. Christians in Indonesia, a Biographical Approach*, 199 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2003), 85–86.
[1134] A.V. [A. Verkuyl], 'Iets uit de Geschiedenis der Meisjesschool', *Het leven in* 3, no. 3–4 (1921): 32.
[1135] Ibid.
[1136] A. Verkuyl, 'De Meisjesschool te Tomohon in 1919', *Maandblad der Samenwerkende Zendings-Corporaties* 3 (1920): 70.
[1137] A. Verkuyl, 'De Meisjesschool te Tomohon (Minahassa)', *Maandbericht NZG* 118 (1916): 148.

their education at the girls' school that year went on to secondary education.[1138] The increasing demand for diplomas was not limited to Yogyakarta and Minahasan: missionaries who worked among the Karo Batak in North Sumatra, for example, were also "forced" to start handing out diplomas to local girls.[1139]

In their letters to their former teacher H. Wellensiek in the Netherlands, Queen Wilhelmina School graduates sometimes attested to their hard work for the exams. "You see, we have worked so hard before the holidays, you cannot imagine…and fortunately all girls from Gondolajoe have passed", Moejah wrote with a tone of relief.[1140] She was going to continue her studies at a teacher training college. Despite her excitement about this prospect, she was still seeking Wellensiek's blessing: "Miss, you do approve, don't you, that I am going to continue my studies?"[1141]

Presumably Moejah understood that in general, girls' aspirations to obtain a diploma and continue their education could not count on much approval among teachers at elite Protestant schools. The teachers in Yogyakarta played down girls' ambitions by claiming that most graduates only went to the MULO or teacher-training schools because they lacked options for "simple domestic education".[1142] Countess Van Limburg Stirum-Van Sminia, the vice-president of the support committee, expressed similar concerns about the ambitions of parents when she visited the school in 1929. She blamed parents for wanting their daughters to obtain "a large amount of bookish wisdom", fearing that the practical sides of daily life – domestic skills –would be neglected.[1143]

Both the Tomohon Girls' School and the Queen Wilhelmina School attempted to counteract the increasing popularity of exams and secondary schooling. In Tomohon, students were not allowed to sit for the kleinambtenaarsexamen unless they first passed the *huishoudproef*, a domestic skills test that their teachers considered of greater importance than the official exam.[1144] The girls had to prove that they were able to prepare a rice table, wash and iron their own clothes, and tend to braziers and lamps.[1145]

[1138] Ibid., 153.
[1139] Smith Kipp, 'Emancipating Each Other', 227.
[1140] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Moejah to H. Wellensiek, 20 May 1928. *"Ziet U, we hebben voor de vacantie zoo hard gewerkt, U kunt niet begrijpen, hoe hard. En… gelukkig, de meisjes afkomstig van Gondolajoe zijn (d'r) allen d'r door."* Gondalajoe was the neighbourhood in Yogyakarta where the Queen Wilhelmina School was located.
[1141] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Moejah to H. Wellensiek, 20 May 1928. *"Juffrouw, U vindt het toch ook goed, dat ik door ga studeeren?"*
[1142] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 12, Achtste verslag 1923-1927.
[1143] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 13, Negende verslag 1927-1929.
[1144] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1091, H. Beunders to board, 12 July 1912.
[1145] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1091, H. Beunders to board, 12 July 1912.

Figure 16: Ironing class at the Juliana Van Stolberg School, date unknown. TM-10000808.

Notwithstanding this resistance to girls' increasing ambitions, by 1917 the Resident of Manado mentioned that the aim of the school was to educate "intellectually developed and civilized women" who could "fulfil their duties" either in the family or in a paid position.[1146] The school had thus yielded to the pressure of students and their parents, and had somewhat adapted its outlook.

In Yogyakarta the attempts to turn the tide went further. With the help of the support committee in the Netherlands, the Queen Wilhelmina School raised funds to establish a secondary school for domestic education. The Juliana van Stolberg School was opened in Yogyakarta in 1927. This school, named for the mother of William of Orange, was meant primarily for the graduates of the Queen Wilhelmina School.[1147] Apart from an attempt to interest girls in domestic education, the establishment of the Juliana van Stolberg School was also a reaction of the Reformed mission to the increasing competition on the educational market. The *Vereeniging Kartinifonds* [Kartini Foundation], which owned a number of primary schools for priyayi girls all over Java – though not in Yogyakarta – had also started opening secondary schools for the same audience.[1148] The headmistress of the Queen Wilhelmina School

[1146] ANRI Alg. Sec. GB TZGA, inv. no. 7085, Rapport omtrent de Kost- en Dagschool te Tomohon (onderafdeeling Tandano, Afdeeling Menado, residentie Menado) voor dochters van hoofden en aanzienlijken in de Minahassa over het jaar 1917, Resident of Manado, 4 January 1918.
[1147] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 13, Negende verslag 1927-1929.
[1148] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas*, 85.

saw these Van Deventer Schools as a threat to the work of Protestant mission. She feared that graduates who went to a Van Deventer School would quickly forget their Christian upbringing and would be, as she phrased it, "Kartini-fied" [*verkartinid*]: forced into a "religiously neutral direction".[1149] The Juliana van Stolberg School was an attempt to provide these girls with an alternative and keep them in a Christian environment after they had passed primary school age. The Reformed Mission in Yogyakarta had already taken similar attempts with the opening of a Christian MULO in 1921, where some graduates of the Queen Wilhelmina School went.[1150]

In line with the outlook of the new school, its curriculum was overwhelmingly oriented towards domestic science classes. The students spent most of their time on laundering, ironing, and cooking European and Javanese dishes. They also perfected their batiking skills.[1151] Apart from these practical classes, the students also continued with school subjects such as reading and history, and they received some physical education and weekly catechism.[1152] Their headmistress, M.J. Van Schelven, wanted above all to convey the message that work was just as important as intellectual work. She disapproved of the low prestige of domestic work, complaining that in Java, just as everywhere else in the world, "using a pen gives a much nicer impression than handling a broom".[1153]

The schools' perspective on priyayi girls' futures came to the fore most clearly when it was expanded with a parallel domestic science class in order to secure more income.[1154] The new division was meant to provide girls from all ethnicities and social backgrounds with marketable skills so that they could eventually "earn their own bread".[1155] The teachers envisioned their non-priyayi Javanese, Indo-European and Chinese students as future domestic helps or seamstresses. By contrast, in their eyes the priyayi girls were still destined to become "educated housemothers".[1156] By separating the priyayi girls from their non-elite peers – the two groups followed different schedules, and the boarding school was open to priyayi girls only – the school board sought to maintain the social hierarchy that had characterized the Queen Wilhelmina School since 1907.[1157]

[1149] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 31, H. Wellensiek, cited in J.C. Van Andel-Rutgers to support committee, 28 April 1921.
[1150] Kerkeraad van Amsterdam, *Vijf-en-twintig jaar zendingsarbeid te Djocja*, 92–93. Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 11, Zevende verslag 1919-1923.
[1151] A. v. H.-S. [Amanda van Hoogstraten-Schoch], 'Van schuld en gave', 6.
[1152] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 13, Negende verslag 1927-1929.
[1153] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 14, Tiende verslag 1930-1932. *"(...) het staat veel netter om een pen te hanteeren dan een bezem."*
[1154] UA 1133 GDZ inv. no. 3114, D.J.B. Allaart to J.H. Kuyper, 17 December 1934.
[1155] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 15, Elfde verslag 1933-1935.
[1156] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 15, Elfde verslag 1933-1935.
[1157] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 15, Elfde verslag 1933-1935.

It is difficult to assess the extent to which the Juliana van Stolberg School indeed fulfilled a demand among priyayi girls and their parents, as its supporters claimed it did. In the first year of its opening, nine out of eighteen Queen Wilhelmina School graduates went on to study at the Juliana van Stolberg School, a number that was cited with satisfaction in the yearly report.[1158] But the school always remained very small: by the end of the 1936-1937 school year, there were only 34 students.[1159] Moreover, the school struggled with financial problems from the outset. The teachers had difficulties securing support from the colonial government,[1160] and there was constant insecurity on whether the subsidies would be renewed.[1161] By 1934 there were Christian secondary schools for domestic education in no less than four other Central Javanese cities – Magelang, Solo, Purwokerto and Purowejo. The government prioritized the financial support to these schools, because they were not exclusively open to priyayi girls and therefore more in line with the government's own educational policy.[1162] In addition, the government kept on lowering the salaries of Javanese civil servants, and these measures affected priyayi families in particular.[1163] For an increasing number of parents the school fees of the Juliana Van Stolberg School – that had already been lowered to "the minimum" according to the school board[1164] – proved to be too high.[1165]

In her letters to the support committee, headmistress Van Schelven noted another and probably even more important reason for the failure to attract students: the "changing times".[1166] Several priyayi women had confirmed Van Schelven's feeling that the Javanese elite was not as isolated from other social classes as it had been ten or twenty years earlier. This was connected to their declining financial means, but also to their increased mixing with other social classes.[1167] Indeed, there was a whole new Javanese urban middle class had emerged that partly derived its identity from its access to Western-style education.[1168] All in all, there was much less demand for a separate priyayi girls' school than there had been at the opening of the Queen Wilhelmina School in 1907.

[1158] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 13, Negende verslag 1927-1929.
[1159] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 16, Twaalfde Verslag van het Comité van Bijstand voor de Christelijke Scholen voor Meisjes uit den Javaanschen Adelstand the Jogjakarta en Solo, 1 Januari 1936-31 December 1937.
[1160] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 13, Negende verslag 1927-1929.
[1161] UA 1133 GDZ inv. no 3114, D.J.B. Allaart to J.H. Kuyper, 17 December 1934.
[1162] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 32, M.J. Van Schelven to support committee, 2 May 1934.
[1163] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 32, M.J. Van Schelven to support committee, 2 May 1934.
[1164] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 32, K.P. Groot and F.N. Pos-Breukelen to support committee, 12 July 1931.
[1165] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 32, M.J. Van Schelven to support committee, 2 May 1934.
[1166] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 32, M.J. Van Schelven to support committee, 2 May 1934.
[1167] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 32, M.J. Van Schelven to support committee, 2 May 1934.
[1168] Hoogervorst and Schulte Nordholt, 'Urban Middle Classes in Colonial Java (1900-1942)', 454.

