

Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan (Thhk), and Nationalism Among Chinese People in Dutch East Indies 1900-1942

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ABSTRACT

THHK was the first modern organization in the Dutch East Indies. The purpose of establishing this organization was to unite Chinese people in Dutch East Indies and instill love for the country (nationalism) by establishing schools run by THHK. The founders of THHK school hoped that Chinese traditions and culture, language, religion (Confucianism), Chinese history and other subjects were reintroduction of the school's curriculum. The education was selected as a medium to instill love for the motherland of Chinese people in Dutch East Indies. This was evidenced by their actions, these were continuing to study in China, refusing to become citizens of the Dutch East Indies, becoming athletes on behalf of China, and raising funds for the people of their ancestral countries. However, the mission of this organization faced obstacles as well due to the new policies of the Dutch East Indies government that were detrimental to the THHK movement. The growth and development of Indonesian nationalism caused divisions among Chinese people, especially among the elites.

Keywords: THHK, Tiong Hoa, nationalism, Dutch East Indies

INTRODUCTION

Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan, founded in 1900, is arguably the first modern organization to care for Chinese overseas China. Whereas before THHK was founded, Chinese people had settled in the archipelago. The Chinese people were one of the foreign nations who live in the archipelago. Actually, how long they visited and settled in the archipelago is still a matter of debate. According to Javanese literature, the Chinese person who firstly visited Java was a Buddhist priest, Fa Hsien. At that time, the priest went on a trip to India in order to collect the original Buddhist texts and on his return from his trip to India his ship had an accident and was stranded in a country called *Yeh p'o-t'I* or *Jawadwi (pa)*, which then accepted as an ancient name of Java. After the visit of the Buddhist priest, Chinese people came to the archipelago despite not as religious mission. They were Chinese traders who carried out trading activities with Indonesian traders. Their arrival probably have started since the early centuries AD (Liem Twan Djie, 1995: 67). What matters is when exactly they carried out trading activities.

Other information states that prior to the 7th century, there was no Chinese trade activity in the archipelago. The regular shipping activities between China and major ports in the archipelago, especially with Sriwijaya, began to be intertwined in 7th century, although it was not yet possible to establish them permanent residential area considering that most them still did passive trading activities. Mulyana said that the possibility of Chinese people starting to settle in the archipelago was only in the 8th century. After that, China developed into the largest tea and porcelain exporting country in the world. Armed with these trading materials, the Chinese government sent envoys to open chambers of commerce in the Southeast Asian region requiring the envoys to stay long enough in the region they visited. (Slamet Mulyana, 2005: 82) The delegates generally did not bring their wives, hence there was a tendency to marry local women. They gave birth to children known as Chinese *peranakan*. The relations between the immigrants and the locals were peaceful, with no signs of competition or social conflict among them. Therefore they did not only live in urban areas, but also spread to the interior and mingled with the local people.

The clear information about Chinese people existence in Java was obtained a few centuries later. During the heyday of the Majapahit Empire in 14th century the Javanese elite, especially the noblemen of Majapahit Palace, liked having luxury goods imported from China, such as silk cloth, beautifully painted ceramics, and Chinese coins used for ceremonies (Peter Carey, 1986:15). This condition was supported by other sources. Groneveld stated that in 14th century Majapahit had already settled Chinese people, the majority of whom came from Canton, Chang Chou and Chuan Chou (the last two places were located in Fukkien Province). Groneveld also said that some of the resident Chinese had embraced Islam and practiced their prayers, they liked to read the Qur'an, did not eat pork and circumcised as prescribed in Islam (Groneveld, 1967: 49-50).

The Chinese settled in the eastern coastal ports. They were the majority population in Tuban, estimated at a thousand families. The Cantonese settled in Gresik. A large number of Surabaya residents were Chinese (Hamid, 2013: 74-75). An important figure who should be mentioned is one of the port chiefs or often referred to as a pious person who came from across the country and was known to be active in spreading the new religion with his virtues and lessons, even his *mu'jizat-mu'jizat*. Some of the figures included Wali Sanga, or said as the nine pioneers of Islam in Java who were often given the title of respect for the *sunan guru*. *Sunan* was short version for *susuhunan* which literally means "who were hired (Lombard, 1996: 42)." The Chinese guardians contributed to the process of establishing the first Islamic kingdom in Java. For example in Demak kingdom, a Chinese *peranakan* namely Prince Jin Bun became its king and honourably called as Raden Fatah. (looking for sources of Old Indonesian History).

