CHAPTER ONE

A SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN INDONESIA FROM ABOUT 1800 TO 1940

Given the variety and complexity found generally in Indonesia, the educational situation in the Indonesian archipelago has been characterized for quite some time as exhibiting great variety as well, both institutionally and operationally. But as evident in the title of this writing and the delimitation expressed in the Introduction, the summary given in this chapter will be limited to the history of education provided by Protestant missionaries and the Dutch colonial government for indigenous people. The history of education as organized by others, Islam, Roman Catholic missionaries, the Chinese community, and non-confessional groups may be seen in other publications.[1]

Even though the main emphasis in this writing is the educational opportunity organized by missionaries, nevertheless we must summarize the story of the colonial government s involvement in education first of all, since chronologically education sponsored by the Indies government preceded that of the mission boards, with the latter tending to follow the system or pattern of education carried out by the government. Only after indicating that type of education will we summarize mission education so that we can determine the extent to which mission education

[1] For the history of Islamic education in Indonesia, see for example Mahmud Junus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia* [A History of Islamic Education in Indonesia], 1960. As far as the author is aware there is no book specifically devoted to the history of Roman Catholic education in Indonesia. Information about Catholic education is found in various places in the five volume work on the history of the Catholic church in Indonesia as edited by M.P.M. Muskens Pr. (ed.) *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia* [A History of the Indonesian Catholic Church], 1974. Data about schools specifically for Chinese children and other non-Europeans are to be found in many books, for example, Brugmans, *Geschiedenis*. For the category of private schools, that is both those operated by nationals and by religiously neutral bodies, the most prominent were those operated by the Taman Siswa. For its history see Ki Hajar Dewantara (ed.) *Taman*

formally followed the governmental education or schooling which was western in its pattern, and also the extent to which mission education differed conceptually from that of the government or on the contrary reproduced the same approach. Only after that shall we be able to see the areas of relationship between the two.

A. The Dutch Colonial Government's Policy and Practice of Education

---

Siswa 30 tahun (1922-1952) (1956).

During the period of the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC), the educational effort was rather minuscule. Whatever happened was done by the VOC in cooperation with the state church in agreement with the principle regnant at that time of the oneness between church and school, the unity between church and state. However, with the exception of the area of the Moluccas, in general the pupils were Dutch and Indo (children of Dutch and Indonesian parents), or non-Indonesian Asians. It must be remembered that during the VOC period, there really was no thought given to provide education for indigenous children. Later when the Dutch Indies colonial government was formed and began to exercise authority, it continued to maintain the VOC schools, but at the same time began to promulgate ideas for educating indigenous children and to make plans for their implementation.[2]

In this connection, a beginning step was taken by Governor General Daendels who assumed office in 1807. In 1808, he directed several regents in Java to organize schools for indigenous children with a curriculum which included Javanese culture and religion so that the children would grow up to become good Javanese. He also initiated the opening of several vocational schools. This idea grew, it seems, out of the enthusiasm generated by the Enlightenment. As a result of its influence in the Netherlands, people began to hear the slogan, "national education" or "universal education".[3]

England, which exercised temporary authority (in all of the Dutch East Indies from 1811-1816, and in Sumatra until 1825) through Lieutenant Governor General Thomas Stamford Raffles, also exhibited the enthusiasm of the Enlightenment. But his attention was directed more towards

---

[2] The Indonesian word, *bumiputra,* literally means *son of the earth,* a term of honour and respect. A near equivalent would be native were it not for the negative connotations which the word has acquired, i.e. suggesting a status lower than that of Europeans. Therefore since the persons to be schooled are non-Dutch, non-Indo and non-Chinese, indigenous will be used in the main as the word for bumiputra, if no specific ethnic group is intended.

[3] Brugmans, *op.cit.*, pp. 56ff; H. Kroeskamp, *Early Schoolmasters in a Developing Country* (1974), pp. 25f.

the study of the people (society) and region (including language) in the whole archipelago rather than towards schooling.[4]

After authority was returned to the Dutch colonial government, a series of ideas and policies were initiated to open educational opportunities again for the enjoyment of indigenous children. These included the organization of two types of schools: one using western language *(Europeesche scholen)* both at the elementary and secondary levels, and the other using the regional language *(inlandsche scholen)* limited to the elementary level. Indigenous children from the upper classes were permitted to attend the European school.[5]

Parallel with the thinking of Daendels, the school system limited to indigenous children included cultural and religious elements of the peoples involved. To attain this purpose, Muslim leaders along with the schools which they had operated for quite some time (i.e. the *langgar* for reciting the Koran and the *pesantren* for broader religious education) received attention and were invited to cooperate in raising the quality of education for Indonesian children. In a similar way, there were village schools located in several places in

[4] The humanitarian spirit of the Enlightenment also prompted Raffles to initiate evangelization through English missionaries including evangelization of the Bataks; see Schreiner, "The Church in Northern Sumatra", *art.cit.*, p. 58.

[5] Basically both categories were intended to differentiate the origins of the pupils even though the education was western

Java, but not based specifically upon religious principles.

This educational effort was coordinated by a commission *(Hoofd-commissie voor Onderwijs)* formed by the government in the 1820s. But apparently this idea was not well-received by the operators of schools for Indonesian children. Perhaps their lack of support was related to the presence of persons on the commission from mission boards and the Dutch Bible Society. In addition, the government itself was not really serious, because it was obvious that raising the standard for the education of Indonesians as inspired by the humanitarian Enlightenment was defeated by the economic importance of the *cultuurstelsel* program.[6] As a result, until the end of the first half of the last century there was no firm educational system encompassing the whole Dutch East Indies, although here and there ideas and policies

---

for both.

[6] H.J.H. Hartgerink, *De Staten Generaal en het Volksonderwijs in Nederlandsch Indië, 1848-1918* [Parliament and

were formulated for the education of Indonesian children.

Meanwhile in the year 1842, the *Delftsche Academie* was founded in Delft, The Netherlands, as the centre for Indology and the place for the education of candidates for service in the Dutch East Indies government. It was also hoped that afterwards these would initiate improvements for education in the Indies.[7] After 1848, thanks to their efforts, the Indies government itself became more serious about offering educational opportunities to Indonesians, instead of handing schooling over to others, including missionaries. This endeavour was parallel to the *Gouvernements-cultures* program, or as it was more familiarly known *cultuurstelsel*, which needed the services of educated Indonesians.

Thus after 1848, there were various new decisions to expand school opportunities for Indonesians, including organizing of teacher-training facilities.[8] However, by and large, the decisions were based more upon the needs of the

---

Popular Education in the Netherlands Indies], 1942.