4.2 Indonesian girls training as teachers in the colonial school system

The professional futures of graduates from colonial girls' school were limited, at least in theory, by the gendered ideology of the school organization they were part of. This was particularly the case at Christian girls' schools, including those in Yogyakarta and Tomohon. The idea of a married woman working outside the home was frowned upon in Christian schools in both the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies.[1169] There was more flexibility when it came to educated, unmarried women working outside the home, but in this case, too, ideas about women's respectability and gendered 'nature' determined which professions were seen as appropriate for women.

In broad terms, the convictions of teachers at the Tomohon Girls' School and the Queen Wilhelmina School mirrored public opinion in the Netherlands. The main objective of girls' education in the interwar Netherlands for all social groups – liberals, Catholics, Protestants and socialists alike – remained the upbringing of devoted mothers.[1170] When unmarried girls needed to make their own living, or wanted to do so out of ambition, it was considered important for them to choose a profession that fitted their "feminine talents".[1171] Especially jobs in the field of pedagogy, caretaking and domestic work were seen as appropriate for girls. In the Netherlands, Protestant commentators pointed at medical professions as fitting for women's "natural" tendency for "giving, helping and consoling", whereas Roman Catholic writers argued that women could work as pharmacists, gynaecologists and paediatricians.[1172]

In line with such opinions, nursing was one of the first occupations that opened up for Dutch women. A similar development took place in the Dutch East Indies where, around 1900, various missionary and charitable societies began to train indigenous girls as nurses.[1173] At a later point, the government also started regulating such educational programmes.[1174] Indigenous women also trained as midwives in public and private institutions.[1175] As in the Netherlands, in

[1169] Essen, *Opvoeden met een dubbel doel*, 107.
[1170] Ibid., 104.
[1171] Ibid., 106.
[1172] Ibid.
[1173] Smith Kipp, 'Emancipating Each Other', 222–27.
[1174] Liesbeth Hesselink, 'The Early Years of Nursing in the Dutch East Indies, 1895-1920', in *Colonial Caring: A History of Colonial and Post-Colonial Nursing*, ed. Helen Sweet and Sue Hawkins (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 145–68.
[1175] Hesselink, *Healers on the Colonial Market: Native Doctors and Midwives in the Dutch East Indies*, 225–67. For an overview of medical training for women in other colonial contexts, see Pascale Barthélémy and Rebecca Rogers, 'Enseignement et genre en situation coloniale (Maghreb, Afrique, Inde, Indonésie, Indochine)', in *Travail et genre dans le monde. L'état des savoirs* (Paris: La Découverte, 2013), 374–75.

the Dutch East Indies it was much more common for women to train as nurses than as doctors. The first Indonesian female doctor, the Minahasan Marie Thomas, graduated in 1922.[1176]

At the Queen Wilhelmina School, nursing was seen as a viable option for girls: in 1917, one girl left the Queen Wilhelmina School to start training as a nurse in a public hospital in Semarang.[1177] There were several graduates of the Yogyakarta school who went into the medical field, such as Makini, who planned to start training as a nurse at the Cikini hospital in Batavia after obtaining her MULO diploma.[1178] Graduate Ida became a midwife in Bandung.[1179] Former students of the Tomohon Girls' School also trained and worked as nurses in different hospitals in Minahasa.[1180] Not only Minahasan girls who were educated at Protestant schools were working in the medical profession: in the Catholic hospital Mariënheuvel in Tomohon, the JMJ sisters trained nurses as well.[1181] In Flores, the SSpS sisters started working in a public hospital in Endeh in the mid-1920s, and they also had a boarding house for indigenous nurses.[1182]

Apart from working in the medical field, white collar jobs were increasingly common among Indonesian women. At the Queen Wihelmina school, many girls aspired to work in an office.[1183] Some priyayi parents also encouraged their daughters to find work as civil servants.[1184] In Minahasa, as well, office work increasingly attracted young local women, who took up jobs in government service or in trading houses.[1185] For Christian girls, too, this was an acceptable choice. In Minahasa, the *Christelijke Jongevrouwenbond* [Christian Young Women's Association] even organized courses in typewriting, stenography and business English.[1186] It is likely that these courses were offered not only because of the desirability of office work, but also because the economic crisis of the 1930s made it harder to get a job. This was especially the case in Minahasa, where a relatively large part of the population was highly educated and there was a lot of competition on the labour market. The girls' column in the

[1176] Liesbeth Hesselink, 'Thomas, Marie E. (1896-1966)', in *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*, 2017, http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Thomas. Marie Thomas' name was well-known in the Dutch East Indies at the time. Siti Marijam, *De Indonesische vrouw, 1898-1948*, 11.
[1177] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 10, Zesde verslag 1917-1919.
[1178] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Makini to H. Wellensiek, undated.
[1179] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Ida to H. Wellensiek, 25 August 1935.
[1180] Hesselink, 'The Early Years of Nursing', 158–59; 'Een oud-leerling der Meisjesschool', *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* 4, no. 12 (1921): 191–92.
[1181] ENK JMJ, Box 3C8, File 9F/2, Visitaties ziekenhuis Mariënheuvel te Tomohon (1933-1947).
[1182] Theodora Nahas, 'Sejarah Misi Congregatio Missionalis Servarum Spiritus Sancti Di Flores 1918-1987' (BA thesis IKIP Sanata Dharma, 1990), 177–78.
[1183] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 11, Zevende verslag 1919-1923.
[1184] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Miranti to H. Wellensiek, 4 June 1929.
[1185] Ratu Langie, 'De vrouw in de Minahassa (Slot.)', *De Indiër* 2 (1914): 28.
[1186] 'Type-cursus', *Omhoog* 2, no. 7 (1930): 39.

journal of the Christian Minahasan Young People's Association [*Minahasische Christen Jongeren Bond*] regularly gave advice on appropriate conduct in the office: young women were to wear simple and practical dresses to work, and to avoid red lipstick and nail polish, as it would make them look "vulgar".[1187]

While both nursing and office work were thus popular options, these professions were eclipsed by the teaching profession, an occupation that educators at both private and public schools considered especially appropriate for educated young women. This was the case in the Netherlands as well as in the Dutch East Indies. In the metropole, teaching was one of the first professions to open up to women. Initially, women were exclusively hired at girls' schools. They also often minded toddlers, by virtue of their presumed maternal instincts. This started to change around 1860, when women first started to work in coeducational environments, even though they still generally worked with the youngest children.[1188] Women's "fortunate talent to win the heart of the child", as a Dutch Minister of Education phrased it in the 1920s, remained an argument for assigning them to kindergarten education for decades to come.[1189]

The first and only public girls' *kweekschool* in the Netherlands opened in 1896.[1190] The Protestant and Catholic churches offered numerous teacher training courses as well.[1191] By the 1920s most teacher training schools, with the exception of the Roman Catholic ones, were coeducational.[1192] Well into the twentieth century, teacher training for women was not only seen as a preparation for the job market, but as domestic education as well. Students were expected to gain domestic and pedagogic skills that would be useful in their future married life.[1193] This was also the case in the Dutch East Indies. The Van Deventer teacher training schools for girls mentioned in its propaganda material that many of its students were destined to become housemothers and above all needed to skills to give their children a "civilized education."[1194]

The first public teacher training colleges for girls in the Netherlands Indies were opened in 1918 in Yogyakarta and Pandang Panjang. By contrast, the first public boys' teacher training

[1187] T. Hoogendijk, 'Meisjes-rubriek', *Omhoog* 11, no. 10 (1939): 163–66.
[1188] Van Essen, *Opvoeden met een dubbel doel*, 214.
[1189] Ibid., 217.
[1190] Ibid., 215–16.
[1191] Ibid., 216.
[1192] Ibid.
[1193] Ibid., 218.
[1194] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 31, Van Deventer school prospectus, cited in: J.C. Van Andel-Rutgers to support committee, 28 April 1921.

colleges had been opened in Fort de Kock in 1856,[1195] and by 1914 there were six of them in the Dutch East Indies, including one that prepared students for teaching at HIS.[1196] The new *meisjesnormaalscholen* had the aim of educating teachers for the prospective MVS, the vernacular girls' schools for continued education.[1197] Yogyakarta and Padang Panjang were selected because the Director of Education in the colony wanted to prioritize the education of Malay- and Javanese-speaking teachers.[1198] Ten years before the opening of the first public colleges, Javanese colonial officials had already emphasized the need for girls' teaching training.[1199] The Kartini Foundation, too, had lobbied for the establishment of the colleges.[1200]

Briefly after the opening of the schools in Padang Panjang and Yogyakarta, three other girls' colleges for teacher training followed in Manado, Solo and Magelang. Finally, the government also opened a girls' college for the training of HIS teachers in Salatiga, the *meisjeskweekschool*.[1201] With the exception of those in Manado and Padang Panjang, all girls' teacher training colleges were thus located on Java. This reflected the ongoing Javacentric outlook of the colonial government.