More and more Chinese immigrants flowed since the VOC conducted trading businesses in Java (especially in Batavia). This coincided with the fall of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). The dynasty forbade its people to trade abroad, therefore by its collapse, Chinese trade with Southeast Asian regions was reopened in 1683, as a result of the success of the war by Ching's forces in Formosa. It had created favorable conditions for the influx of immigrants from the coastal provinces located in the southern part of mainland China especially the Hoakiao people, who came from areas located around Amoy in Fukkien and Kwang Provinces Fu (Cantonese people) who came from Canton and Macao (Carey, 1986: 19). The migration process which lasted several waves caused the Chinese people in Indonesia increased in number. Due to persistence and business strategy of these Chinese people, eventually some of them have benefited from sugarcane cultivation. They became harbormaster, worked as collector of market taxes, opened credit, and managed toll roads (De Klerk, ES, 1938:363). Even many rich Chinese people were appointed as rulers of areas that were already under the control of the VOC and Javanese rulers. The regents on the north coast of Java in 18th century were from Chinese ethnic (Luc Nagtegaal, 1996, Twan Peck Yang, 2005: 27). In addition, many Chinese people also became tenants of large land around Batavia, Surabaya, and the Eastern Border of Java (source). The second wave of migration of Chinese people to Java (1860-1890) caused the Chinese community to be the largest group outside of the indigenous people in Indonesian Java. In 1900, their number was about 280.000. Most of them are descendants of families who had been in Java for generations (Purnivall, 1996, Van Niel, 2005: 29). Even so, they still made their country as the source of their culture. The wave of migration for a certain ethnic group usually brings and develops the culture of origin. The development of their native culture was carried out because in their spare time they needed entertainment and this was one way apart from releasing homesickness for their homeland, as well as for establishing interactions with people of their own accord. By these reasons, migrants considered that it is necessary to contribute their own culture as the best medium to build solidarity. Therefore, the ethnic and cultural identities in the overseas areas are well maintained (Arifin, 1990: 106).

The problem arising was that Chinese migrants who came to Java before 19th century did not bring their wives. They married indigenous women and gave birth to mixed children who were commonly called *peranakan*. The majority of these *peranakan* lost their ability to speak Chinese and they used local language for communication. These *peranakan* were generally illiterate and only interested in making money. They had their own uniqueness and complexity. Their long presence has caused this group to adopt many local cultures, such as lifestyle and life rituals. Some of them even embraced Islam, either through relations with native women or of their own choice. Moreover, a more important effect of this religious change was the acceptance of Javanese culture by Javanese royal families. Hence the customs, beliefs and religions of Chinese people

mixed. For example, from a Chinese-born father, Chinese people inherited customs from China, but from their mother, they accepted indigenous customs (Winarni, 2017: 33).

This condition caused concern for travelers who had come to Java since 18th century. Their concern was focused on the life of Chinese people in Java. The *musyafir* or observers were concerned and looked negatively on the loss of the abusive traits of the descendants of the immigrants who settled in Java. One of them is Ong Tae Hae, who said that after Chinese people have lived overseas for several generations without ever returning to their ancestral lands, they often forgot the instructions of the wise Confucian. In language, food, and clothing they imitated the indigenous people and study foreign books. They were happy to be Javanese. They called themselves moslems, they then refused to eat pork and at the same time adopted the indigenous customs (Kwartanada, 2006: 2).

Ong's words indicate that the process of acculturation and the wave of conversion to Islam among *peranakan* Chinese took place at that time, hence many *peranakan* lost their characteristics. This fairly strong assimilation process still occurred a century later. Starting in the 20th century, it can be said that assimilation then faded away, apart from the fact that many native Chinese women visited and then settled in the archipelago, thereby reducing marriages with indigenous women, and their children were then educated in their mother's culture. Meanwhile, Chinese reformers in China began to revive Confucianism, one of whom was Kang Youwei. These renewal ideas also spread to Southeast Asia and later a Confucian society formed in Singapore had a major impact on overseas Chinese including Jakarta and other major cities in Dutch East Indies (Suryadinata, 2002: 159-160). The reformers viewed that the representation and strengthening of Chinese culture could only be realized through education. Therefore an educational institution was needed since it could be used as a medium to instill traditions, cultural heritage and love for the country of origin. The problem was that until the end of the 19th century there were no organizations that paid attention to the revitalization of Chinese culture and traditions, thus in 1900, Tong Hoa Hwee Koan (THHK) was founded. The establishment of this organization was initiated by young people or "Jong Chinesche Beweging". It consisted of young and old Chinese people who were forward thinking and had a mission to keep and instill a sense of nationalism towards China among Chinese people in Dutch East Indies. (Setiono, 2002: 298). This organization established THHK schools to develop Confucian teachings and changing the habit of carrying out large-scale wedding and funeral ceremonies that cost a lot of money which was considered wasteful. Besides, it also aimed at advancing the education of Chinese people and fostering unity among people overseas Chinese (Myra Sidharta, tt: 23). This article aims to seek how THHK School encouraged nasionalism among specifically Chinese young generation and Chinese people in Dutch Indies in general. Furthermore, the article also discusses how THHK achieved its goals and results.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TIONG HOA HWEE KOAN AND HIS IDEAS