[7] E.A.H. Dumasy, "Van Goeroe tot Schoolmeester" [From Teacher to School Master] in R.N.J. Kamerlink (ed), *Indonesië toen en nu* [Indonesia Then and Now], 1980, p. 152. According to G. van Asselt, *Achttien Jaren onder de Bataks* [Eighteen Years Among the Bataks], 1950, pp. 60f, part of the Dutch East Indies government officials in Tapanuli since the 1850s were alumni of the academy. Their attention given to evangelistic efforts was minimal.

[8] Teacher training schools founded as a result of this decision were located in Solo (1851), Fort de Kock/Bukittinggi (1856) and Bandung (1866).

government than the needs of the indigenous society.

The new policy taken in 1863 by Fransen van de Putte, the Minister for Colonies, encouraged the mobilization of government funds for education without requiring the financial support of the indigenous community, and was a reflection of the politics of liberal education. Here it was evident that the government sponsored education was no longer directed towards the production of governmental employees, but was directed towards the aim of developing indigenous communities. This liberal conception of education was first promulgated by Thorbecke, the Dutch prime minister in 1849-1853 and 1862-1866. He emphasized that "It is our task, our responsibility, to enlighten the East Indies through liberal education".[9]

As a result of this new policy, the total number of schools increased rapidly, especially in Java. Administrative organization was also undertaken with more seriousness, for example the office of inspector for indigenous education was established, and after January 1, 1867 a

Department of Education, Religion and Industry *(Departement van Onderwijs, Eeredienst en Nijverheid)*, was also formed.

However, the more important development occurred during the 1870s and was characterized by the promulgation of a whole new series of regulations.[10] In these regulations were included the following: (a) Standardization of all East Indies elementary schools; (b) Utilization of the regional language or Malay as the medium of instruction; (c) Prohibition of religious instruction for Indonesians studying in government schools (both for elementary schools as well as teacher-training schools) and also in private schools subsidized by the government during curriculum hours. In other words the government followed a policy of neutrality in religious matters; (d) Mandatory payment of tuition as an indication of participation by the local community. All of these indicated the increasing liberal influence in the educational policy of the Indies government, as made clear by Brugmans:

> Liberalism, with its strong rationalistic bent, followed the slogan "knowledge is power". Because it was evident that Europe had become great thanks to Western knowledge, there was no need in principle to raise objections to the spread of knowledge in indigenous societies. Emphasis on Dutch elements in education formed the clearest indication of this view.[11]

Since the establishment of the above-mentioned regulations, government schools increased rapidly at first, especially so after special schools were founded for the children of nobility *(Hoofdenscholen)*.[12] But after the beginning of the 1880s there was a marked slowing down in the rate of developing new government schools.[13]

Afterwards the government itself acknowledged that the educational policy founded on liberalism did not result in the advance of education judged either by total numbers involved, or in terms of quality for

---

[9] Kroeskamp, *op.cit.*, pp. 237f.

[10] *Staatsblad* 1871 no. 104 (= *Koninklijk Besluit* 3 Mei 1871); *Staatsblad* 1872 no. 99 and *Staatsblad* 1874 no. 99.

[11] Brugmans, *op.cit.*, pp. 193f.

[12] Hartgerink, *op.cit.*, p. 57; P. Post, *Het Volksonderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* [Popular Education in the Netherlands Indies], 1932, p. 14.

[13] See the statistics of Hartgerink, *op.cit.*, pp. 33f; cf. statistics *infra*, pp. 29-30.

both the elementary and teacher training schools.

> The policy was not effective because it tended to emphasize quantity of subjects, meaning new ones were introduced and many teachers from the Netherlands were brought to the Indies, with the result that a large part of the content was irrelevant to the situation, condition, and needs of the community and therefore considered a waste of time and effort. When the school for children of nobility opened, the government had begun to question the relevance of the subject matter. That was why it was determined that in the school for the children of nobility a variety of subjects would be taught, although for the ordinary elementary school children it would be sufficient to teach them to read, write and calculate. But apparently this step too did not help the situation very much because after the 1880s the government experienced a financial crisis which meant a reduction of the number of schools, including teacher training schools.

Realizing the ineffectiveness of the 1870's policy, in 1884, the Dutch East Indies government commissioned Verkerk Pistorius, a government official, to undertake a comparative study in India and Srilanka. In his report and evaluation, he concluded that the main cause of the failure of the government policy was caused by an educational concept which was too western, especially as it reflected the western concern for neutrality in religious matters. In addition, the report concluded that the positive results of mission schools happened just because of their articulated religious principles and character. Furthermore, their approach was simplified more in harmony with characteristic and condition of the society itself. In brief, Pistorius evaluated the series of the 1870 policies as a great mistake; therefore it was necessary to formulate new regulations.

In 1888, the Dutch Protestant political party won the election. As a result, L.W.C. Keuchenius, who was well known as a supporter of missions, was appointed Colonial Affairs Minister.[14] As an official with responsibilities for educational affairs touching on Indonesians, Keuchenius developed a new form of subsidization without departing totally from the principle of neutrality. His idea has been called "positive neutrality"; in it he gave an opportunity for all forms of private education, including Islamic, to obtain subsidies, provided that the education given was socially useful and fulfilled

[14] Brugmans, *op.cit.*, pp. 201-207. With reference to Pistorius, Hartgerink (*op.cit.*, p. 68) makes this interesting observation: "*Hij was een man, die veel voor de zending en zendingsonderwijs voelde*" [He was a man who had great feeling for the mission enterprise and mission education]. Pistorius, too, is often mentioned in the Rhenish-Batak mission documents from the latter part of the 1880s, because he was involved in efforts to obtain state subsidies for schools of the Batak

certain technical conditions set by the government.

Thanks to this new initiative, the decade of the 1890s saw the promulgation of a series of new regulations.[15] Their content included the following considerations: (a) schools founded on religious principles could obtain subsidies; (b) elementary schools for Indonesians were of two types: *Schools of the First Class* (for children of prominent members of society) and *Schools of the Second Class* (for children of ordinary members of society); (c) Indonesian children would have the opportunity to attend elementary schools for Europeans *(ELS)*. With these new regulations, the dualistic pattern of schooling was intensified, i.e. one Western (European education) and one Indonesian (indigenous education).[16]

Although the preamble of the regulations emphasized that the advance of education was primarily, and especially the province of the government, nevertheless the role of the private sector, both as individuals and organizations, was also recognized. More than that, private education was valued as an integral part of the whole system of the Dutch East Indies education. In actuality, as a result of the new regulations, just the private sector developed most markedly, especially missionary education, thanks to the allocation of subsidies. In evaluating this new policy for subsidies, Kroeskamp writes:

> The new subsidy policy opened the way to a fruitful interaction and collaboration between public and private education, whereby despite all kinds of friction a greater radiation and a richer variety was achieved in the overall education and training facilities of the population.[17]

Viewed from the government s perspective, these series of new initiatives did not issue in significant advances, especially in the numerical sense. This was due largely to the fact that *Schools of the First Class*,

---

mission. Cf. *infra,* Chapter V.