The economic crisis of the 1930s and the consequential budget cuts dealt a hard blow to teacher training for girls in the Dutch East Indies, as only three public colleges remained.[1202] Still, the opportunities for public teacher training for indigenous girls in the Dutch East Indies were relatively favourable when compared to some other colonial contexts. In British India, for example, the colonial government strongly favoured Eurasian girls as teachers and prioritized their training.[1203] In French West Africa, the first *École normale des jeunes filles* for future teachers would open its doors only in 1938. As in the Dutch East Indies, the girls at this school came predominantly from families where the men were employed by the colonial government.[1204] Perhaps the most interesting example of public teacher-training for girls

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[1195] *Gedenkboek samengesteld bij gelegenheid van het 35 jarig bestaan der kweekschool voor Inlandsche onderwijzers te Fort de Kock / Kitab peringatan terkarang waktoe 35 tahoen 'oemoer Sekolah Radja oentoek goeroe Melajoe di Boekittingi, 1873-1908* (Arnhem: G.J. Thieme, 1908), 9.
[1196] Suwignyo, 'The Breach in the Dike', 86–88. For an in-depth analysis of the development of public teacher training in the late-colonial Dutch East Indies, see Ibid., 49–127.
[1197] Bemmelen, 'Enkele aspecten', 93. ANRI GB TZGA inv. no. 7578, DvO Creutzberg to GG, 16 Mei 1917. Published in Van der Wal, *Het onderwijsbeleid*, 312–23.
[1198] ANRI AS GB TZGA inv. no. 7578, Decision of Government Secretary, 21 June 1917.
[1199] ANRI AS GB MGS, inv. no. 4838, Overzicht van de in 1901 en 1909 door de Residenten en Regenten c.q. Patihs op Java en Madoera geuite meeningen nopens het denkbeeld der oprichting van Inlandsche meisjesscholen, undated. See the contributions of the Regent of Kebumen and the Regent of Grisee.
[1200] ANRI AS GB TZGA, inv. no. 7578, Vereeniging Kartinifonds to Minister of Colonies, 28 February 1917.
[1201] Van Bemmelen, 'Enkele aspecten', 109.
[1202] Ibid., 110.
[1203] Tim Allender, 'Colonial Anxieties: The State Embodiment of the Female Teacher-"Trainer", 1808-1931', in *Education in Colonial India: Historical Insights*, ed. Deepak Kumar et al. (New Delhi: Manohar, 2013), 335–38.
[1204] Barthélémy and Rogers, 'Enseignement et genre', 375. For an in-depth analysis of this school, see Barthélémy, *Africaines et diplômées*.

occurred in British-mandate Egypt, where the colonial government opened a college for female religious teachers in Quran school as early as 1904 in an attempt to stimulate girls' school participation.[1205]

Apart from the public colleges, there were several private institutions in the colony that offered teacher training for girls, often with financial support of the colonial government. The most prestigious of these were the aforementioned Van Deventer schools for priyayi girls. These colleges were funded by the Kartini Foundation and were primarily meant as secondary schools for graduates of the Kartini schools. Starting in 1917, the foundation eventually opened four Van Deventer schools.[1206] Other private colleges included a Catholic *meisjeskweekschool* in Ambarawa and the Islamic Mohammadijah teacher training college in Yogyakarta.[1207] This Kweekschool Mohammadijah had evolved out of the first small girls' school that had been opened by Mohammadijah's founder in 1918. In 1924, the school had 75 students. Like its counterpart for boys, it developed into a training school for members of the Mohammadijah leadership.[1208] The madrasah is still functioning as a prestigious girls' school in Yogyakarta today under the name Madrasah Mu'allimaat Muhammadiyah. Such private teacher training schools, as well, were hit hard by the crisis of the 1930s, as they all lost their right to subsidies.[1209]

Before the opening of girls' *normaalscholen* and *kweekscholen*, some schools already offered small-scale teacher training opportunities for their graduates. G.C. Krook, the first headmistress at the Tomohon Girls' School, expressed the wish to train a Minahasan girl as her assistant shortly after the opening of the school. She liked the idea of "Minahasan girls educating the Minahasan youth."[1210] Krook believed, however, that the girls were still "too used to lying and cheating" to be able to work together with a Dutch headmistress.[1211] The later headmaster Limburg hired an indigenous girl as a teaching assistant in 1897. This Miss Waworoentoe was an alumna of the school.[1212] Twenty years later one D. Waworuntu, possibly a relative of the first indigenous teacher at the school, was employed as a full teacher.[1213] Just

[1205] Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation*, 124.
[1206] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas*, 85.
[1207] Bemmelen, 'Enkele aspecten', 109–10.
[1208] Claire-Marie Hefner, 'Models of Achievement: Muslim Girls and Religious Authority in a Modernist Islamic Boarding School in Indonesia', *Asian Studies Review* 40, no. 4 (2016): 567.
[1209] Van Bemmelen, 'Enkele aspecten', 110.
[1210] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1147, G.C. Krook to J.C. Neurdenburg, 28 July 1883.
[1211] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1147, G.C. Krook to J.C. Neurdenburg, 28 July 1883.
[1212] UA RvdZR 1102-1, inv. no. 1094, A. Limburg to Board, 19 March 1897.
[1213] ANRI Alg. Sec. GB TZGA, inv. no. 7085, Rapport omtrent de Kost- en Dagschool te Tomohon (onderafdeeling Tandano, Afdeeling Menado, residentie Menado) voor dochters van hoofden en aanzienlijken in de Minahassa over het jaar 1917, Resident of Manado, 4 January 1918.

like her colleague E. Kasenger she had obtained the so-called Depok diploma, a lower-level teaching certificate for HIS.[1214] Another Minahasan, A. Panton, worked at the girls' school as a teacher in training.[1215] These young women were not the only Minahasan girls with teaching aspirations: in the 1910s, two of their peers had moved three thousand kilometres from home, to study for their teaching diplomas in Batavia.[1216] In 1924, the headmaster of the Tomohon Girls' School also organized lessons to prepare Minahasan girls for the Depok diploma, a teacher training certificate for Dutch-Native education that could be obtained through training at private institutions.[1217]

In Flores a similar development occurred. By 1919 the SSpS sisters in Lela supervised and trained a few fourteen-year-old girls, who worked at the vernacular department of the girls' school.[1218] On Flores, it took until 1926 before two standard school graduates from Lela passed their exams for an official teacher-training course provided by the mission.[1219] In 1931, the first girls were admitted to the Roman Catholic teacher training course. They numbered five out of a total of 116 students. Until decolonisation, the number of girls at the mission teacher training school did not pass fourteen.[1220]

Apart from changing ideas about indigenous girls' potential, the employment of indigenous girls at Christian schools was also motivated by a wish to reduce the workload of European teachers. The sisters in Lela, for example, were not able to provide daily religious instruction to all children because of lack of staff and recruited local girls for this purpose.[1221] Some indigenous teachers were probably also hired for financial reasons, as their salaries were significantly lower than those of European teachers.[1222] At the Tomohon Girls' school, for example, the Dutch teacher M.P. Planjer made a hundred guilders per month, while her

[1214] Archief Onderwijsraad (hereafter AO), Collection Publicaties uit het jaar 1924, inv. no. 1148, Beperking minderwaardig particulier Hollandsch Onderwijs aan Inl., 10 April 1923.
https://www.onderwijsraad.nl/publicaties/archief/, retrieved 25 July 2019.
[1215] ANRI Alg. Sec. GB TZGA, inv. no. 7085, Rapport omtrent de Kost- en Dagschool te Tomohon (onderafdeeling Tandano, Afdeeling Menado, residentie Menado) voor dochters van hoofden en aanzienlijken in de Minahassa over het jaar 1917, Resident of Manado, 4 January 1918.
[1216] Ratu Langie, 'De vrouw in de Minahassa (Slot.)', 30.
[1217] A.V. [A. Verkuyl], 'Mededeeling', *Het leven in* 3, no. 5 (1924): 28.
[1218] SSpS Indonesia, Folder Travel reports /correspondence in German 1917-1937, Sister Willibrorda to Reverend Mother, 30 December 1919.
[1219] 'Ndona. Apa schola Roomsch Katholieke Missie baik atau tidak?', *Bintang Timoer* 2, no. 4 (1926): 127–28.
[1220] Jebarus, *Sejarah Persekolahan*, 92–93.
[1221] SSpS Indonesia, Folder Travel reports /correspondence in German 1917-1937, Sister Willibrorda to Reverend Mother, 30 December 1919.
[1222] Agus Suwignyo, 'The Breach in the Dike: Regime Change and the Standardisation of Public Primary-School Teacher Training in Indonesia 1893-1969' (PhD thesis Leiden University, 2012), 83.

Minahasan colleagues had to content themselves with forty and thirty two and a half guilders respectively.[1223]

In places where there were no private teacher training opportunities, some indigenous girls succeeded in gaining entrance to the public young men's teacher-training colleges. In 1908 Sjarifah, the daughter of a teacher at the *kweekschool* in Fort de Kock in West Sumatra, registered as a student at this school. Her admission was recorded in a memorial book.[1224] When the government made special provisions for a limited number of girls to be admitted to the men's colleges in 1912, their number grew.[1225] By 1916 fifteen girls were training as teachers in Fort de Kock. [1226] In the same year, the directors of the other teacher training colleges in Ungaran, Bandung and Amboina in the Moluccas reported that two, six, and four girls respectively were training there.[1227] Five girls were at the college in Yogyakarta. All of them came from the lower priyayi classes, and their fathers held middle-ranking positions in the colonial administration or in public schools.[1228]

One event illustrates that the government clearly prioritized the education of male teachers. The girls at the teacher training colleges initially received a government allowance of ten guilders a month to pay for their rent in a boarding house and their other living costs, while their male classmates received thirteen guilders a month and were boarding at the college for free.[1229] This sparked the indignation of their school director G.H. Horensma, who even collected the testimonies of two Minangkabau pension holders who housed female students, and sent them to the Director of Education.[1230] As a result, all girls at teacher-training colleges in the Dutch East Indies gained the right to additional allowances.[1231] This event shows that the colonial government prioritized the education of male teachers: while the government was prepared that to grant girls admission to the teacher training colleges, and also to increase their scholarships, this only happened once girls or their teachers made special requests.

[1223] ANRI Alg. Sec. GB TZGA, inv. no. 7085, Rapport omtrent de Kost- en Dagschool te Tomohon, Resident of Manado, 4 January 1918.
[1224] *Gedenkboek kweekschool voor inlandsche onderwijzers*, 32.
[1225] ANRI Alg. Sec. GB TZGA, inv. no. 7085, European School Commission Probolinggo to Director of Education, 24 May 1916.
[1226] ANRI AS GB TZGA inv. no. 7578, G.H. Horensma to Director of Education, 25 January 1916. ANRI AS GB TZGA inv. no. 7578, G.H. Horensma to Director of Education, 10 October 1916.
[1227] ANRI AS GB TZGA inv. no. 7578, Mr. Ravell to Native School Commission, 17 May 1916. ANRI AS GB TZGA inv. no. 7578, J. Lameijn, 16 May 1916. ANRI AS GB TZGA inv. no. 7578, A.C. Deenik to Native School Commission, 27 May 1916.
[1228] ANRI AS GB TZGA inv. no. 7578, H.C. Bergen to Inspector of Dutch-Native Education, 10 May 1916.
[1229] ANRI AS GB TZGA inv. no. 7578, G.H. Horensma to Director of Education, 25 January 1916. ANRI AS GB TZGA inv. no. 7578, G.H. Horensma to Director of Education, 10 October 1916.
[1230] ANRI AS GB TZGA inv. no. 7578, Datoek Kakaja and Kari Soetan to G.H. Horensma, 2 October 1916.
[1231] ANRI AS GB TZGA inv. no. 7578, Decision of Government Secretary, 12 March 1917.