Besides being motivated by the waning of Chinese culture and traditions among Chinese in Dutch East Indies, the spirit to unite for Chinese citizens was motivated by the implementation of Dutch Indies government policies seen by Chinese people as discriminatory. Through a State Regulation dated June 6th, 1866, the Dutch East Indies government enforced the *wijkenstelsel* regulation, that was the concentration of settlements for Chinese and other foreign ethnicities. The regulation stated that local officials ordered the designation of places where it could be used as an area for placing Chinese and other foreign Easterners who were easy to control. This placement was mandatory, and those who were going to live outside the designated areas had to obtain permission from the local Dutch officials first. Foreign residents who violated the East would be subject to imprisonment or a fine of f.25-f.100 with a period of stay. If the time limit had expired, then they must have entered the area of implementation (Agustinus, 2012: 16) Another rule was *Passenstelsel* which was strictly enforced (Suryadinata, 1994:22). This regulation had been existing since 1816, and only abolished in the late 19th century requiring Chinese people to carry a road pass when traveling outside the region. Those who did not register and carry the card would be subject to a fine of 10 guilders (Noordjannah, 2004: 71). The regulation narrowed down the fields of employment in the trade sector, even though trade was their main job field (Onghokham, 2008: 126). Agricultural fields were closed to them with the Agrarian Law 1870. They also could not be *ambtenaar* because the government bureaucracy sector was closed to Chinese groups (Agustinus, 2012: 16). Another thing was that the Dutch East Indies government did not pay attention to the

education of Chinese children in Dutch East Indies and many cases of discrimination they faced. These things led to the emergence of movements initiated by young Chinese people.

This association was a sign of the rise of Chinese nationalism. The rise of Chinese nationalism was preceded by the emergence of movements initiated by young people in Batavia, Bogor, Sukabumi and other areas. The movement was commonly called the "Youth Movement" or "Jong Chineeshe Beweging", which consisted of young and old Chinese people who thought forward and had a mission to keep and instill a sense of Chinese nationalism among Chinese in Dutch East Indies (*Sin Po Jubelium-Nummer 1910-1935*, 58). Knowing this condition, some *peranakan* Chinese leaders came up with the idea to establish a new organization, which was open, legal and managed in modern way. The organization established must be based on Chinese civilization and culture, especially those concerning Confucian teachings (Setiono, 2002: 294). Thus, it can be said that the main purpose of establishing THHK was to foster nationalism among Chinese. Finally, this organization was founded on March 17th, 1900 in a house on Patekoan street, Batavia, attended by 20 participants who had formed an organizational structure. This organization was led by a President. THHK's first president was Phoa Keng Hek, however the organization was only approved by the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies on June 3rd, 1900 (Andi, Selvia Darmayanti, 2019: 5) Hence, its activities could only be carried out after the issuance of a letter of approval from the Governor General of Dutch East Indies. On June 11th, 1900, conferences were held which eventually led to the idea of establishing a school. The main initiators were Lie Kim Hok, Tan Kim San, Lie Hin Liam, Oey Koen Le, Tan Tjong Long, Thio Sek Liong, Ang Tio Tjiang, Khoe Siau Eng, and Khoe A Fan (Setiono, 2002: 300-301).

This series of events prompted Chinese people to revisit their identity. A new identity with the Chinese nation emerged and nationalism began to grow as a strong sentiment among Chinese in Dutch East Indies, especially Java (Suryadinata, 1994: 42). As a realization, THHK then opened special educational institutions for *peranakan* children, so that they could study regularly (Suryadinata, 1994: 42). A year later, in 1901, Phoa Keng Hek (Pan Jinghe), the chairman of THHK Batavia, began establishing THHK schools. The main purpose of establishing THHK was to develop Confucian teachings and change traditions or habits that had been practiced by Chinese people, such as carrying out large-scale wedding and funeral ceremonies that cost a fortune and considered wasting time. In addition, it was also aimed at advancing the education of Chinese children, fostering the unity of overseas Chinese without differentiating between villages and provinces in China, and not distinguishing between *peranakan* and *totok*. All Chinese people had to be able to be united by THHK (Setiono, 2002: 300-301). Besides, THHK also aimed to develop a new style system in Mandarin Chinese (Myra Sidharta, tt: 34). In other words, the emergence of THHK, apart from being intended as an effort to resynthesize, was also a reaction from the Chinese "kaoem moeda" group who felt that they were being kidnapped by the discriminatory Dutch education policy (Kwartanada, 2006: 3). Promotion of Confucianism was carried out by publishing books on Confucianism and other efforts by opening Chinese schools. These schools were originally opened in Java, but later expanded throughout the Dutch East Indies. In 1919 there were over 250 THHK schools in Dutch East Indies.

THHK SCHOOLS AND THEIR CURRICULUM AS A MEDIA TO STRENGTHEN NATIONALISM

After the establishment of THHK, the establishment of THHK schools in Dutch East Indies began. THHK School was founded in Batavia. The plan of THHK Batavia to establish a THHK school was welcomed by the Chinese community who had interest in the education of Chinese children. THHK school branches were established in other parts of the Dutch East Indies. THHK School is a sign of the emergence of the modern Chinese school. Chinese circles had high hopes for this school (Liem Thian Joe, 2004: 210). The THHK schools that were established in big cities until 1935 already were 252 schools (*Sin Po Jubelium-Nummer 1910-1935*. page 64, *Buku Peringatan 100 Tahun Sekolah THHK/Pa Hoa Centennial of THHK School* (Jakarta: Pancaran Hidup, 2001).