[15] Among others, *Staatsblad* 1890 no. 224; *Staatsblad* 1893 no. 125 (= *Koninklijk Besluit* 28 September 1892) and *Staatsblad* 1895 no. 146.

[16] The classification of elementary schools according to the already mentioned Staatsblad 1895 no. 146 above, was especially valid for government schools and was intended to overcome the low quality of instruction in the schools (cf. Kroeskamp, *op.cit.*, p. 457). Actually this classification resulted in a trichotomy for elementary education: ELS, Schools of the First Class, and Schools of the Second Class.

which were the government s responsibility, required the expenditure of a large amount of funds to such a degree that it was impossible to cause a significant increase in the number of schools. This failure invited criticism from various observers and politicians in the Netherlands, including Abraham Kuyper, leader of the Anti-Revolutionary bloc i.e., at that time the Protestant party in the Netherlands.[18]

During the years of transition to the 20th century, a new political concept was born, usually known as "Ethical Policy", which was paired with the concept of a "policy of association" under the slogan of "education, irrigation, and emigration". Leaders involved were from the Liberal Party and included C.Th. van Deventer, C. Snouck Hurgronje, and from the field of education, J.H. Abendanon in particular. In the main, this concept was close to the reasoning of Kuyper, namely since for years the Dutch increased their wealth through exploitation of the indigenous peoples of the Indies causing the latter to become increasingly poorer, now the Dutch had an obligation to them. The time had come for endeavouring to repay this debt in as large an amount as possible in the form of improving the general welfare of the indigenous people of the Indies.[19] In essence, the "Ethical Policy" not only involved social and economic responsibilities, but ethical and moral ones as well. But according to Van Niel, "in the Netherlands the vital issues of the Ethical Colonial Policy seemed to be less concerned with humanitarian and moral principles … than with

---

[17] Kroeskamp, *op. cit,* p. 455.

[18] Concerning the career of A. Kuyper, see for example A.J. Rasker, *De Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk vanaf 1795* [The Netherlands Reformed Church Since 1795], [2]1986, pp. 171 and 209-212. In his addresses on November 20 and 24, 1896, Kuyper stated that compared with British India, the Dutch East Indies had been left far behind, an embarrassing situation. He also called attention to the fact that a comparison of educational expenditures for the pupils of the European and Indonesian schools indicated a marked imbalance in favour of the former: an annual *f* 150 per pupil of the European schools (ELS) and *f* 20 for the Indonesian, and for those in private schools a mere *f* 1 per pupil per year. Therefore, according to Kuyper, it would be wiser to subsidize private schools as extensively as possible, including those of the Christian missions; Hartgerink, *op.cit.*, pp. 84ff.

[19] Brugmans, *op.cit.*, pp. 290ff. But according to R. van Niel, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite* (1984), pp. 33f, "education", the main key to this concept, though quickly adopted by the Dutch government, actually was placed lowest in

financial arrangements between motherland [Dutch] and colony [Dutch Indies].[20]

One key step for embodying the ideals of the ethical policy was providing the most extensive opportunities to Indonesian pupils to profit from modern western education so they could develop as persons, and in turn develop their land and peoples. Furthermore, if possible, a large number would be sent to study in the Netherlands.[21] This meant that western education and science would be related as much as possible to the life and culture of the Indonesians. (Therefore this was called the policy of association, especially by Snouck Hurgronje.) But what was really intended was westernization, moreover a kind of spiritual annexation *(geestelijke annexatie)* of Indonesian society.[22]

In a large measure for a few of the elite of that period, i.e., the children of Javanese aristocracy (*priyayi*), this policy fulfilled their taste for solidifying or actually preserving their status. This was largely the case in the opening of the *OSVIA* (School for Training Indigenous Government Officials) especially for their children, and represented an upgrading of the School for the Children of Nobility *(Hoofdenscholen)* which had been abolished in 1900. But because the association theory policy was an unsatisfactory means of embodying the ideals of the ethical policy, i.e. increasing the availability of education as much as possible for Indonesian pupils, there was need for a more precise educational policy without departing from the government's ethical

---

its concerns.

[20] Van Niel, *op.cit.*, p. 31.

[21] The influence of the Ethical Policy in the field of education has been analyzed by Brugmans in a whole chapter; *op.cit.*, pp. 289-334. The sending of these pupils to the Netherlands began in 1900. These later formed the *Indische Vereeniging* (1908); Van Niel, *op.cit.*, p. 50.

[22] This is Snouck Hurgronje's own term as quoted by Brugmans (*op.cit.*, p. 209) from Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islam* (1911), p. 85. Hartgerink described the ethical policy and association policy as nothing more than "a hidden form of imperialism" (*op.cit.*, p. 100). But apart from the economical motive of its supporters, many educational institutions were founded in the Dutch Indies based on the ethical spirit and succeeded in developing a new elite, that is to say bureaucrats and intellectuals, many of whom became prime movers at later day; Van Niel, *op.cit.*, pp. 46ff and 66.

principles.

During the years 1905-1907, this new policy was enunciated by several officials from both the Dutch government and the colonial government of the Indies.[23] The most important element of the new policy as included in the *Staatsblad 1906, no. 241 and 242* consisted of the organizing of schools in all the villages, especially on the island of Java. According to the new regulations, the village was responsible for erecting and furnishing the school building, while the Indies government or regional government's treasury would pay the teachers' salaries according to the prevailing standard for village employees. In other words, the government moved towards a policy of decentralization and the cultivation of community participation.[24]

Because the main objective for village schools involved little more than the abolition of illiteracy, it was considered sufficient to teach the children reading, writing and arithmetic. This limited objective could be attained in three years.

Initially, this policy resulted in a rapid increase in the number of schools. But later on more and more it was felt that many villages were unable to bear the cost of this ambitious government project, although a large number were forced to undertake it as *prentah aloes*, 'subtle command'. It was apparent also that these village schools were not appropriate to village culture, so that eventually there were some people who viewed their responsibility for village schools as God's curse.[25] Van Deventer himself considered them to be *onnozele dorpsschooltjes* (silly village

[23] Among those involved were D. Fock, Minister van Koloniën (MvK) (1905-1908), J.B. van Heutsz, Governor General (1904-1909), and J.G. Post, Director Department of Education, Religion and Industry (1905-1908). Earlier too, Abendanon had proposed the same idea (1900-1904), but without positive results because it was considered too advanced for the time. The new policy was not free from the influence of political developments in the Dutch Indies, i.e., the annexation of the entire archipelago, cf. Hartgerink, *op.cit.*, pp. 100ff.