Furthermore, not everyone agreed that additional money should be spent on the female students. The director of the Yogyakarta teacher training school suspected that the girls in Fort de Kock failed to make ends meet because of their "luxurious" lifestyles, which reportedly included playing tennis and dressing in fashionable European clothes.[1232]

Some more insight about Indonesian girls' teaching aspirations can be gained from the correspondence between Raden Adjeng Kaïda, a member of the royal house of Paku Alam, and her Dutch penpal Kaatje Schijfsma.[1233] Kaïda, born in 1898, was a granddaughter of Paku Alam V.[1234] She had finished a European school of the second class and was an admirer of Raden Adjeng Kartini.[1235] As was briefly explained in the first chapter of the thesis, by the 1910s it was common for members of the Paku Alam House to follow Western-style education. Two of Kaïda's sisters and her cousin studied to become teachers. Kaïda initially believed she herself lacked the talent to become a teacher, as she had not always gotten good marks at school.[1236] She did, however, express a strong ambition to study and build a financially independent life for herself, saying that she strived to be "independent and self-reliant" [*onafhankelijk en zelfstandig*]: "It has always been my dream to see these two words come into reality," she wrote.[1237]

Kaïda did eventually get the chance to teach Dutch and needlework to Javanese children at a private school, work that she loved. She also proudly told Kaatje that her sister Lien had become the first Javanese girl to request a job at a public European school.[1238] "Lien" likely was a pet name for Karlinah, the member of the Paku Alam house who was indeed recorded as the first Indonesian woman to get a diploma to teach at European primary schools.[1239] Another sister started working at the colonial Department of Agriculture.[1240]

Kaïda's teaching dream ended abruptly. Shortly after she had obtained her teaching certificate for needlework in Batavia, her father became ill and she had to stay home to take of him.[1241] In her last letter to Kaatje Schijfsma she wrote in a disappointed tone of voice: "I was

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[1232] ANRI AS GB TZGA inv. no. 7578, H.C. Bergen to Inspector of Dutch-Native Education, 10 May 1916.
[1233] I am grateful to Jan Lucassen for drawing my attention to this collection of letters.
[1234] Jan Lucassen, 'Letters from a Javanese Princess 1912-1916', *On the Waterfront. Newsletter of the Friends of the IISG*, no. 4 (2004): 4–5.
[1235] Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam (hereafter IISG), archive Aletta Sophia Charlotte Schijfsma-Reydon, R.A. Kaïda to K. Schijfsma, 4 October 1912. IISG, Schijfsma-Reydon, R.A. Kaïda to K. Schijfsma, 25 December 1913.
[1236] IISG Schijfsma-Reydon, R.A. Kaïda to K. Schijfsma, 23 March 1913.
[1237] IISG Schijfsma-Reydon, R.A. Kaïda to K. Schijfsma, 20 December 1912.*"Deze twee woorden tot werkelijkheid te zien is altijd mijn droom geweest."*
[1238] IISG Schijfsma-Reydon, R.A. Kaïda to K. Schijfsma, 25 December 1913.
[1239] Siti Marijam, *De Indonesische vrouw, 1898-1948*, 37.
[1240] IISG Schijfsma-Reydon, R.A. Kaïda to K. Schijfsma, 31 August 1915.
[1241] IISG Schijfsma-Reydon, R.A. Kaïda to K. Schijfsma, 16 September 1916.

so happy when I came home with a diploma in my pocket, but that happiness did not last for long. However, I resign myself to this."[1242] All in all, Kaïda's life contrasted strongly to Kaatje's, who after obtaining her gymnasium diploma went on to study biology at Leiden University.[1243] She obtained her PhD in Biology during the Second World War and worked at Leiden University until her retirement.[1244] While Kaïda's letters only offer insights from one highly individual standpoint, they show that some elite Javanese girls in the second decade of the twentieth century had strong professional ambitions. While the number of girls training as teachers in the public school system before 1918 was very small, there clearly was a demand for girls' continued education, even at a time when there were not a lot of job opportunities for female teachers. Moreover, these girls must have come from relatively progressive families, as they were among the very few women in a school filled with young men, a situation that would have met with serious objections in most Indonesian families at the time.

There were plenty of graduates of the Queen Wilhelmina School who went on to work as teachers.[1245] Some of them wrote their former teachers about their professional experiences. In one letter Miranti, a Christian convert who taught domestic science at the Juliana van Stolbergschool told H. Wellensiek that she was very happy in her workplace. She also explained her pedagogical ideals to Wellensiek: "Moreover, I want to empathise with them completely, *not* put myself *above* them. That is far from my aspiration."[1246] In a similar vein, Soekriti, a Queen Wilhelmina School graduate who worked at a Taman Siswa school, asked Wellensiek for pedagogical advice, saying she aspired to "understand the child".[1247] Such remarks clearly echoed the reform pedagogy of the early twentieth century that played an important role at both the Queen Wilhelmina School and in the Taman Siswa system.

Unsurprisingly, teachers at the Christian girls' school in Yogyakarta did not always receive the professional choices of their graduates with undivided enthusiasm. The rare cases where a former student pursued a career after marriage were especially controversial. In a

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[1242] IISG Schijfsma-Reydon, R.A. Kaïda to K. Schijfsma, 16 September 1916. *"Wat was ik blij toen ik met een diploma op zak thuis kwam, maar die vreugde heeft niet lang geduurd. Doch ik berust hierin."*

[1243] IISG, Schijfsma-Reydon, R.A. Kaïda to K. Schijfsma, 23 March 1913. IISG, Schijfsma-Reydon, R.A. Kaïda to K. Schijfsma, 23 December 1913.

[1244] L.B.H., 'Obituary Notices: Dr. Kaatje Schijfsma', *Crustaceana* 16, no. 2 (1969): 224.

[1245] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Moetinah to H. Wellensiek, 10 February 1929. Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Ita to H. Wellensiek, 24 August 1935. Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Soekapti to Wellensiek, 25 August 1935. Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Soekistinah to H. Wellensiek, 28 June 1936. Also see the school newsletters in UA 1133 GDZ inv. no. 3115, Rondzendbrieven van M. van Schelven en P. Merwart aan oud-leerlingen, 1932-1939.

[1246] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Soemanti to H. Wellensiek, 29 Juli 1929. *"Tevens, ik wil helemaal met hun meeleven,* niet *om* boven *hen te verheffen* (sic). *Dat is verre mijn ideaal."* Emphasis in the original.

[1247] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Soekriti to H. Wellensiek, 14 August 1935.

school newsletter for alumna P. Merwart sharply reminded Oeminari, who worked as a teacher, that her family of nine must always be her first priority and that she had to quit her job immediately if she started to neglect her "primary duty" at home.[1248] Teachers also warned graduates not to idealize professional life too much. They stressed that having a job was not the only way to lead a fulfilling life, clearly encouraging them to give up their careers and became housewives.[1249]

From the late 1920s onwards, many colonial schools for indigenous girls in the Dutch East Indies employed several Indonesian women as teachers, whereas Dutch educators in the late nineteenth century had still considered it impossible to employ indigenous women. By 1933, three indigenous teachers worked alongside the SSpS sisters at the Larantuka girls' school.[1250] At the Queen Wilhelmina School, four out of seven teachers in the late 1930s were priyayi women; at the Juliana van Stolberg School, three out of seven staff members were priyayi.[1251] In Tomohon, indigenous teachers had become a familiar sight at the Protestant girls' school from the late 1910s onward; at the fortieth anniversary of the school the headmaster praised three Minahasan women who had worked there.[1252] The increasing presence of indigenous women teachers at Christian schools can be explained by girls' growing professional ambitions and the growing acceptance of indigenous women in the teaching profession on the one hand, and by the economic circumstances on the other hand. Especially in the 1930s, in the context of an economic crisis and budget cuts, colonial schools opted to hire indigenous rather than European teachers because their wages were much lower.

4.3. "Iboe as breadwinner": Women's work, secondary education and teacher training at Dinijjah Poeteri and Taman Siswa

When it became increasingly common for Indonesian educated girls to obtain a diploma, go on to secondary education and, as will be explored further in the next section, to work outside the home, this naturally had repercussions in Indonesian-led schools just as much as in Christian ones In source material about Dinijjah Poeteri there is no mention of internal debates about the direction that the education should take now that options for secondary education were

[1248] UA GDZ 1133, inv. no. 3115, Rondzendbrief, October 1938.
[1249] UA GDZ 1133, inv. no. 3115, Rondzendbrief, 27 September 1932.
[1250] ANRI AS GBB inv. no. 2926, Vicar Apostolic of the Lesser Sunda Islands to Governor General, 15 May 1933.
[1251] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 16, Twaalfde Verslag 1936-1937.
[1252] A.V. [A. Verkuyl], 'Gode zij de eer', *Het leven in* 3, no. 3–4 (1921): 30–32.

increasingly opening up to girls. It is likely that this was at least partly because of the structure of Dinijjah Poeteri: until Rahmah el Joenoessijah's death in 1969, the school was firmly in her hands. She did not, like the headteachers at other schools, have to take into consideration the opinions of a support committee or boards of directors in the Netherlands. Nor was the school dependent on the financial support of the colonial government. All this meant that the education at Dinijjah Poeteri always continued to be organized according to Rahmah's educational ideals, with general education as the one pillar and religious education as the other. At Dinijjah Poeteri, the idea that a graduate would come to fulfil a role outside the home was not alien. In the memorial book that was issued at the fifteen-year anniversary of the school, there is mention of several possible futures for graduates: working in the educational field, in journalism, or as preachers and missionaries [*moeballligh*], "spreading [the faith] and propaganda" [*penjiaran dan propaganda*].[1253] What they would need to be successful in these occupations, again, was the right combination of religious and general knowledge.[1254] Female preachers took in an important place in reformist Indonesian women's movements at the time. Within 'Aijsijah, the women's organization of Mohammadijah, women were actively encouraged to act as preachers and female preachers were very important in spreading the message of the organization.[1255] Around the end of the 1930s, there were around two-thousand female missionaries spreading Mohammadijah's interpretation of Islam throughout the Dutch East Indies.[1256]