Ong Hok Kam stated that in fact in Batavia in the 19th century, journalists had once established schools for underprivileged children. The school was named "Gie Oh" (Yu Xue) which means free school. Gie Oh School was located behind Kim Tek le (Jin de Yuan) Temple in Petak Sembilan, Glodok, West Jakarta. Teachers who

taught at this school were paid 1000 guilders a year. The funds were taken from the burial fund for Tanjung (one of Kong Koan's burial ground located around Slipi Jaya area, Taman Anggrek Mall, West Jakarta). This school only had sixty students and two teaching staffs. Noor Isnaeni said that Gie Oh School was known as the Hokkien School, because the language of instruction at the school was Hokkien. The teaching system in this school also only used Confucian teachings as their reference book. The students were only asked to memorize the classic book Si So (Si Shu). This school did not teach history, arithmetic, and so on. Because they are only required to read and memorize these classical books, the highest peak of intelligence that could be achieved was reading classical language books (Munawir Azis, 2012: 119).

The operation of these schools could be related to the Dutch East Indies Government policy which tended to discriminate against Chinese children. According to Setiono, the Dutch East Indies Government did not provide opportunities for Chinese children to attend formal schools run by the Dutch East Indies government. The Dutch Indies Government policy only provided learning opportunities for children of Dutch or other European nations and children of natives (Setiono, 2002: 670-673). According to Suryadinata, Chinese people became aware of the importance of their role in the Dutch East Indies economy since the issuance of the Dutch East Indies government policy limiting their movement and creating a feeling of similarity. Therefore, encouraging the spirit to unite among *peranakan* to deal together the same all the problems related to the group (Setiono, 2002: 670-673). However they were aware that modern education is only possible if they have an organization that brings together Chinese people in it (Noordjanah, 2004: 72).



Figure 1: Opening Ceremony THHK in Pekalongan Source: <https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/826432>



Figure 2: THHK in Soekaradja with Local Governor Source: <https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/820171> (Noordjanah, 2004: 72).

The school that was originally founded specially for boys, imitated modern school model imposed in China

and Japan. The subjects taught were reading and writing in Chinese, arithmetic, earth science, and Chinese customs. However, then a school for girls with the same subjects was also planned (Setiono, 2002: 3002). Furthermore, Suryadinata said that the THHK school also offered something new, that was English lesson. The teachers were imported from China, except for English teachers who came from Java, Singapore and western countries.

Table 1: Data of THHK School Development from 1901 to 1935

Year	Established school	Number of the schools in Dutch Indies	Date	Area
1901	1	1	Maret 17th	Jakarta
1902	1	2	November 2nd	Bogor
1903	5	6	Mei 26th	Semarang, Kedu
			November 29th	Malang, Tanah Abang, Cirebon
1904	7	14	Januari 13th	Semarang
			-	Pemalang
			Juli 10th	Bandung
			Juli 30th	Tangerang
			September 7th	Cianjur, Solo, Gombang, Gresik
1905	5	18	Juli 28th	Indramayu, Kediri, ngan, Tulungagung, Situbondo
1906	12	30	Desember 22nd	Probolinggo
			April 3rd	Serang, Sukabumi, Garut, Tegal, Batang, Yogyakarta, Madiun, Jombang.
1907	10	40	Pebruari 25th	Banjarmasin
			Maret 23rd	
			April 11th	Sumedang
			Maret 27th	Pangkal Pinang, Banyumas
			Juli 29th	Cilacap
			Agustus 28th	Purwokerto
1908	14	54	-	Bliny, Banyuwangi, Palembang, Tanjung Pinang

1909	6	60	Pebruari 13th	Krawang
1910	9	69	Desember 17th	Sungailiat, Lasem, Muntilan
1911	5	74	Januari 21st	Jatinegara, Pontianak
			Mei 13th	Jember
1912	15	89	Maret 13th	Tasikmalaya
			Maret 5th	Gorontalo
			Mei 26th	Kebumen
			Desember 27th	Tobali, Cepu, Singkawang, Asahan
1913	8	97	-	-
1914	3	100	Pebruari 25th	Cilamaya, Banyuwangi, pangkalan Susu
1915	7	107	-	Bukateja, Banyumas, Makasar, Blitar
1916	10	117	-	Riau, Wates, Cikampek
1917	5	122	-	-
1918	8	130	-	Ciamis, Jombang, Balikpapan, Klaten, Losari
1919	9	139	-	Singkawang, Sukoharjo
1920	6	145	-	-
1921	9	154	-	Cikupa, Tanjungpandan, Kotabumi, Belawan, Begelen.
1922	4	158	-	-
1923	11	169	-	-
1924	11	180	-	-
1925	6	186	-	-
1926	10	196	-	-
1927	9	205	-	-
1928	6	211	-	-
1929	6	217	-	-
1930	11	228	-	-
1931	2	230	-	-

1932	6	236	-	-
1933	3	239	-	-
1934	11	250	-	-
1935	1	252	-	-

Source: Processed from 3 sources, these are Sin Po Sin Po Jubelium-Nummer 1910-1935. Page 64. A book *Peringatan 100 Tahun Sekolah THHK/Pa Hoa Centennial of THHK School* (Jakarta: Pancaran Hidup, 2001), Christian Maria Goreti, *Chung Chua School, Wajah Pendidikan Etnis Tionghoa Di Jember Tahun 1911-1966*.