[24] This village school policy was inspired also by the success of some of the regions in operating their own schools, although admittedly on a simple level, for example South Tapanuli (Sumatra) and Minahasa (North Sulawesi) to name just two; Brugmans, *op.cit.*, p. 310.

[25] Van Niel, *op.cit.*, pp. 70 and 178.

schools). Therefore he suggested that they be raised to the status of Second Class with a five-year period of study.[26]

These latter continued, but under a new name, *Standaardschool*.[27] In a parallel move, the study period of Schools of the First Class was lengthened to six years, and Dutch became part of the curriculum. Furthermore, after 1914, there was a further evolution in the latter based on a series of new policies. Now the period of study became seven years and its name changed to HIS (*Hollandsch Inlandsche School* or Dutch School for Indigenous People). As a result, a trichotomy of elementary education was firmly established: village schools, main schools (Standard Schools) and HIS. The first two school types were placed in the category of indigenous education *(Inlandsch Onderwijs)*. In a parallel manner, too, teacher training schools reflected this division, i.e. *Kweekschool* for HIS teachers, *Normaalschool* for Standard school teachers, and *Normaalleergang* for village school teachers with the time of study four, three and two years respectively.

After this policy was in place for several years, the government realized that the balance between village and standard schools and HIS was too weak, and on the other hand talented graduates of village schools had no opportunity for further schooling. Therefore in 1915, the government began the *Vervolgschool*, Middle School (literally, sequel or continuation school), to receive graduates from the village schools who wished to continue their education. This new school was considered comparable to the Standard schools whose students were being prepared for

---

[26] Brugmans, *loc. cit.*; cf. Hartgerink, *op.cit.*, p. 115. But Post (*op.cit.*, p. 6) notes another cause of the failure of the village schools, i.e. people were smitten by the attraction of western education.

[27] Even though Schools of the Second Class (which later became the Standardschool) were classified as schools for indigenous children, yet according to Van Niel (*op.cit.*, 69f), the education received was very 'westernized' so that in comparison with the village schools, it was no longer in harmony with the needs and pattern of village life, a reality which resulted in tragedy later. "These schools raised in the pupils an appetite for success and advancement in the Western dominated colonial realm, but did not supply either the diploma or the prerequisites for satisfying this hunger. The graduates of these schools formed a large part of the dissatisfied group of semi-

vocations in agriculture and economics, for example. After 1921, 'secondary' schools for girls were established also.[28]

What was the situation faced by graduates of the *Standaardschool* and *Vervolgschool* who wished to further their schooling? In the beginning this possibility was never given any thought by the government, since the senior highschools presently operating, that is *Gymnasium*, HBS *(Hoogere Burger School*, Highschool for Dutch young people, a 5 year course of study), OSVIA, STOVIA (*School tot Opleiding voor inlandsche Artsen*, Training School for Indonesian Physicians) and several other courses were open only to graduates of elementary schools following the European design, i.e. ELS and Schools of the First Class or HIS. But because of the heightened desire of parents for further schooling for their children, especially after the emergence of increased national consciousness and various nationalist movements, and because officials were very conscious of the embarrassing situation which arose because there was no further opportunity for continued schooling for *Standaardschool* graduates (see footnote 27), the government created a school which bridged the gap between schools for Indonesian children and the senior high school. This new school was named *Schakelschool* (Connecting School) and was operational after 1921. Dutch was the medium of instruction. Therefore, in theory, opportunities for study at both the senior highschool level and higher education were opened to Indonesian students. Furthermore, in response to increased pressures from the Indonesian community, the government opened several new senior highschools, specifically MULO *(Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs*, Further Extension of Primary Education) as a 3 year course[29], which was directed towards graduates of Schools of the First Class and the *Schakelschool*, and AMS *(Algemeene Middelbare School*, General Secondary

---

intellectuals in Indonesian society" (p. 70).

[28] R.L. Djajadiningrat, *From Illiteracy to University* (1942), pp. 20f; cf. Chapter Six B.2.

[29] Actually MULO was in existence since 1902, but as a 3-year course it had its beginning in 1914. Later Ki Hadjar Dewantara through his *Taman Siswa* movement opened a MULO for indigenous young people using Javanese rather than Dutch as the medium of instruction, which accepted graduates of the

School) for graduates of MULO. Graduates of the AMS were considered at the same level as the HBS, and therefore were accepted for matriculation at institutions of higher education.

The latter came into being only after 1920 because of social pressure on the government, for example, the Technical College in Bandung (opened in 1920), College of Law (Batavia, 1924), College of Medicine (Batavia, 1927), College of Literature (Batavia, 1940) and College of Agriculture (Bogor, 1940).[30]

In addition to the schools mentioned above, there were also various vocational schools at both junior highschool and senior highschool levels, western and indigenous in design. There were general and vocational schools for girls also (including the well-known "Kartini-school"), which embodied one of Kartini's dreams. Most of the vocational schools for girls were founded after the 1900s at the initiative of MvK Fock as inspired by the ethical policy discussed above. Some were founded on the basis of private experiments, including those of the Mission boards.[31]

In order to make it easier to visualize the various schools of the period both government and mission sponsored, and also to see the total numbers of students involved, the reader is invited to examine the tables found at the conclusion of this chapter.

Noting the numbers and kinds of schools which were government sponsored or subsidized, after the decade of 1910 the government found itself trapped again by an old problem, an insufficiency of funds. To solve this problem, it put in place a series of new regulations, among others, a decentralization for financing and administering the schools, an increase of school tuition and a decrease in subsidization. The latter was set forth in *the Algemeene Subsidie Regeling* of

---

Vervolgschool; Djajadiningrat, *op.cit.*, p. 26.

[30] Especially with reference to medical education, there had been a School for Javanese Doctors since 1851, which was up-graded to STOVIA in 1902, also a NIAS (in Surabaya in 1913), but neither was at the level of higher education. See Brugmans, *op.cit.*, p. 325.

[31] Brugmans, *op.cit.*, p. 299; Van Niel, *op.cit.*, p. 55; J. van Baal in the introduction to Kroeskamp's work (*op.cit.*, p. 3) in which it is stated that the first technical school for indigenous young people was begun by missionary personnel, i.e. in Mojowarno (1893) and Narumonda (1900).

1924 (General Regulations for Subsidies), abbreviated as ASR 1924. In addition, during the Depression of 1929, the government was forced to reduce the total number of schools and even abolish most of the *Standaard* schools.

The reduction of subsidies through the *ASR 1924* triggered a strong reaction from the private sector which for so long had been a friend and partner of the government (for the reaction of Mission boards see section C below). Actually, the reduction of the educational subsidy was but one side of a general effort by the government to economize in all fields, including the economizing expenditure of funds for personnel by reducing new hirings. But it was just during this period that there was an increase in a desire for a western education (in order to enter government service or to become a bureaucracy). As a result there were varied reactions from Indonesians and criticisms of the economizing policy.