It made sense for Dinijjah Poeteri students, who had grown up in a very religious educational environment, to pursue Islamic secondary education as well. The example of two girls continuing their religious studies in Egypt in 1932 has already been mentioned.[1257] But Dinijjah Poeteri graduates did not necessarily need to travel this far to go to secondary school. As we have seen in the previous chapter, there were many study opportunities in West Sumatra, as various Kaum Muda organizations opened secondary schools and teacher training colleges.[1258] The educational trajectory of Dinijjah Poeteri graduate Aishah Ghani, who was already mentioned in the previous chapter, is illustrative of this. After completing her primary

[1253] *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*, 21.
[1254] Ibid.
[1255] Pieternella van Doorn-Harder, *Women Shaping Islam: Indonesian Women Reading the Qur'an* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 79; 93. For an insightful review of Islamic women's religious authority, for example as preachers, see David Kloos and Mirjam Künkler, 'Studying Female Islamic Authority: From Top-Down to Bottom-Up Modes of Certification', *Asian Studies Review* 40, no. 4 (2016): 479–90.
[1256] Peacock, *Purifying the Faith*, 52.
[1257] 'Doea Orang Gadis Bp. Berangkat ke Mesir'.
[1258] ANRI BB inv. no. 3592, Rapport, 18 October 1933. For the origin stories of various secondary schools including the Islamic College see Taufik Abdullah, 'Schools and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra (1927-1933)' (PhD thesis Cornell University, 1971), 312–17.

she went on the study at the Islamic College in Padang, the capital of West Sumatra.[1259] Like many reformist Islamic schools in the region, this secondary school was owned by the radical political organization PERMI and the colonial police kept a close eye on it.[1260] Ghani recalled that the aim of the school was to shape its students into good Muslims who were adapted to the "modern age".[1261] It combined religious and secular studies in the curriculum and aimed to shape future reformers who could contribute to the progress of their people as educators, businessmen, agricultural innovators or in the political realm.[1262]

In contrast to Dinijjah Poeteri, the Islamic College was a coeducational school, and in the classroom male and female students were not separated from one another by a curtain as was common in other educational spaces.[1263] The teachers at the Islamic College, all men, were closely connected to the reformist Islamic scholarly world: some of them had even studied at the prestigious Al-Azhar University in Cairo.[1264] According to Ghani, they were "modern" Muslim men in their "radical nationalism" as well as in their appearance: they wore Western-style trousers, ties and even if they had already been on a pilgrimage to Mecca they did not wear a turban, the traditional headdress of a *haji*.[1265] Ghani fondly remembered her interactions with her fellow students at the school.[1266] She would eventually go on to become a journalist and, later, a politician: she was the first female senator in Malaya and after independence served as the Minister of Social Welfare for eleven years.[1267]

The professional achievements of Aishah Ghani and other graduates were celebrated at Dinijjah Poeteri. The school explicitly expressed its pride in graduates who built a professional future for themselves as teachers, heads of Islamic organizations, preachers and civil servants.[1268] At the same time, Dinijah Poeteri made clear that it adhered the same value to roles in the domestic sphere as it did to professional success. One list of graduates' professional achievements, for examples, also underlined that "thousands of others" were successful in their own right as housewives.[1269] Teachers seem to have mainly wanted for Dinijjah Poeteri graduates to take up an activity that allowed them to share the religious benefits of their

[1259] Ghani, *Memoir*, 10–11.
[1260] ANRI BB inv. no. 3592, Rapport, 18 October 1933.
[1261] Ghani, *Memoir*, 10.
[1262] Abdullah, 'Schools and Politics', 315; Ghani, *Memoir*, 10.
[1263] Ghani, *Memoir*, 11.
[1264] Ibid., 10.
[1265] Ibid., 10–11.
[1266] Ibid., 11.
[1267] Ting, 'Shamsiah Fakeh and Aishah Ghani'.
[1268] 'Daftar berbagai bekas pelajar Diniyah/K.M.I. dalam masyarakat', *Peringatan 55 Tahun*, 147–48. 'Bekas pelajar Diniyah yang mencapai 'karir'nya', Ibid., 164.
[1269] *Peringatan 55 Tahun*, 148.

education with others. This was the role of the *Iboe Pendidik*, who was central to Rahmah el Joenoessijah's pedagogical philosophy.[1270] This "mother-educator" could fulfil her role in the public sphere of paid work as well as in the private sphere of the home.

In contrast to Dinijjah Poeteri, source material concerning Taman Siswa contains many traces of debates about women's professional options. While Taman Siswa had a prominent leader in Ki Hadjar Dewantara, it was in the first place a large educational organization in charge of many schools throughout the archipelago. Its members, especially those who were active in the women's branch Wanita Taman Siswa, debated the possibility that female Taman Siswa graduates would take up paid work in the organizations' publications. The value of women, they argued, did not only lie in the household: on the contrary, women had already proven themselves in politics – for example in the context of political movements such as Boedi Oetomo, in political parties, and in economics.[1271] Women's achievements in the home, one Nji Soediro argued in a speech, were in fact economic achievements already: within the "enterprise" that was the family, mothers played the roles of general manager, secretary and treasurer, while the role of their husbands was often constricted to that of an advisor.[1272]

Drawing on Javanese mythology – something that, in itself, was very much in the vein of Taman Siswa's particular brand of nationalism – Nji Soediro mentioned the examples of several female characters who wielded considerable political influence in wayang stories.[1273] The responsibility for progress [*kemadjoean*], another woman activist reminded the readers of *Poesara*, lay on the shoulders of women and men alike: they had to work together.[1274] It would not do to simply trail after [*memboentoet*] men, even though the influence of men in the world was more widely acknowledged; this could only be changed once women started to make themselves heard with courage and self-assurance [*zelfbewustheid*].[1275] Women needed to familiarize themselves with topics like economy, politics and science.[1276] For their part, men should also realize that women in the Taman Siswa movement were not simply "attractive flowers" or "ornaments".[1277] All in all, the argument came down to one simple rallying cry: "My sisters, let us not forget that you are human beings, just as men."[1278]

[1270] Rahmah el Joenoessijah, 'Sepatah kata pendahoeloean', *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*, 2.
[1271] Nji Soediro, 'Perempoean dan kesosialan', 198.
[1272] Ibid.
[1273] Ibid., 199.
[1274] Nji Sri Mangoensarkoro, 'Arti cultuur', 175.
[1275] Ibid., 175–76.
[1276] Ibid., 176.
[1277] Ibid.
[1278] Ibid., 175. "*Saudara-saudarakoe kaoem iboe, djanganlah kami loepa, bahwa kamoe djoega manoesia seperti kaoem bapak."*

Members of Wanita Taman Siswa Jakarta also engaged with these questions in an article titled 'Where is the place of the woman, in the household or in society?'[1279] By making such a rigid distinction between the household [*roemah tangga*] and wider society [*masjarakat*], they firmly maintained the distinction between the public and the private sphere. The title also suggested that women should either chose one or the other of these spheres: activities in the house and those in the public world could ostensibly not be combined.

The women from capital, too, reminded the readers that men and women were all part of the same humanity. The writers even scolded men for their sense of superiority [*superioriteitswaan*] towards women.[1280] When it came to children's education, the writers argued, it would be useful to teach boys and girls the same skills, so they could help one another when it was needed. Boys needed to know how to take care of children, cook and sew, while girls needed to gain knowledge of politics and economics, and even learn martial arts for self-defence.[1281] This would be beneficial for all children: boys would use many useful skills that would come in handy when the need arose, and girls would feel more brave and free, and would not have to ask boys for help all the time.[1282]

While such opinions might have seemed quite radical in the heavily gendered context of Taman Siswa and the Taman Siswa schools – surely, the idea of boys learning how to sew bordered on the ridiculous for many Taman Siswa sympathizers – all women writing about these topics agreed on one crucial thing: that women's options, whether in education or on the job market, should be circumscribed by the kodrat. In other words, women's professional opportunities were limited by the nature and natural destiny of their gender. The most important rule to keep in mind when teaching girls "boy's skills" and vice versa, Wanita Taman Siswa warned, what that the kodrat should never be forgotten. The skills of women and men, in the end, were complementary.[1283]

This argumentation neatly fitted the Taman Siswa party line. The other female writers cited above, too, emphasized the vital importance of women's kodrat and the moral talents that came with it. All in all, women's most important role was to be guardians of the moral character of the Taman Siswa movement.[1284] Women should honour this kodrat and even be proud of it. They should not be ashamed, or indeed, allow men to insult them because the greatest "writers,

[1279] Wanita Taman-Siswa Djakarta, 'Dimanakah tempat perempoean, di roemah tangga atau masjarakat?', *Poesara* 4, no. 9 (1934): 122–24.
[1280] Ibid., 122.
[1281] Ibid.
[1282] Ibid.
[1283] Ibid., 123.
[1284] Nji Sri Mangoensarkoro, 'Arti cultuur', 176.

poets, and politicians" were men.[1285] Instead, women should look for greatness in what Wanita Taman Siswa described as "our own field": education, healthcare, and charitable work.[1286] Women's professional options were inevitably also limited by the kodrat. First of all, women who respected their destiny and the character of their gender needed to be careful not to neglect their main task in the household.[1287] This was poignantly expressed in an article in the magazine of the local Taman Siswa branch in Medan, North Sumatra. Mothers who started working outside the home or who even became the "breadwinner" [*kostwinster*] in the family, should always put the interest of their children first. If her job meant that her children would be neglected, this was not worth the money she was making.[1288]