From the data in the table, it can be seen that the number of THHK schools that were established from 1901-1935 continued. The first school founded by THHK was Tong Hwa Hak Tong in Jakarta on March 17th, 1901. The first THHK principal was Louw Koei Hong (Lu Guifang). This school was the first modern private school in the Dutch East Indies. This school later changed its name to Pa Hua. The education system applied was modern education system implemented in China and Japan.

THHK schools chose Mandarin as the language of instruction (Hapsari, 2016: 265). The THHK school curriculum contained Mandarin, English, arithmetic, general knowledge, music and sports. However the THHK school curriculum was not too rigid. The curriculum adapted to regional conditions and specializations of each school or maybe in terms of contemporary commonly called "local content". For example, in the 100 years book *Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan* (Zhong Hua Hui Guan), it was written that THHK Semarang school using a small building and located on Jl. Gang Tengah, used an education system influenced by education in America and Japan, even though the curriculum has been used as a guideline in THHK schools (100 Tahun Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan). Then another example, the THHK school curriculum in Jember, East Java (Chung Hua School) in the Dutch East Indies era implemented a curriculum outlined by the organization (THHK), yet it was broader in scope which included Tjeng Im language. The language was universal Mandarin, without reference to a dialect such as Hokkian, Kek, or others, because the aim was to unite all Chinese people in the Dutch East Indies. Other subjects such as arithmetic, Chinese geography, Chinese history, natural sciences, English, general science, Western science were taught after the Chinese Revolution. They aimed to instill a spirit of Chinese nationalism, as well as expanding students' knowledge. Moreover, other subjects were singing lessons (music) by learning Chinese songs, sport, drawing science, handicrafts, and character. Totally the school had 12 subjects (Maria Goreti, 2013: 77).

Chinese character/ethics lessons (Kong Min) could be considered as the characteristic of Chinese schools. Students in schools owned by the Dutch East Indies government did not acquire the characteristics. The lessons in Kong Min emphasized on cultivating Chinese principles of life in students including sincerity, honesty, devoting to parents, dignity, simplicity, harmony, working hard, and respecting ancestors (Maria Goreti, 2013: 75). Regarding the content of ethics lessons, generally THHK schools referred to textbooks, one of which was entitled *Pandoman Oentoek Pendidikan Anak-anak Tionghwa*, published by Liem Liang Djwan in Blitar. However, each school usually prepared its own digest or summary for students in their respective schools (Koo Bo Thjan, 1927).

THHK AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF NATIONALISM AMONG CHINESE PEOPLE IN DUTCH EAST INDIES

Meanwhile, over time, THHK grew bigger. Chinese people interpreted education not only to educate but also as a forum for unity and a tool for political aspirations. Indeed, education is a noble effort to educate and liberate one's mind, nevertheless education can be a frightening thing if there is an ideology planned to be instilled in students. Likewise with THHK schools, THHK was originally an association, a first modern organization in Java, initially involved in social, religious and educational reforms in Chinese. Then gradually it became an educational organization with branches throughout the Dutch East Indies. As explained in the previous chapter, the establishment of THHK schools was that the children of Chinese people across the

oceans, including in the Dutch East Indies, recognized the original Chinese traditions and culture and loved their ancestral country. The achievement of this goal was continued by sending THHK School graduates to continue their studies in China. As witnessed by Ang Yan Goan, an alumni of the THHK School in Bandung. In 1908, 4 boys and 4 girls took the primary school graduation exam at THHK Jakarta. All of them passed and obtained diplomas. The following year, Ang Yan Goan and 3 boys were sent to Ji Nan school. Previously, there was a group of students who were dispatched from the Dutch East Indies. The first group consisting of 21 students came in 1907. In 1908, more than 100 students studied in Jinan, including Ang Yan Goan. In 1910, the total number of students from the Dutch East Indies was 148. The total number was estimated at around 200, but this programme ended because of the 1911 Revolution (Tan Beng Hok, 2009: 10-11). The Wu Chang revolution occurred on October 10th, 1911, when a revolt broke out against the government of the Manqing Dynasty in Wuchang City, Hubei Province, Central China. Other provinces then followed the movement, which eventually overthrew the Manqing Dynasty, and the founding of the Republic of China, with the capital city of Nanjing (Taniputera, 2008: 538-544).

Along with the establishment of the THHK school, Malay journalists and writers were also born, dozens of newspapers, magazines and books containing various works of Chinese writers were published (Setiono, 2002: 309). Chinese *peranakan* newspapers in Chinese Malay issued too, such as Li Po (1901 in Sukabumi), Kabar Perniagaan (1903) in Batavia, Warta Soerabaya (1902 in Surabaya), and Central Java (1909 in Semarang). After the appearance of the Chinese *Peranakan* newspapers, these organizations and newspapers further encouraged a sense of nationalism and strengthened the development of the Great China movement. The movements are uniting the Chinese people in Netherlands Indies, and orienting their cultural and political orientation towards China (Suryadinata, 2010: 26). Some of the journalists from the newspaper were alumni of the THHK school who had continued their education in China, that was the Jinan School.