One form of reaction coloured by nationalism was the founding of various private schools which the government subsequently stamped as '*wildenscholen* (non-accredited or unauthor-ized)' because they did not fulfil government standards with reference to qualifications of personnel, especially teachers, and curriculum. However, not all private schools founded after the 1920s were labelled 'unauthorized'. In addition to Protestant and Catholic mission schools receiving recognition and subsidies were those sponsored by the Muhammadiyah movement. However, the Taman Siswa schools founded in 1922 by Ki Hadjar Dewantara (original name Soewardi Soerjaningrat) were originally considered unauthorized but gradually they became recognized even though the schools rejected all government subsidies. Furthermore, MULO using Javanese founded in 1939 as a Taman Siswa idea was praised by the government in 1940 as exemplary for its contribution to the educational system. Unfortunately, it never had an opportunity to provide concrete evidence of its achievement because the authority of the Dutch East Indies government ended at the beginning of 1942. From the perspective of quality, government schools, especially those organized along western lines: ELS, HIS, MULO, HBS, AMS, and vocational schools such as OSVIA, STOVIA and NIAS, produced a new 'functional elite'. Some of those belonging to this

new elite became bureaucrats in the colonial government apparatus, others were self-employed professionals. Of those elite few, only a minority involved themselves in various nationalist movements emerging after 1900. Most of those involved in the budding nationalist movements were either 'semi-intellectuals' or those with a lower standard of schooling, including those disgruntled because they failed to obtain placement within the bureaucracy.[32]

Viewed from the side of quantity as concluded by various observers[33] and also supported by statistical data (p. 29f below), the reality was sobering. A comparison between the percentage of pupils of school age and those actually enjoying the opportunity for schooling even up to 1940 was indeed shocking, less than 10%. The situation was even worse if the comparison were to include the relationship between highschool and college age persons in the general population and those actually able to attend those schools. Therefore, it is proper to inquire as to the seriousness of the Indies government to advance the educational opportunity for Indonesians. This can be said in spite of the promulgation of numerous educational policies and decisions throughout the Dutch's extensive period of exercising sovereignty, and also in spite of the Indies government's claim after 1900 that it had always endeavoured to advance the cause of Indonesians based on an ethical policy.[34]

---

[32] The impact of the government's western oriented and shaped educational policy with all of its strengths and weaknesses is indicated by Van Niel, *op.cit.*, pp. 50, 50f, 66, 163ff and 240f. Cf. his conclusion about the impact of the policy on Schools of the Second Class quoted in footnote 27 above.

[33] For example see M. Vastenhouw, *Sejarah Pendidikan Indonesia* [History of Indonesian Education] (1977), pp. 26fl, which also shows the percentage imbalance enjoying education among Indonesian, western and non-Indonesian Asian children.

[34] Historians and those studying educational problems of the Dutch East Indies colonial government who were its supporters, of course were not ready to accept these criticisms without argumentation. They attempted to indicate the merits or positive aspects accomplished by the Indies government and at the same pointed to errors by Indonesians themselves. For example, see I.J. Brugmans, "Onderwijs-politiek" [Educational Politics] in H. Baudet (ed.) *Balans van Beleid* (1961), pp. 153-169. In any case, according to G.W. Jones in "Religion and Education in Indonesia"

B. Educational Efforts of Mission Boards

In general, mission-centred educational, effort in Indonesia (Dutch Indies) began concurrently with the evangelistic activities of the mission boards. This was the case because missionaries from the time of their theological education were instructed to open schools as soon as possible in the mission field. For this purpose they were given instruction in educational theory and practice.[35]

The actual point of beginning mission schooling differed in each area, because the time of arrival of missionaries and the places of ministry of the various mission boards differed as well. For example, in the Moluccas, the NZG had an educational program since 1815, this was followed in Timor in 1819, and 1827 in Minahasa.[36] After that, the Rhenish mission (RMG) founded schools in Kalimantan in 1835, and among the Bataks in 1861, and later in Nias and other islands along the west coast of Sumatera.[37] The NZG was active in Java also since 1851 having succeeded in obtaining permission from the Dutch East Indies government.[38] Other mission boards worked in

---

(in *Indonesia* no. 22, Oct. 1976, p. 38) the Dutch were very tardy in showing any interest in advocating a relatively balanced education in Indonesia, and in this respect Indonesia was left far behind in comparison to India.

[35] For RMG education and instruction, see *infra*, Chapter Three, B.

[36] With reference to the pioneering missionaries including in education for the three areas, see for example I. H. Enklaar, *Joseph Kam, Rasul Maluku* [Apostle to the Moluccas] (1980); Th. van den End, *Ragi Carita* 1 (1980), pp. 162ff, 170ff and 183f; Kroeskamp, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-65 and 11-116, especially.

[37] For details about the encounter of the Dayak tribe with the RMG, including the field of education, see F. Ukur, *Tantang-Djawab Suku Dajak* [Challenge-Response of the Dayak Tribe], 1971, especially pp. 85-94 and 199ff.

[38] Actually evangelistic activities had gone on in Java before as undertaken by various individuals including groups of Indonesians formed by those individuals, for example, Emde, Coolen, Pak Dasimah, Paulus Tosari, to name a few, but they did not undertake education because this was only done by the government. Even before these, beginning in 1820, there was a mission organization founded by a Protestant congregation in Java, i.e. *Het Samenwerkende Javaansche Zendingsgenootschap* [Cooperating Javanese Mission Society], which worked cooperatively with the Dutch Bible Society and the Indies

various other places in the archipelago, primarily the time frame towards the end of the 19th century.

As already touched on at the beginning of the previous section, before missionaries came to Indonesia there were already several Protestant congregations and parish schools in various port cities in Java and in eastern Indonesia.[39] After missionaries arrived, in addition to founding new congregations and schools, there were those who - at the behest of the government - gave continued care and supervision to the parish schools already in existence. They were prompted to do so not only because they had seen the pitiful condition of the congregations and schools but also, as Kroeskamp has written, because they believed that one of the purposes of their being in Indonesia included the educational ministry was "to restore the old Christian communities to their former glory".[40]

In general, from the beginning of their work in Indonesia, missionaries opened schools because they thought this to be an effective means for spreading the Gospel. Therefore it is not surprising that the principal subjects taught comprised elements of Christian teaching: Bible stories, catechism, prayer, hymns and so on, and as much as possible, the other subjects supported the proclamation of the Gospel and planting of the seeds of Christian faith. This was in harmony with Lutheran and Reformed principles: education and instruction. Initially, schools were religiously

---

government. But its activities were directed more towards the study of the Javanese language, and the development of reading material (including for schools) in regional languages, because these groups did not have permission to found schools themselves, although among them there were those who had a mature view for the carrying out of education for Indonesians (especially J.F.C. Gericke). See Kroeskamp, *op.cit.*, pp. 35-39; cf. with Brugmaus, *op.cit.*, pp. 89f, and C.W. Nortier, *Tumbuh, Dewasa, Bertanggungjawab* [Growing Towards Responsible Maturity] (1981), pp. 37ff.