Honouring the kodrat on the labour market also meant that women should understand that their skills would be honed best in specific "feminine" occupations. This included nursing, teaching, and being "propagators of good morals" [*penjebar kesoetjian*] in general.[1289] In an article in two parts about appropriate professions for women, Ki Hadjar Dewantara made essentially the same argument. Referring to the context of the economic crisis of the 1930s, he observed that more and more women were forced to supplement the income of their families by working outside the home. Women, as "weak" creatures that could "easily be dominated", had an even more difficult time than men during these trying times.[1290] They ran the risk of being exploited by employers who wanted to hire them only for their attractiveness or because their labour was cheaper than that of men.[1291] For women to successfully take part in the labour market, then, it was important that they considered not only their physical characteristics, but their morality as well.[1292] Not all types of work that hitherto had been done by men could also been done by women, because they were different and both had to keep their kodrat in mind.[1293] Women should thus chose occupations that were appropriate to their gender: they could, for example, become nurses, midwives, seamstresses, and teachers.[1294]

In the Taman Siswa context, teaching in particular was considered to be a fitting occupation for women. Much like Dutch policy makers and educational thinkers at the time, Ki Hadjar Dewantara considered the teaching profession to be perfectly in line with women's

[1285] Wanita Taman-Siswa Djakarta, 'Dimanakah tempat perempoean?', 123.
[1286] Ibid.
[1287] Nji Soediro, 'Perempoean dan kesosialan', 199.
[1288] Pa'toes, 'Iboe jang menjadi kostwinster', *Taman Siswa* 2, no. 11 (1940): 355.
[1289] Wanita Taman-Siswa Djakarta, 'Dimanakah tempat perempoean?', 123.
[1290] K.H. Dewantara, 'Beroepskeuze bagi perempoean I', *Wasita. Madjallah pendidikan oemoem oentoek kaoem goeroe, pengadjar dan sekalian pemimpin anak-anak (Wasita)* 1, no. 9 (1935): 215.
[1291] Ibid., 216.
[1292] Ibid.
[1293] Ibid.
[1294] Ki Hadjar Dewantara, 'Beroepskeuze bagi perempoean II. (Habis)', *Wasita* 1, no. 10 (1935): 235.

kodrat. Women who worked as teachers, he believed, would benefit not only themselves but the whole of society.[1295] Female Taman Siswa members considered members of their sex as particularly well-equipped to teach pubescent girls and younger boys. Female teachers stressed the importance of their own role as educators of especially teenage girls. As women, Wanita Taman Siswa members argued, they could relate to girls in their puberty better than male teachers could.[1296] The writer of this particular article had long been active in the organization and had been a part of the first board its women's branch.[1297] Moreover, they would also have a positive influence on young boys, who were believed to behave more politely when a woman was around, as argued by Ni Soerip, another prominent Wanita Taman Siswa member.[1298]

Alongside the emphasis on women's primary duties as mothers and the emphasis on the kodrat, what stands out from the Taman Siswa publications on women's labour is an almost exclusive focus on schooled work. Women working in agriculture or as labourers in industry figured only very rarely, even though they made up the large majority of women working outside the home in Indonesia. One author, Hadisoebroto, published a few articles on female agricultural workers and described them in the same well-known terms of kodrat and morality used for educated women.[1299] Education that aligned with their own culture, he argued, was described as the best way to avoid moral "excesses" as they occurred in the agricultural industry in Europe.[1300] He also argued that women, who played an important role on the rice fields, should receive agricultural education.[1301]

Women working in other industries figured even less often. The only times when *kaoem boeroeh perempoean* [female labourers] figured in Taman Siswa publications was when the organization published the proceeds of the second *Kongres Perempoean Indonesia* [Indonesian Women's Congress]. At the congress, members of the women's branches of Islamic and socialist parties had made speeches on the position of Indonesia's women workers and their plights during the economic crisis.[1302] Meanwhile, both Wanita Taman Siswa and the broader Taman Siswa movement remained silent on these topics. The emphasis on schooled work, of course, derived from the fact that, as we have seen in the previous chapter, Taman Siswa was a

[1295] Ibid.
[1296] Nji Sri Mangoensarkoro, 'Mengapa Wanita Taman Siswa haroes diatoer?', *Poesara* 1, no. 10 (1932): 89.
[1297] MTS inv. no. 1.71, 1929. Photo caption: 'Pengurus Wanita Taman Siswa yang pertama'.
[1298] Ni Soerip, 'Perempoean sebagai pendidik', *Wasita* 1, no. 6 (1935): 129.
[1299] Hadisoebroto, 'Perempoean dan pertanian', *Wasita* 1, no. 9 (1935): 207–11; S. Hadisoebroto, 'Pembelokan2 (exces) pada perempoean dalam pertanian', *Wasita* 1, no. 10 (1935): 232–33.
[1300] S. Hadisoebroto, 'Pembelokan2', 233.
[1301] Hadisoebroto, 'Perempoean dan pertanian', 211.
[1302] Nj. Soemadi, 'Nasib perempoean Indonesia dalam zaman malaise ini', *Wasita* 1, no. 6 (1935): 141–42; Nj. Soewarni Pringgodigdo, 'Soal kaoem boeroeh perempoean Indonesia', *Wasita* 1, no. 6 (1935): 142.

mainly middle- to upper-class organization. Taman Siswa teachers and activists hoped that their graduates would end up in white-collar jobs and not in the rice fields or in a factory.[1303] Moreover, the emphasis on schooled work for women is indicative not only of Taman Siswa's outlook in terms of class: it also confirms its status as a movement rooted in urban environments more than in the countryside.

Both within the contexts of Dinijjah Poeteri and Taman Siswa, the teaching profession was seen as particularly appropriate for educated girls. Both schools also provided their own teacher training department. At its earliest beginnings in 1923, Taman Siswa had already started with a teacher training college for both boys and girls. At Taman Siswa in Yogyakarta, girls were trained to work with toddlers in the Taman Indrija, the Taman Siswa version of the kindergarten.[1304] This aligned with Taman Siswa ideas about women's kodrat and their special talents for taking care of small children. For an organization that relied mainly on the staff that it trained itself, it was vital to have enough staff that was well-versed in Taman Siswa ideology and teaching methods.[1305] Many teachers who were trained in the Taman Siswa system indeed continued their career within the organization.[1306] This is not to say, however, that all teachers at Taman Siswa schools were products of its own educational system. In the context of the economic crisis and budget cuts on public education, there were even graduates of the Queen Wilhelmina School who ended up teaching at these nationalist schools.[1307]

In 1937, Rahmah el Joenoessijah added an Islamic teacher-training department with a four-year programme to her school. This was done at the request of many private Islamic schools, who were looking to hire female teachers.[1308] Girls could start training as teachers at *Koelliyatoe'l Moe'allimaat el Islamiyah* [Islamic Girls' College, KMI] once they had finished primary school. The programme was meant specifically for Dinijjah Poeteri graduates, but it was also open to girls who had previously been at a HIS or another public school. These students could follow extra classes so they could catch up on religious knowledge and Arabic.[1309]

[1303] McVey, 'Taman Siswa', 146.
[1304] Ibid., 145.
[1305] Ibid., 145–46.
[1306] Ibid.
[1307] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Soekriti to Ms. Wellensiek, 14 August 1935. UA 1133 GDZ, inv. no. 3115, Rondzendbrief, April 1938. This newsletter mentioned three Queen Wilhelmina School graduates who worked at Taman Siswa schools.
[1308] 'Sekolah goeroe oentoek poeteri (Koelliyatoe'l Moe'allimaat el Islamiyah)' *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*, 21.
[1309] Ibid., 22.

Figure 15: KMI teacher training college, Dinijjah Poeteri, 1952. Rahmah el Joenoessijah is standing in the front to the right. MNHN Fonds Jeanne Cuisinier, inv. no. 2AP12 3 1157.

In line with Dinijjah Poeteri's dual emphasis on religious and secular knowledge, the teenage girls in the college spent a lot of time on general subjects apart from their extensive programme in Islamic studies. The teachers-to-be were introduced to subjects such as Dutch, English, psychology, pedagogy, biology, history and economics. In the two final classes, they also gained practical teaching experience, amounting to sixteen hours a week in their final year.[1310] By 1940, there were twenty students in the small college.[1311] In their contributions to the 1938 Dinijjah Poeteri memorial book, two students of the KMI expressed their idealistic outlooks on the place of women in Islam in the twentieth century. One of them, Boethiah Amin, mentioned that women had an important responsibility as "mothers of future generations" and encouraged Muslimas to gain knowledge. At the same time, she emphasized the importance of staying within the boundaries of respectability and morality, stressing that women could not just "do what they want."[1312] Her KMI classmate Djaumir mentioned the highly educated Egyptian anti-colonial activist "R.H. Hanim Sja'rawi" [Huda Sharawi], alongside Rahmah el

[1310] 'Batas-Batas Pengadjaran (Leerplan) dari Koelliyatoe'l Moe'allimaat (sekolah goeroe oentoek poeteri)', Ibid., 63.
[1311] 'Daftar nama-nama bekas pelajar Kulliyatul Muallimat el Islamiyah Padang Panjang dari tahun 1940 s/d 1977', *Peringatan 55 Tahun*, 138.
[1312] Boethiah Amin, 'Poeteri Islam terhadap zamannja', in *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*, 66.

Joenoessijah as an example of "the awareness of Islamic women in the modern age" [*kesedaran perempoean-perempoean Islam dizaman modern*].[1313] A list of former students of Dinijjah Poeteri and Koelliyatoe'l Moe'allimaat el Islamiyah shows that graduates went to teach religion at public as well as private schools, and at Islamic universities throughout Indonesia.[1314] At least nine of them ended up working at their alma mater in the colonial era.[1315] Just as in the case of Taman Siswa, KMI thus also served to provide Dinijjah Poeteri with teachers who were familiar with the school ideology and its educational practices.

Conclusion

In her monograph about the education of nineteenth-century bourgeois girls in France, Rebecca Rogers has described the impact of growing educational opportunities for girls. She has argued that girls' schooling, on the one hand, contributed to the hegemonic position of domestic values among the middle classes, but at the same time undermined this position by creating opportunities for women outside the home.[1316] Especially through the teaching profession, women could "achieve social and cultural authority outside of the family."[1317] A similar process seems to have been in place in schools for indigenous girls in the Dutch East Indies, albeit at a later moment in time. In this context, the decades from the 1920s onward brought Indonesian elite girls a wider range of educational and professional possibilities.