Their education did not finish, but they had witnessed Chinese Revolution. Arriving in their homeland, some of them then began to work on press. One of them was Sin Po, which had been published in accordance with the hopes of the Chinese living in Dutch East Indies, that was the future of China. This great hope could not be separated from the sentiment and spirit of Chinese nationalism. It is clear that Sin Po had propagated Chinese nationalism. The newspaper was then identified with groups that support Chinese nationalism. Sin Po then developed into a large daily newspaper. Sin Po even later, especially Kabar Perniagaan, controlled by *Peranakan* (Kapitan Cina) officers and had a conservative stance. Sin Po under the leadership of Kwee Hing Tjiat (1916-1918) began to move to lead the Chinese community in political matters (Sin Tit Po, edisi 26 Agustus 1932). This newspaper became the main mouthpiece of the group advocating for the *peranakan* in the Dutch East Indies to defend their nationality and draw the *peranakan* group closer to China, and considered China as their homeland (Adam, 2003: 43).

What the Chinese people felt reflected in the newspapers indirectly and it affected their awareness of their national identity. Almost all Chinese press during this period still had a political orientation towards China and did not want to get involved in local politics. The apolitical attitude in the local political arena grew stronger after the Chinese Community Conference in Semarang in 1917. In this conference, the political views of Sin Po newspaper received broad support, these were the suggestion of *totok* and *peranakan* population unity and improving the quality of education for *peranakans*. Sin Po also suggested that the Chinese population in Dutch East Indies was expected to contribute politically to China, which was under Japanese occupation. Even so, Sin Po still did not support the Chinese population to engage in local politics because it could break the unity (Noordjannah, 2004: 1-2, Sudibyo, 2001: 201). Because they believed that China was the protector of overseas, Chinese and *peranakan* could defend their life if they were tied to China. It was not clear how the Chinese state could protect them, but they suggested that it is possible to achieve this through diplomacy. Therefore, Sin Po condemned the Chinese officers and the leaders of *peranakan* group who intended to lead the Dutch East Indies Chinese in the wrong direction (Suryadinata, 1994: 38-39).

In 1918, Sin Po, under the leadership of Tjoe Bou San, began to mobilize Chinese people to reject the Law on Dutch National Government, which was called *Wet Op het Nederlandch Onderdaanschap* (WNO). The law stated that all Dutch East Indies Chinese were Dutch subjects (Liem Thian Joe, 2005: 210). because previously, prior to the 1911 Revolution, the Chinese Empire had announced the Imperial Citizenship Law (1909) confirming that all people who were Chinese were considered Chinese nationals (Liem Thian Joe,

2005: 210). Chou Bou San in his article argued that the Dutch East Indies Chinese were different foreigners interests with other groups in Dutch East Indies, thus they had to reject WNO (Tjou Bou San, 2005: 45-46).

The campaign against WNO actually took place only eight years after the announcement that the militia would be imposed on *peranakan*. The Sin Po group successfully launched its campaign when the militia was proposed to the *Volksraad*. The short-term aim of the campaign was to eliminate the proposition of militias, and also to claim European status for Chinese. They did not fight for all races in Indies, but only the Chinese and the Dutch. The campaign was an expression of Chinese ultranationalism because the Sin Po group thought that Chinese had a higher position than native people (Suryadinata 1994: 49).

The rejection of WNO, according to Liem Koen Hian, was not just because WNO placed *peranakan* under the European nation and did not provide benefits for *peranakan*. Liem also denied that Chinese people disagreed with WNO for fear of military service. More than that, the *peranakan* felt that they were not part of Dutch East Indies, but as part of a large Chinese nation. The feeling of nationality as a Chinese nation made Chinese people in Dutch East Indies did not want to become Dutch Indies even if they were equal to Europeans. According to Liem, loyalty to China was unconditional. As a *peranakan* who felt as part of large Chinese nation, Liem felt obliged to serve the country of China. Liem believed that the *peranakan* should help the Tiongkok country to make it strong. He believed that if China became strong, it would be able to protect the interests of *peranakan* in Dutch East Indies and other countries. Therefore, the fate of *peranakan* Chinese would no longer be swayed by being a weak minority in a foreign country (Agustinus, 2012: 21).

Efforts to oppose WNO eventually failed, even the demands for European equality of status did not work. The cancellation of the militia proposal caused the campaign to lose its momentum. Many *peranakan* and wealthy businessmen did not support the campaign because they had already established interests in the Dutch East Indies, and most importantly the reaction of the Chinese Government to this campaign did not help. The Chinese government experienced difficulties in prosecuting *peranakans* in Dutch East Indies as citizens. The consular agreement was finally renewed and this immediately quelled the campaign against WNO ((Agustinus, 2012: 22).