[39] With reference to congregations and Christian schools in the pre-missionary era (before the 19th century), in addition to general church history sources see also Kroeskamp, *op.cit.*, pp. 8-24. His distinctive emphasis is upon the unity of church, school and state.

[40] Kroeskamp, *op.cit.*, p. 450. Cf. the idea of the *Corpus Christianum* below, Chapter Nine.

oriented, being viewed as nurseries of the Christian faith. Accordingly, if pupils were taught to read and write, this was to the end that they could read the Scriptures, and afterwards to be able to write down the passages to be memorized.[41]

In the normal course of development, the mission boards defined other objectives as well, for example, adult Christian education, community education and improving the welfare of society, conserving and development of indigenous culture, etc. These changes necessitated new courses and adaptation of methods to achieve the new objectives. Furthermore, where necessary, special schools were begun.[42] Nevertheless, the first objective was never totally lost, even though it was no longer of first priority. In other words, it was hoped that through selected educational means and activities the various objectives could be attained concurrently.

Because the school formed an integral part of evangelism with objectives as just stated, the main target of mission education was the indigenous people, those from tribal religions, designated *heathen* by mission personnel, but also those from other religions including Islam. But in reality because of various reasons (among others, the tight restrictions by the colonial government against mission endeavours among people embracing one of the world religions: Islam and Hinduism), the most significant educational results, quantitatively speaking, were achieved in tribal religious communities. Therefore, the largest numbers of mission school pupils (as well as adult members of congregations) came from tribal religions.

Although the primary goal of mission education was the evangelization of the pupils, not all pupils became Christians. As a result the rate or level of increase among mission school pupils was significantly higher than the numerical growth of the Christian community. But mission boards were not too disappointed with this fact; on the contrary, in general there was rejoicing and a

---

[41] W. Boyd, *The History of Western Education* (1954), pp. 187f, based on Luther's letter "To Mayors and Aldermen in all The Cities of Germany" (1524).

[42] For example, Roskott in Ambon, included the subject of agriculture/farming in his teachers' school (Kroeskamp, *op.cit.*, pp. 69fl), whereas in Mojowarno, the NZG founded its first

renewed commitment to found schools even though they were faced with many difficulties. (These shall be enumerated in detail in chapters four through six). This indicates that the objective of mission education was not solely the christianizing of its pupils, and evangelization is not identical with christianization. At the same time, mission education must be seen from its contribution towards education in Indonesia also, remembering that outside of Java and Bali, the greatest numbers received their education from mission schools.

In limiting ourselves to the matter of quantity only, and also only to elementary schools for Indonesians, where mission personnel were most active, we can see, through the table of statistics below, in particular the outer regions (outside of Java and Madura), at the end of the 19th century, that in the main there was an approximate balance in pupil numbers and schools operated by mission personnel and by the Dutch Indies government. Moreover, especially in Tapanuli from 1880 until 1940, the total number of mission schools (especially RMG) and their pupils were always far higher than those of the government.[43]

Table of Statistics 1

A comparison of total schools and Indonesian pupils outside Java and Madura[44]

Year	Mission		Government	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
1871	135	9,144	182	11,993

---

vocational school for Indonesians in 1893.

[43] The total number of mission schools in Tapanuli far exceeded those of the government because this was part of the colonial policy since the end of the 19th century. (Cf. *infra,* Chapter Five, A.3.)

[44] According to the research of S.T. van Bemmelen, *Enkele aspekten van het Onderwijs aan Indonesische Meisjes 1900-1940* [Some aspects of Education Among Indonesian Girls 1900-1940] (Master Thesis 1982), pp. 9f, until 1900, the total number of private schools and their pupils (the majority were Protestant or Catholic mission schools) in all of the Indies were one-third of the total, and the percentage of the population in school outside of Java and Madura was much larger than for those two islands.

1882	149	8,402	319	18,694
1892	290	13,405	312	30,185
1899	547	26,683	301	34,249

From a Report of the *Departement van Onderwijs en Eeredienst, the Algemeen Verslag van bet (Inlandsch) Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* 1871, 1888-1892, 1893-1897, 1900-1904, and Hartgerink, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

Table of Statistics 2

Comparison of indigenous elementary schools and pupils in the Tapanuli Residence

Year	Mission		Government	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
1870	10	±200	14	634
1880	37	995	?	?
1887	63	1,365	19	1,204
1892	116	4,097	18	1,534
1897	172	6,585	18	2,559
1904	298	14,519	19	2,555
1910	494	27,485	21	3,074
1920	509	24,629	31	?
1928	443	29,927	102	5,132
1936	585	43,184	159	13,635

Statistical Data obtained from the report of *Het Departement van Onderwijs en Eeredienst, Algemeen Verslag van het lnlandsch Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië* and *Jahresbericht der Rheinischen Mission* (Yearbook of the Rhenish Mission) as comprising the years indicated above.

It must be acknowledged that the governmental subsidy was one of the supporting factors for

the rapid growth of mission schools. But it was not the only one, nor even the most important one. Especially so since the subsidy raised many difficult problems for mission boards, as we shall see later in section C. In several places the cancellation of subsidies caused the mission schools to develop more rapidly.[45]

If so, what was the main supporting factor for the growth of mission schools? From the results of various studies about mission education in several areas of Indonesia, and from an analysis of the Rhenish mission's educational ministry in the Batak land which will be found in Chapter Four and in successive chapters, it can be mentioned here that the main factor was the unity of church and school. Because the growing church was the people's church, in the expression "unity of church and school" there is found the understanding that the people gave their total support to the mission schools because they felt that the schools were theirs in a very personal way.

One dimension of the principle of church and school unity was the dual function of the teacher (in fact at the beginning this was true of the missionary himself): the congregational teacher or lay evangelist was also the teacher in the school. To train indigenous teachers who were able to exercise those dual functions, the mission strategy prioritized founding of teacher training schools or seminaries which in their development became the backbone and 'main kitchen' for the mission system of education. Viewed in a general way, this was the reason why the mission-founded teacher training schools for Indonesians preceded those of the colonial government.[46] These missionary teachers played a major role in the development of church, congregation, and the school even though the compensation received was much smaller than received by colleagues teaching in government schools, and even though their assignment was much more demanding.

The types of schools operated by mission boards, except for those specialized ones for

---

[45] For example in the Moluccas; see Hartgerink, *op.cit.*, p. 33.