By including educated girls into the history of labour in the Dutch East Indies, this chapter has made several contributions to this literature. First of all, while domesticity was a leading concept in both Dutch- and Indonesian-led schools of widely varying religious affiliations, female students increasingly gained the opportunity to obtain diplomas, follow secondary education and eventually take up a job. Like in nineteenth-century France, the teaching profession stood out because of the many different training options and its popularity among Indonesian girls. Across the colonial educational landscape, educators of Indonesian girls believed that teaching was a fitting and respectable occupation for their pupils. In Flores,

[1313] Djaumir B., 'Perempoean2 Islam dizaman modern', in *Boekoe Peringatan 15 Tahoen*, 70–71. Huda Sharawi was an influential Egyptian feminist and intellectual. See Sonia Dayan-Herzbrun, 'Féministe et nationaliste égyptienne: Huda Sharawi', *Mil neuf cent. Revue d'histoire intellectuelle* 16, no. 1 (1998): 57–75.
[1314] 'Daftar berbagai kegiatan bekas pelajar Diniyah/K.M.I. dalam masyarakat', *Peringatan 55 Tahun*, 147–48.
[1315] 'Daftar bekas guru-guru Diniyah Putri Padang Panjang mulai dari tahun 1923-1977', Ibid., 115–16. 'Daftar nama-nama bekas pelajar Kulliyatul Muallimat el Islamiyah Padang Panjang dari tahun 1940 s/d 1977', Ibid., 138. Unfortunately, it is impossible to conclude from the source material how much of the total staff at the school consisted of KMI graduates.
[1316] Rogers, *From the Salon to the Schoolroom*, 3–4.
[1317] Ibid., 3.

the teaching profession was often synonymous with life as a religious sister, which also opened up to indigenous girls. Because of the different social and economic circumstances, white-collars jobs were much more common among local girls in Javan and Minahasa than they were in Flores.

Both in Christian schools led by Dutch teachers and in Indonesian-led schools of different ideological affiliations, respectability was a central concept when it came to women's professional opportunities. Educated women's choices were delineated by what was considered "proper". In practice, the jobs that nationalist, Christian and Muslims educators deemed to be most suitable for their graduates were connected to caretaking and child-rearing. Dutch educators believed that this fit the "feminine talents" of girls, while at Dinijjah Poeteri and Taman Siswa commentators made a similar argument using the concept of kodrat.

In this respect, the latter two organizations seem to have been somewhat more flexible than the Christian schools in Yogyakarta and Tomohon. Protestant teachers generally disagreed when their married alumni took up paid work, whereas the norms within Taman Siswa were not quite as rigid: its members believed that mothers were allowed to work outside the home, on the condition that they did not neglect their domestic duties. At Dinijjah Poeteri, girls could also aspire to a future as a preacher or a missionary of reformist Islam. All these occupations can also be explained as small-scale civilizing projects in themselves. By caring for the sick, teaching children and doing other "feminine" jobs, educated young women became agents of civilizing missions.

While Taman Siswa and Dinijjah Poeteri were quite open to the idea of girls obtaining diplomas and jobs, teachers at Christian schools sometimes openly resisted the demands of girls and their parents. There are several explanations of this difference in attitude. First of all, both Taman Siswa and Dinijjah Poeteri needed to provide their own staff. Another explanation is that Taman Siswa and Dinijjah Poeteri both opened their doors in the early 1920s, when it had become much more common for women to work outside the home. The Tomohon Girls' School and the Queen Wilhelmina School were products of "ethical" colonial thinking that emphasized women's "civilizing" influence in the home. The people in charge of these schools tried to follow this line until the end, even when student numbers were dwindling and finances were increasingly dire. In this respect, it is telling that by the 1910s Minahasans had started to criticize the Tomohon Girls' School, arguing that local women had "outgrown" it and needed more academically oriented education.[1318] The times had changed indeed.

[1318] Ratu Langie, 'De vrouw in de Minahassa (5)', *De Indiër* 2 (1914): 19.

Conclusion: Girls do make history

In 1926 Soebandiah, a MULO student and a Queen Wilhelmina School graduate, wrote to her former teacher H. Wellensiek about a bicycle trip she made with two friends:

> "Koosje was riding a girls' bike, Lena and I were on a boys' bike. It started to rain along the way. On the bend at Mendoet we both fell off the bike. Our dresses were dirty and soaked, but we continued our journey. We arrived at the coastal town, bought a few cookies and turned homeward."[1319]

This thesis has demonstrated that, in contrast to the image projected by a large part of the historiography, it was not the grand ideas of national heroes or political decisions that made up the stuff of indigenous girls' education in the Dutch East Indies. For girls, their education often boiled down to experiences such as the one cited above: fun times with friends, study sessions for exams and everyday interactions with their teachers and classmates.

An indigenous student at an all-girls school in the colony could come came in many different guises. She could wear a modest long dress, a sarong and kebaya or a fashionable European frock. This diversity among girls who went to school was in a way created by the breadth and variation of the Dutch East Indies educational landscape between the end of the nineteenth century and decolonization in the 1940s. At the same time, it was precisely the diversity of cultures, religions and ideological convictions among the indigenous population that spurred the existence of so many types of schools.

Different types of schools for girls were established for different groups – as in the case of the Christian schools for Javanese priyayi and Minahasan elite girls – and by such groups themselves. To look beyond the public educational system in the Dutch East Indies context, as this thesis has done, is to simultaneously acknowledge the experiences of children from many different social and cultural groups, and to take into the account the efforts of adults from different religious and ideological backgrounds that spurred the existence of so many different schools.

[1319] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 41, Soebandiah to H. Wellensiek, 27 December 1926. *"Koosje reed op een meisjesfiets, Lena en ik op een jongensfiets. Onderweg begon het te regenen. In de kromming bij Mendoet zijn we beiden van de fiets gevallen. Onze jurken waren vuil en kletsnat, maar toch zetten we de tocht voort. We kwamen aan bij de badplaats, kochten een paar koekjes en gingen weer huiswaarts."*

While it is important to recognize the diversity of the educational landscape for girls in Indonesia, if only to do justice to historical reality, the main objective of this thesis lies elsewhere. This research set out to answer a set of concrete questions about indigenous girls' educational experience in the Dutch East Indies on the one hand, and more general questions about civilizing missions directed at children in colonial contexts on the other hand. On a concrete level, the thesis considered a set of questions about the why and how of the development of non-governmental girls' schools in the Dutch East Indies: Why did different social, cultural and religious groups in the Dutch East Indies and the Netherlands become interested in educating indigenous girls in the period between 1880 and 1940? Which gendered norms and ideologies lay at the basis of these educational efforts, and how was girls' education influenced by broader changes in society? And why did indigenous parents send their daughters to school? I have also dealt with the relationship between educational ideals and templates and the ways these worked out 'on the ground' in the context of the classroom. The aim of this question was to ultimately assess the relationship between ideology and practice.

The broad geographical scope of this thesis, as well as its comparative framework, made space for the question of differences and similarities among schools with different religious and political affiliations, and in different regional contexts. Finally, the chronological focus on the thesis, covering sixty years in a time that significantly shaped the Dutch colonial project in Indonesia, has allowed me to discern general trends that reached across the archipelago as well as distinctly regional developments. The result has been an integrated history of girls' education in late-colonial Indonesia, that is sensitive to intersectionality. All of this has important implications for both women's history and the history of education in colonial contexts.

The first chapter showed how diverse the educational landscape in Minahasa, West Sumatra and Yogyakarta was, and how remarkably uniform it was in Flores, where all schools were in the hands of one single organization. It also highlighted the crucial role of religion and local cultures in the shaping of these landscapes. General overarching trends that emerged in this chapter included the important role of the colonial government in providing a framework of for different school types and financial support, and the dynamic relationship between the government and local actors. Finally, this chapter demonstrated the crucial role of education in the consolidation of indigenous elites.

The second chapter explored the centrality of domesticity in Christian girls' schools. These schools represented a gendered civilizing mission that had its roots in Christian 'ethical' thinking. Christian educators of indigenous girls in Yogyakarta, Minahasa and Flores tried to actively shape their students into what they saw as 'good' elite wives and mothers, who would

become agents of Christian civilizing missions in their home environments and spread Christian influence in their communities. How all of this worked out on in the classroom differed from one context to another, and teachers had to adapt their practices along the way. The relationship between educational ideology and practice on the ground was thus far from straightforward. Indigenous parents had different motivations for sending their daughters to Christian colonial schools. The reaction of girls ranged from outright to the internalization of religious belief to outright resistance. The chapter thus shows how varied indigenous reactions to colonial education could be.

The third chapter focused on Indonesian-led schools in the educational movement of the 1920s and 1930s. The degree to which Indonesian educators adopted European-style educational methods existed on a broad spectrum from rejection to adaptation. As in Christian colonial schools, the figure of the indigenous mother loomed large in Indonesian-led institutions for girls' education. In contrast to her Christian equivalent, however, this *iboe Indonesia* could be politically active, while she remained above all the primary educator of future generations.

The fourth chapter has shown that schools were forced to respond to the demands of parents and students. Teachers had to constantly navigate between their ideals, the 'spirit of the times' and the ambitions of their indigenous audience. When it came to professional opportunities, women's options when choosing a profession were always delimitated by conceptions about morality and respectability. In general educators from all backgrounds, and the colonial government as well, agreed that especially jobs that involved caring for others were suitable for women. Overall, teaching stood out as the most widely accepted profession for women, and teacher training opportunities expended quickly. Indonesian educated girls and young women sometimes expressed a strong wish to follow secondary education and obtain the job of their dreams. All in all, education did a lot to undermine the purely domestic mould that many schools tried to fit girls into.

The overarching question of this research project dealt with the concept of civilizing mission, and as such had implications for a large part of the international historiography on empire. The question posed at the beginning was: What implications does the analysis and comparison of schools for indigenous girls in the Dutch East Indies have for our understanding of civilizing missions in colonial contexts?