This failure did not stop *peranakan* from supporting their ancestral country. For example, raising funds for China. At that time, Dutch East Indies Chinese raised funds to contribute to Chinese population due to disasters and wars. Initially at the initiative of Ting Hoa Siang Hwee, all Chinese associations in Jakarta formed a Joint Fundraising Committee. The Dutch East Indies government only allowed these funds to be used as humanitarian aid, and could only be channeled through the Chinese Red Cross. The fund was recommended to be called the Chinese War Victims Relief Fund, but Chinese citizens named it the Chinese Charity Fund, and its committee was called the Overseas Chinese Committee to Contribute to Chinese Charity Enterprises. The presidium consisted of 6 members, from Guomindang and Sin Po, who at that time were raising funds to help victims of the Chinese disaster and war. The committee requested that these funds combined to demonstrate the integrity of the Overseas Chinese. Initially, Sin Po employees donated 5 to 10 percent of their monthly salary to the Chinese Charity Fund Committee. Nevertheless, considering that such a donation movement would be annual, the percentage was reduced. All names of contributors were published in both editions of Sin Po (Tan Beng Hok, 2005: 122).

Fundraising was carried out in various ways and targeted all Chinese citizens in Dutch East Indies. For example, they visited Chinese people who were holding a celebration by asking for donations from invited guests. It turned out that this method paid off because many invited guests contributed. This proved that the Dutch East Indies Chinese had great concern for their home country, even though sometimes among them have never visited China. Other means of collecting donations include performances by school pupils, screenings of films and organizing sports competitions (Tan Beng Hok, 2009: 126). Donation collection continued. Overseas Chinese citizens continued to contribute enthusiastically. The tensions of the world situation had affected world commerce. World War II finally broke out, hitting Indonesia's import-export efforts badly. After the Pacific War, the Chinese Charity Fund Committee and Sin Po continued to make donations. The Japanese finally landed in Jakarta, and Dutch East Indies Government left Jakarta, as many agency offices and shops had closed. Sin Po quickly transferred the remaining donations to the Committee, and the Committee quickly sent them to the Chinese Red Cross through the Bank of China. By that time, the money collected and sent by

the Committee had reached four million guilders, nearly half of it from Sin Po. The Consul General wrote a letter in English praising and thanking Sin Po for what it had done.

Love for the land of ancestors could also be seen in Indonesian Chinese citizens. This was proved by the figure of a young tennis player, Kho Sin Kie. In the tennis champion, Kho Sin Kie was invited by an association in Shanghai. With his skill in playing tennis on hard courts and grass, he has stirred up the world of sports. Kho received permission from the Dutch Indies Tennis Association to compete at Wimbledon on behalf of China, on the condition that at a later date he could no longer represent the Dutch East Indies to participate in any international competition. In Wimbledon Championship, he won the first round match. His greatest success was in the 1930s, where he won the general English hardcourt championship twice in a row (Tan Beng Hok, 2009: 126).

THE REACTION OF DUTCH EAST INDIES GOVERNMENT AND THE INDONESIAN MOVEMENT TO THE PROGRESS OF MOVEMENT BY THHK

The progress of movement by THHK caused reaction from Dutch East Indies government. The establishment of these THHK schools caused the Dutch East Indies government to feel worried. Hence, the government did not remain silent watching the movements carried out by the Dutch East Indies Chinese. The reality appearing first was the change in the politics of Dutch East Indies government, which paid attention to Chinese citizens, for example in 1907 the Dutch Minister for Colonies De Vock began considering opening a Dutch school for Chinese children. The following year (1908), the first Dutch primary school opened for Chinese children, the *Holandsch Chineesche School* (HCS) was founded in Batavia, followed by other cities. HCS was designed like the *Europeesche Lagere School* (ELS) or European elementary schools which used Dutch as the language of instruction and did not provide lessons in Chinese or its culture (Mahfud, 2013). The opening of these schools was motivated by the concern of the Dutch East Indies government about the growth of the THHK school and the ideas of unity among the Chinese community. The Dutch East Indies government was worried that teachers teaching at THHK were propagating Chinese nationalism on THHK students, who would later result in the emergence of resistance movement against the Dutch East Indies government (Rohmah, 2014: 394).

In addition, the Dutch East Indies government also provided opportunities for Chinese children to enter ELS, a school supposed to be special for Dutch and European children. Due to a rather distinctive cultural background, most *peranakans* chose to send their children to Dutch schools even though the entrance tests given by the school were difficult and school fees were higher. As a result, the number of children attending THHK schools had decreased, but THHK schools still had more students than Dutch schools (Sin Tit Po: 2, Van Niel, 1984). This action by the Dutch East Indies Government succeeded in dividing *peranakan* into pro-Chinese political views (Sin Po Group) and pro-Dutch (Chung Hwa Hui group) (Mahfud, 2013: 78-79).

The discord was clearly seen in a conference held in 1927 in Semarang. The participants who were *peranakan* asked Dutch East Indies government to open HCS schools and insert Chinese language and culture into its curriculum. The government accepted that opinion of opening HCS schools, but they refused to change the curriculum. They were worried if Chinese language and culture were learned, the nationalism of China would increase. The worry was triggered by student of THHK Semarang who established a movement, *Hsiao You Hui* in 1929. When nationalism appeared in Chinese people's hearts, it would be divided into three ways, these were supporter of China, supporter of Dutch Indies government, and supporter of Indonesian independence (Dwi Hapsari, 2016:265).