[46] In the Moluccas a mission school for teacher training was founded in 1835 at Barn Merah, while in Minahasa at Tanawangko in 1851. Kroeskamp, *op.cit.*, pp. 66 and 146ff. For the Batak area see Chapter Four below.

educating candidates for church vocations, in general were similar to those of the Indies government. This was due to several factors: (a) Both mission boards and government shared the same educational traditions and views towards schooling, i.e. western education, so that their schools in the main were carbon copies of those found in the West; (b) After 1890 when the government promulgated regulations governing the payment of subsidies to privately operated schools, mission schools had to fulfil various conditions in order to receive the subsidy, for example type of education, system of classes/promotions, curriculum, organizational pattern and structure, etc.; (c) The government determined conditions or qualifications to be met by graduates who wished to continue their schooling or find employment related to their level of education. Thus mission schools were pressed to provide a quality of education which would permit their graduates to have the same opportunities for employment as those of government schools.

The organizing of mission schools of the same types as those of the government was not done, however, only to fulfil governmental regulations, but also especially to fulfil demands of the community deeply drawn to a western style education (read: schooling which utilized the Dutch language as the medium of instruction). This was the reason the mission boards operated HIS and MULO schools since 1910. It was evident also that the mission schools with their western orientation were not in the least inferior to those of the government. The reasons why Batak parents were so attracted to western education will be analyzed in Chapters Four to Six, using the RMG Batakmission schools as an example.

C. Relationships between the Mission and Government in the Field of Education

From the analysis above we have seen that although government and mission each went its own way in education at the beginning, gradually mission schools were no longer able to conduct schooling outside the general educational system of the Indies because of government policies and regulations which involved education in the whole archipelago. In this section, we shall discuss the educational relationships between mission and government through the following areas: (1)

financial relationships; (2) organizational relationship; and (3) relation-ships of views towards education.

1. Financial Relationships

Up until 1870, the operation of mission schools already in existence was paid by mission funds, with supplementary support from the community where the school was operating. After 1871, government policies and regulations permitted private schools to receive a subsidy, including those founded by mission boards. But the principle of government neutrality manifested in the forbidding of the teaching of religion in schools receiving the subsidy caused the mission leadership to reject the offer. From their perspective, such a policy was not only in conflict with the missions' own goals and principles, but also with the basic religious characteristic of Indonesian society. Mission leadership evaluated the policy as lacking concern for the distinctive characteristics and needs of the community, since it was a direct borrowing from Dutch liberal educational views and policies.[47] Therefore, up until the decade of the 1880s, mission boards operated their schools consistently without any subsidy. Nevertheless school development continued to be rapid. (cf. Statistical Table 1 above.)

The new policies and regulations of the government in the 1890s (above p. 16) were warmly welcomed in mission circles in general because these no longer forbade religious instruction, and support of schools was already placing mission finances under great stress as a result of the expanding of the field of mission and the founding of more schools. The new claims could be balanced neither by the mission itself nor by the Batak communities. However, the mission boards believed that the Netherlands as a Christian nation ought to undergird their ministry in its colony.

[47] This was the criticism of N. Graafland, a missionary active in Minahasa, as quoted by Kroeskamp, *op.cit.*, p. 289. The problem of the government s neutrality in education and the forbidding of religious instruction in schools receiving subsidies arose again in the 1910 and 1920 decades, resulting in a sharp debate between mission leadership and the Indies government.

We do not know exactly the size of the government subsidy given to the Batak mission by the Indies government between 1890 and 1940 but it must have been substantial in view of the number of schools receiving government assistance[48], even though of course the amount was small in comparison to total outlay by the government for its schools.[49]

But the payment of subsidies did not continue without difficulty during the period mentioned above. As already indicated, in 1924, the Indies government promulgated new regulations governing subsidies. For the Batak mission this meant a substantial reduction and a consequent heavy burden for its financial resources. Actually the 1924 regulation governing subsidies (ASR) did not reduce the total subsidy to be received by each school, but it contained stringent requirements to be met in order to receive the subsidy. These were impossible for many mission schools to fulfil so they were unable to receive financial subsidies from the government any longer. Therefore, what was cut was the total amount of monies which the mission schools could claim. Mission leadership reacted sharply to the ASR 1924. It accused the Indies government of wanting to weaken the progress of the indigenous people. However, the problem of subsidies will be analyzed more carefully in Chapter Five and those related to the educational efforts among the Bataks.

2. Organizational Relationships

In a way reminiscent of financial support for schools, in the beginning the Batak mission had little to do with the government in relationship to its school organization. But with the publication of the school regulations of 1872, and those which followed, specifying a uniformity of elementary schools for the whole Indies, the mission leadership would have had to adjust its pattern of

[48] Between 1914-1924, for the RMG Batak Mission schools alone, the Indies government paid an annual subsidy on the average of *f* 150,000. For a detailed explanation, see Chapter Five A.3 and Six A.3 & 4.

[49] Cf. A. Kuyper's address, notation no. 18. According to Vastenhouw (*op. cit.*, p. 160), the imbalance of support remained valid until 1940.

organization to that of the Indies government. However, because mission boards rejected subsidies, their policies were not affected by the new regulations. Furthermore, at that time many mission schools were in areas not fully under the control of the colonial government, and therefore the enforcement of educational regulations was limited as well, so that in effect the government was unable to reach all the schools in the archipelago. Therefore, until 1890, mission schools did not follow the school organizational pattern and supervision set by the colonial government. Even so, and even though mission schools provided no more than the basics, yet in many places these were preferred by the local communities over those of the government.

Acceptance of financial subsidies after 1890, with the various related attached conditions, caused the mission leadership to adjust its school organization to the government s pattern. Furthermore, the government had sufficient school inspectors in its employ to supervise operations of those private schools accepting a subsidy. The adjustment or harmonization of private school organization included the matter of school buildings, learning resources, curriculum, school administration, teacher qualification, standardization of examinations, and harmonization of numbers of classes and ways of passing from one to the other.

Not infrequently the conditions and administrative-organizational requirements as specified in the governmental regulations were not fulfilled by the mission schools because of limitations of personnel and funds, and because of the general limited conditions found in the outer areas where the mission boards had most of their schools. As a result, the government school inspectors' reports were frequently negative.[50] As a consequence government officials felt constrained to put out a new series of regulations which in the main specified that the mission elementary schools were only at the same level as the government's lowest elementary schools, i.e. the three-year Village School, and the mission's teacher training seminaries' graduates were only at the same

[50] See for example, *Nota van de adjunct-inspecteur Inlandsch Onderwijs* [Note from the Adjunct Inspector for Indigenous Education], Van der Veen, to the Director of Education and Religion, Medan November 9, 1914.

level as the graduates of the *Normaalleergang*, i.e. the two-year School for Teachers whose graduates were only certified to teach in the Village School.[51]

Of course, the mission leadership was not about to accept this evaluation and decision of the Indies government without protest. There followed a prolonged argumentation between the two parties. Within the subsequent debate, there emerged a difference in views of education also. This subject will be taken up now.