In the first place, this thesis confirms much of what recent scholarship on civilizing missions has suggested. The thesis has especially highlighted the multiplicity and dynamism of such civilizing missions. From this follows that it is absolutely crucial that historians include indigenous actors in their analysis. Importantly, the actions of both Dutch and Indonesian

educational actors were entangled in a variety of ways. Virtually no school could afford to completely bypass the colonial government, because they risked repercussions in the form of the loss of subsidies or even closure by way of legal steps. There were also interactions between schools of very different ideological backgrounds.

The most important contribution of this thesis to the historiography of civilizing missions is the realization that at colonial and anticolonial schools, girls were educated to become agents of civilizing missions themselves. This could be on a small scale and sit in simple gestures such as reading the Bible with their children, or in a more public role, for example by becoming a preacher of reformist Islam. The research thus opens up space for new research that look at educated indigenous girls not only as *objects*, but as *agents* of civilizing missions. While historians have started to explore this in the context of Christian missions and charitable organizations[1320], this thesis suggests that a wealth of research opportunities on children and their agency in civilizing missions remains. It would be very instructive to explore whether the idea of students becoming actors of civilizing missions was typical for girls' education. Did a similar ideal exist in the context of boys' education, perhaps oriented towards the public rather than the private sphere? Such questions open up space for research on colonial masculinities in the tradition of Mrinalini Sinha's work.[1321]

The outcomes of this research project have important implication for the ways in which historians understand education for indigenous children in colonial contexts. First of all, it is important that scholars refrain from assuming a straightforward relationship between educational ideas and practice. This thesis has proven that it is much more fruitful to think about reactions and responses of indigenous people instead, without thinking in binary terms – interactions between colonizing and colonized people cannot be reduced to 'domination', 'emancipation', or 'modernity'. While such words were sometimes used by historical actors, in these instances it is important to unpack the meaning of these concepts. 'Modernity' and 'emancipation' were in no way inevitable outcomes of girls' education. And, contrary to what has been suggested in the literature about colonial education, nor was nationalism or anticolonialism. Girls' education shows that colonial education is not simply a question of

[1320] Marjoke Rietveld-Van Wingerden, 'Kinderen als medewerkers in de zending. De kortstondige bloei van de protestantse kinderzendingsgenootschappen in Nederland (1850-1870)', in *Het zendingsbusje en de toverlantaarn. Twee eeuwen zendingsliefde en zendingsorganisatie in Protestants Nederland*, ed. G.J. Schutte, J.A. Vree, and G. De Graaf (Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2012), 113–27; Duff, *Changing Childhoods in the Cape Colony*, 38; Vallgårda, *Imperial Childhoods and Christian Mission: Education and Emotions in South India and Denmark*, 211–34; Pomfret, *Youth and Empire*, 105–10.
[1321] Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

fostering 'modern intellectuals' who lead their people on the teleological pathway to political independence. Throughout this thesis, parallels with other colonial contexts in the realm of girls' education have been evoked to nuance this idea. Going beyond parallels, follow-up research could hopefully explore the connections between such developments and the ways in which Indonesian history fits in with global networks.

The relationship between 'colonial' and 'indigenous' actors in educational civilizing missions was dynamic and mutually responsive. It is very likely that this was the case in other instances than education, for example healthcare and social work, as well. As I suggested before, the thesis has also underlined that a singular focus on public education obscures a lot of other initiatives and schools, and thereby the historical experiences of their students. My research has demonstrated the value of an integrated history of education that takes into account schools of different religious and political backgrounds and nevertheless pays careful attention to local circumstances.

This thesis has implications for the field of women's history as well. The wealth of previously unexplored sources produced by girls that has been unearthed from archives in the Netherlands and Indonesia shows that it is rewarding for women's historians to direct their research energies towards young women and girls. While these sources come with their own particular challenges, they do provide glimpses of the lives of Indonesian girls under colonialism. The research presented here has done much more than "adding women – or girls – and stirring"[1322]: indeed, it has reconsidered the meaning of gender and its interplay with other factors, notably age and race.

This research project opens up several new directions for other research. First of all, it is hoped that this thesis will encourage other historians of the Dutch East Indies to go beyond the archives of the Ministry of Colonies in The Hague and that of the Governor-General in Jakarta, and to explore more regional archives, in Indonesia as well as in the Netherlands. Furthermore, historians have repeatedly proven that a transnational or trans-colonial approach to colonial children's history can yield rich results.[1323] In the case of the Dutch empire, this would imply a stronger focus on the interactions between the metropole and the colony – something other Dutch historians have already called for[1324] – and on the connections between different parts of empire, notably the Dutch East Indies and the Dutch Caribbean.

[1322] Leow, 'Age as a Category of Gender Analysis', 976.
[1323] Goodman, McCulloch, and Richardson, '"Empires Overseas" and "Empires at Home"'; Jobs and Pomfret, *Transnational Histories of Youth in the Twentieth Century*; Pomfret, *Youth and Empire*.
[1324] Remco Raben, 'A New Dutch Imperial History? Perambulations in a Prospective Field', *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 128, no. 1 (2013): 5–30.

We have also seen glimpses of transnational and transimperial movements of students. A memorable example is the instance of Dinijjah Poeteri students who travelled the nine thousand kilometres between the Dutch East Indies and Egypt in order to pursue religious studies. It would be also exciting to extend the chronological scope beyond the process of decolonization, as there are strong indications that main values of girls' education outlived colonialism and reappeared in independent Indonesia.[1325]

To conclude: this thesis has amply demonstrated the analytic value of looking at colonialism through a "lens" of indigenous girlhood.[1326] Centring colonized girls in historical writing is deeply rewarding, as it allows us to look at colonial societies from a new and exciting perspective. Girls, indeed, are historical actors; they do "make history".[1327]

[1325] Madelon Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis, 'Ibuism and Priyayization: Path to Power?', in *Indonesian Women in Focus: Past and Present Notions*, ed. Elsbeth Locher-Scholten and Anke Niehof (Dordrecht/Providence: Foris Publications, 1987), 43–57. Liberty P. Sproat, 'Nurturing Transitions: Housewife Organizations in (Colonial) Indonesia, 1900-1972' (PhD thesis Purdue University, 2015).
[1326] Woollacott, 'Colonialism: What Girlhoods Can Tell Us', 7.
[1327] Maynes, 'Age as a Category of Historical Analysis', 115.

Epilogue: the (post)colonial afterlives of schools

Of all the schools that passed throughout the pages of this thesis, virtually the only ones that have survived the turmoil of decolonization, Suharto's New Order and the turbulent first decades of the twenty-first century are those established by Indonesians. Perguruan Diniyyah Puteri in Padang Panjang, housed in the original 1920s building, is still a flourishing and prestigious Islamic girls' school that attracts students from all over Southeast Asia, while Taman Siswa continues to own around one hundred thirty schools throughout the archipelago. There is still a school on the original grounds in Yogyakarta, alongside a library and a museum that holds a large collection of Ki Hadjar Dewantara paraphernalia, such as his glasses and his typewriter. Walking the school grounds, where the old pendopo still stands, is an excellent way to get an idea of the situation in the 1920s and 1930s. PIKAT still has a boarding house in Manado and the organization is still very popular among Protestant upper-middle-class women in Minahasa, and the SSpS – now virtually all Indonesian sisters – remain active in girls' education on Flores and in other islands.

In the 1930s, the curtain fell on the two Protestant elite schools that appeared in this thesis. The Tomohon Girls' School reopened as a coeducational HIS named for NZG missionary J. Louwerier in 1934.[1328] Five years later the Queen Wilhelmina School merged with a Christian HIS to become a coeducational Dutch-medium school, under loud protests of the Amsterdam support committee.[1329] After the Japanese invasion the former building of the Queen Wilhelmina School served as a hiding place for two European teachers before they were discovered and sent to internment camps.[1330] After the war, the teachers praised Soemanti, a Christian Javanese graduate who had looked after the possessions of many Europeans during the occupation.[1331] Even after the harrowing experience of the Japanese camps, the Dutch women still expressed their astonishment about the "riot" of "the Javanese, who are so dear to us."[1332] In a war-torn postcolonial landscape, they still held on to their personal civilizing missions.

[1328] J.A.K. W., 'De Louwerierschool'.
[1329] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no. 34, Support committee to board of Vereeniging Scholen met den Bijbel, 4 May 1939.
[1330] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no 35, H.L. Korvinus and C.J. Miedema to former support committee, 5 February 1946.
[1331] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no 35, H.L. Korvinus and C.J. Miedema to former support committee, 5 February 1946.
[1332] Atria IAV SCHIM inv. no 35, H.L. Korvinus and C.J. Miedema to former support committee, 5 February 1946. *"(...) de Javanen, die ons zo na aan 't hart liggen."*

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Bintang Timoer. Soerat boelanan katholik jang bergambar (Bintang Timoer)
Christelijk Schoolblad
Christelijk Vrouwenleven
De Indiër. Weekblad gewijd aan het geestelijk en maatschappelijk leven van Indië en Oost-Azië (De Indiër)
De Katholieke Missiën en het Christelijk Huisgezin. Geïllustreerd Maandschrift in verbinding met het Lyonsch Weekblad v.h. Genootschap tot Voortplanting des Geloofs (De Katholieke Missiën)
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Het leven in. Maandblaadje voor meisjes, meer in het bijzonder voor leerlingen en oud-leerlingen der Meisjesschool te Tomohon (Het leven in)
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Soeara Moerid
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Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië
Taman Siswa. Madjallah boelanan oentoek pergoeroean dan roemah-tangga (Taman Siswa)
Omhoog. Orgaan van de Minahasische Christen Jongeren Bond (Omhoog)
Pandji Poestaka
PIKAT. Soerat Chabar oentoek anggota-anggota PIKAT terbit 1 kali seboelan (PIKAT)
Poesara. Madjallah Persatoean Taman Siswa (Poesara)
Thimotheüs
Tjaheja-Sijang. Soerat Chabar Minahassa / Tjahaja-Siang (Tjahaja-Siang)
Wasita. Madjallah pendidikan oemoem oentoek kaoem goeroe, pengadjar dan sekalian pemimpin anak-anak (Wasita)

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