With the opening of modern basic Dutch education for Tionghoa children, there was an opportunity for them to learn Dutch besides Mandarin they learned traditionally. Therefore, it was not surprising that the percentage of literacy and Dutch language rates in Chinese community was quite high, compared to other communities, as traced in the results of population census in 1930. In addition to mastering Dutch, their opportunity to continue their education to a higher level was also possible and widely open. It was revealed that in 1920s and 1930s in several universities in Jakarta, there were quite a lot of Chinese students. At STOVIA medical school, in 1920/1921 there were 7 Chinese students from 117 students, in 1927 there were 15 students, in 1927 there were 12 students. Between 1933-1937, the student composition was stable at the following numbers: European students 35 %, Indonesian 45%, Chinese 20% and in 1941, out of a total of 631 students 121 were European

students, 259 Indonesian students, and 222 Chinese students. Meanwhile, at Bandung Technical School in 1937 there were 40 Chinese students or 24% of the total students and in 1938 the number of Chinese students at the Law College was 68 people or 18% of the total students registered (H. Schijf & B.A.M, 1992: 43-44). The students were alumni from schools managed by the Dutch East Indies government, on the other hand, THHK school graduates found it difficult to continue to schools managed by the Dutch East Indies Government, because they did not understand Dutch.

Another obstacle to the unification movement of Chinese was Indonesian nationalism. For example, in 1932, the Indonesian Chinese Party (PTI) was founded which directly opposed Chung Hwa Hui. The PTI asked the Dutch East Indies Chinese community to identify themselves as Indonesians and to agree with the efforts of Indonesian nationalists to form a self-government and ultimately an independent Indonesia through constitutional means. PTI was anti-Dutch and rejected Chinese nationalism. PTI collaborated with the Indonesian nationalist movement. Apart from the PTI, many Chinese people in Indonesia were involved in national movements, they also contributed to achieving independence. For example they involved in *Sumpah Pemuda* which laid the foundation for the birth of Indonesian nation. They were Kwee Thiam Hong, Oey Kay Siang, John Lauw Tjoan Hok, and Tjio Djien Kwie. In addition, there were also four Chinese people who sat in the Indonesian Independence Preparatory Investigation Agency (BPUPKI), they were Oey Tjong Hauw, Oei Tiang Tjoei, Mr. Tan Eng Hua, and Liem Koen Hian. Someone who participated in formalizing the 1945 Constitution in Preparatory Committee for Indonesian independence (PPKI) was Jap Tjwan Bing (Lembong, 2002: 383).

CONCLUSION

Based on the previous description, it can be concluded that THHK was the first modern organization in the Dutch East Indies, founded with the aim of uniting Chinese people in Dutch East Indies, with the same cultural ties. Therefore, the path taken by this organization (THHK) was to re-create people. Dutch East Indies Chinese who according to observers view the Dutch Indies Chinese had lost their identity, forgotten the teachings of Confucianism, forgotten their ancestral traditions, converted to Islam, or at least adapted to local culture. The effort to recreate the Dutch East Indies Chinese, according to THHK's founders, could only be done through education. Then the THHK schools were founded in the Dutch East Indies.

The establishment of the THHK schools was welcomed by the Chinese in the Dutch East Indies who wanted their children to get a good education. This could be proven by the establishment of THHK schools in many cities in Java, and these schools got sufficient students. This condition was because at that time there were no special formal schools for Chinese children. There were only traditional schools that did not provide adequate education to Chinese children. Indeed, the Dutch East Indies government had established schools, but these schools were intended for European children and native sons. Hence the impression was that there had been discrimination against Chinese citizens.

The mission of the establishment of the THHK schools was to recreate overseas Chinese by re-introducing ancestral traditions in China. Consequently, Chinese citizens in Dutch East Indies would know the correct traditions, such as ritual for death, marriage, etc. In addition, reintroducing consisted of their ancestral matters by including lessons in Mandarin, Chinese history, ethics based on Confucian teachings. By learning many things related to China, it would strengthen the spirit of unity among Chinese people in Dutch East Indies, and grow a sense of love for their ancestral country .

The effort to unite ethnic Chinese in the Dutch East Indies turned out to face obstacles when the sense of nationalism turned into a movement aimed at the Dutch East Indies government. This obstacle occurred when the Indies government issued a policy, for example the establishment of special schools for Chinese children, that was HCS. It turned out to be much in demand by Chinese people because they used Dutch as the language of instruction, thus graduates of HCS could continue to higher level education. Even the Dutch East Indies government allowed Chinese children to attend schools for European and indigenous children. The existence of these schools had an effect on the existence of THHK schools. Due to elimination of road passes and *wijkenstelsel*, movements demanding equal rights with Europeans were no longer effective. Apart from that, there was also Indonesian nationalism which apparently also had Chinese people who played a role in it. As a

result, the Chinese Dutch Indies did not become a complete unit.

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