3. Relationships of Educational Views

As already stated, both the governmental leaders and mission policy makers shared similar roots and positions in the traditions of western education. But the two parties were not of one mind in terms of content, method and objectives of education (cf. Chapter Three A). Of course it is true that the main motive and objective of mission education was religious. Thus its primary educational content was centred on knowledge and values which emphasized the forming and development of 'Christian' character. But concerning character formation, the mission - in comparison with the government - gave increased attention and appreciation to cultural elements and values found in the community, and it endeavoured to adjust its education to the situation, condition and need of the community.[52]

Contrariwise, government education was viewed by mission personnel as too intellectual and a copy of western education to too great an extent or a too quick an adaptation of it. Government education totally failed to pay attention to the values, situation, conditions and needs of the community. As a result, it was not rooted in the soil of community life. Such an evaluation was

---

[51] Among others, the *Soemba-Flores Regeling* [Sumba-Flores Regulation[(Staatsblad 1913 no. 309) and the plan of the Tapanuli regulation for 1917 (cf. Chapter Six A.3.).

[52] See the address of H. Kraemer, "Het onderwijs als middel tot volksopbouw" [Instruction as A Means for Building a People], to the Dutch Indies Congress on Education, September 21-24, 1931; also his writing, "Het Volksonderwijs en de Crisis" [Popular Education and the Current Crisis] in *Koloniale Studiën,* April 1933, pp. 113-143.

stated by mission leadership in reaction to the colonial government's liberal educational view in the 1870s and towards the educational view based on the ethical policy in place since about 1900. In fact, this evaluation was expressed more strongly again in the 1930s when there occurred a series of debates between mission and government personnel about which educational philosophy and policy was most appropriate for the Dutch Indies. At the same time, the colonial government published a series of educational policies and regulations based upon the concept of a centralization of administration and organization in order to make all schools in the Indies uniform in approach and of the same status in quality of instruction. The Batak mission for its part argued that the government policies "were not sufficiently responsive to the science of education and instruction", in that they did not consider the level of development and distinctive needs of each area which differed from one another.[53]

In contrast to the government, mission leaders did not follow a centrally based and uniform policy of education because they realized that conditions and needs in each area were varied. To adopt a policy of uniformity of organization, administration and method would nullify each area's distinctiveness and stultify creativity. For the Batak mission, the achievement of its objective was most important, that is "to teach the pupils so that they might become whole persons in society".[54] Fortunately, eventually the government heeded the mission view of education and agreed to experiment with its new approach to education.[55]

Another element which further distinguished mission from government education was that the government s policy tended to entrench the feudalistic structure of society by providing schools especially for the children of the nobility and kings (chieftains), whereas as a matter of principle

---

[53] H. Kraemer, "Het Volksonderwijs en de Crisis", p. 116. With reference to the Batak mission see Chapters Five and Six below.

[54] The formulation of J. Kruyt as quoted by Van Randwijck, *Handelen en Denken in Dienst der Zending* [Acting and Thinking in the Service of the Mission], 1981, p. 515.

[55] For example, the experiment of I.S. Kijne in Wandamen, Irian Jaya, and T. van Dijk and his Lewa school in Sumba; see

the mission approach viewed all persons as having the same status with the same claim and opportunity to enjoy an education. Admittedly, mission schools were founded for children of nobility too, but this was only a matter of strategy to win the whole community for the Gospel and was not to further strengthen feudalism.[56]

Table of Growth of Schools in the West Indies 1800-1940

Adapted with permission from Van Bemmelen: *Enkele Aspecten* p. 180

Year	Elementary School Indonesian	Secondary School Indonesian	Elementary Western	Second. & Higher Western
1816	Govenment School		ELS	
1851		Java Doctor's Sch. & Teacher's School		
1859				Gymn. Willem III
1864				Klein Ambtenaars-examen
1870				HBS
1880	Girl's School			
1893	Divided 1st/2nd Class School	Exam for the Grad. to Teacher's Train.		
1900				OSVIA
1902	District School			STOVIA
1903				MULO Course
1906	Village School			
1908			HCS	
1909				Management School
1911				Technical School
1914	1st School abolished			MULO School

Van Randwijck, *op. cit.*, p. 515.

[56] Cf. Chapter Five, the case of the School for Children of the Nobility in Narumonda.

				Higher Teacher Train.
1915	Continuation School (Vervolgschool)	Normal School		
1918		Normal School Girl		Voc. School Girls
1919				AMS
				Teacher Sch. for Girl
1920				Technical College &
				Agricultural School
1921	Continuation School for Girls		Schakelschool	
1922				School of Commerce
1924				Law College
1927				Medical College
				MOSVIA
				Industry Sch. for Girl
1928		Farming & Business Courses		
1934		People's Teacher Training		Secondary School of Commerce
1937		Indonesian MULO		
		Elem. Business School		
1939				Arts College
1940				Agricultural College

Table of Statistics 3

Number of Pupils in Indonesia according to School System (1899-1939)

Year	Village	Vervolg	2nd Class	HIS/HCS	ELS	Schakel-	Special	Pupils	Population

	School	School	School		School	School	
1899		92,128[1]		1,381	439[2]	99,948	
1904		148,138		3,387	677	152,202	
	37,348,000						
(1905)							
1909	43,317	240,269		4,016	845		
	288.843						
1914	281,451	313,308	20,286	4,163	2,551		
	621,759						
1919	359,835	355,842[3]	29,286	5,915	3,426		
	754,286	48,299,684					
(1920)							
1924	685,222	412,756	53,467	5,200	312	3,220	
1,160,177							
1930	1,085,520	78,016	310,049[4]	56,902	4,113	4,038	2,878
1,541,516	59,138,067						
(1930)							
1935	1,507,931	185,332	78,950	62,356	4,800	4,559	3,591
1,847,519							
1939	1,826,906	266,393	9,470	69,502	5,236	5,458	4,313
2,187,278							

[1] Until 1909 the total in the School 2nd Class column included both 1st and 2nd Class schools.

[2] These figures were for the year 1877. Figures for 1899 were not included in the "Algemeen Verslag van het Onderwijs 1900-1904", the sources for these statistics.

[3] For the years 1919 and 1924, the total number of pupils of the Vervolgschool and Standaardschool (= 2nd Class School) were combined.

[4] After 1930, the total number of Standaardschool pupil declined because the total number of schools continued to be reduced due to the 1929 Depression.