EDUCATE THE JAVANESE!

("Geef den Javaan Opvoeding!" a memorial addressed to the Dutch government in January 1903 by Raden Ajeng Kartini.)

Translated and with an Introduction by Jean Taylor

INTRODUCTION

In 1902 a highly placed official in the Ministry of Colonies, J. Slingenberg, was sent on a study tour of the Indies with orders to make recommendations on penal institutions. His interests ranged far more broadly than this, however. Shortly before his departure in 1903 he sent to Raden Ajeng Kartini a series of questions on the aims and types of education that should be introduced for Indonesians. The times were congenial. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the opinions of selected Javanese had increasingly been sought by colonial officials, and Kartini's uncles and her father had submitted memorials on the declining status of the priyayi and on educational reform. Van Deventer's notion of a "debt of honour" was being translated into a program of expanded irrigation works, village schools and so on in the Indies. Eventually this Ethical Policy brought an end to the ongoing fusing of incoming Dutchmen with the Eurasian community and a reorientation of overseas Dutch and of the indigenous elite toward the Netherlands.

Kartini was a product of this historical change. She was one of the first Indonesian girls ever to enter a primary school for Europeans (ca. 1885-91), and her European friends were trekkers, not members of the old Indies' Dutch community. By the early 1900's she had become known to a small circle of liberal Dutchmen and Javanese aristocrats through her articles in Dutch-language journals and through her open confrontation with Javanese tradition. Yet Slingenberg's request was extraordinary. No woman's opinion had ever been sought by the colonial government. At the same time it was in keeping with the Javanese tradition of sequestering single women of the upper classes that Slingenberg's questions were conveyed to Kartini indirectly, through Annie Glaser, a former schoolteacher in Japara.

The memorial Kartini wrote went far beyond Slingenberg's original six questions. It was a wide-ranging document, summing up her views on the condition of the Javanese people at the close of the nineteenth century and setting out concrete proposals for change. Radical it was not, but her point of view was enlightened and, for her times and social position, highly uncommon. Kartini believed that the welfare schemes initiated by the Ethici would not assist the Javanese unless they were made capable of coping with, and participating in, the new world that western technology and a rapid influx of Europeans were creating in Indonesia. A new group of leaders, steeped in their own culture but trained too in western sciences, should assimilate the new concepts for the mass of the people. But here Kartini's thought moved beyond that of her society, which by leaders comprehended only men.
Herself permitted to step outside the kabupaten a score of times at the most, Kartini could yet envisage women in the professions and as educated mothers, able to train children who would be alive to the needs of their own community. At this stage, early in 1903, she did not yet foresee that women might combine careers with the roles of wife and mother, although from her letters we know she had moved to this viewpoint shortly before her death in 1904.

Like her contemporaries, Kartini's frame of reference was Java, which she often equated with the Indies. But it was not a rigidly parochial view. Later in 1903 she urged the Director of Education to transfer a scholarship awarded her by the Dutch government to "a young Sumatran." This was Haji Agus Salim who was to join in leading the Republic to independence, and who was to apply Kartini's ideas to the education of his children, daughters as well as sons. Her contemporaries, too, the Indonesians of the Indische Vereeniging in Holland, perceived Kartini's ideals as generating a new nationalism; and they adopted them for the association's platform on December 25, 1911.

Kartini is an important figure in the history of Indonesia; an observer of colonial society in a period of great demographic and social change, a promoter of reform and a very early representative of the first generations of western-educated Indonesians. Hers was the first voice heard in a language accessible to the educated of all Indonesia's speech groups and to a European audience. As such, she may be considered one of Indonesia's first modern intellectuals. Her writings, however, have not been included in the source-books of Indonesian thought. Like most outstanding women, Kartini has been passed over by the historians of Indonesia. True, more favored than such other women leaders as Raden Dewi Sartika, Raden Ayu Siti Soendari or Soewarsih Djojopoespito, she is the subject of several essays and a novel. But all these, with the exception of Pramoedya's Panggil Aku Kartini Sadja, focus on establishing her parentage and similar details, rather than on her actions in behalf of popular education. Yet within her brief lifetime Kartini had started two schools for girls, stimulated a revival of Japara woodcarving, and contributed to the journals of her day on topics ranging from changing customs among the Arabs of Java, to the Boer War, and the emancipation of women. Nor did the efforts of her sisters after her death attract the attention of her biographers, although one opened a training hospital for nurses and midwives, and wrote the texts for the school she founded and directed. Another, Raden Ajeng Soematri, was to contribute to the Report issued by the Government Commission into Declining Welfare in 1914.

Kartini is chiefly known today through a collection of her letters first printed in 1911. The image later essayists purveyed is founded on the methods of selection and drastic cutting employed by the editor, J. H. Abendanon. In Kartini he had perceived the best product of a Dutch education, and he promoted her thought and aspirations as demonstrating the righteousness and success of the Ethical Policy. The text is footnoted with reminders that "fortunately this is no longer the case" where Kartini had painted grim pictures of colonial society. Through letters to ten of her Dutch acquaintances (48 of the 106 printed are addressed to Abendanon's wife), Kartini's editor presented her as feminist and educator.

No letters to Indonesian friends or relatives were sought for Abendanon's text, although Kartini had broken with Javanese tradition to correspond with Raden Adipati Djojo Adiningrat and a cousin. She
herself estimated this exchange highly. "What we are doing is so new," she wrote to the missionary-linguist, Adriani. "Never before have young men and women corresponded." Furthermore, the known portion of Kartini's letters is not whole; all too frequently printer's marks or the editor's footnotes indicate omissions. All that was not deemed by Abendanon to be appropriate was dropped. One can only speculate that some of the offending passages might have shown Kartini in a political context. One of her sisters wrote: "... her correspondence touched everything; art, literature, the big questions of the day that concerned Europe, what was being done in parliament, and so on." Surviving articles reveal Kartini's wide interests, and observations of Dutch acquaintances affirm this; but these areas were not made known by her editor.

Abendanon did, however, append the document "Educate the Javanese!" to the text of Kartini's letters. It was dropped by her translators, whose texts further refined Abendanon's image and emphasized Kartini's personal life at the expense of her reflections on colonial society. The new Indonesian edition commissioned by Balai Pustaka in 1951 contained eighty-eight of the letters, thereby reducing costs and omitting all sections which the translator, Armijn Pane, deemed irrelevant. The first large-scale English version, the work of Agnes Louise Symmers, had appeared in 1920; it, too, dropped the essay, "Educate the Javanese!" and omitted a letter from the Abendanon collection in which Kartini listed Slingenberg's questions and outlined her responses. The Symmers' text comprises eighty-seven of the letters, carelessly edited and with frequent errors in translation. Of the letters selected, many passages were dropped, although there are no indications in the text. What remains is consistent with Symmers' notions of Kartini as a "modern girl," "in love." This translation was reprinted without change in 1964. Attempts made by Dr. Hendrik Bouman in the 1950's to solicit as yet unpublished letters met with refusals, and in one instance the owner burned her papers.

Because "Educate the Javanese!" adds a new dimension to Kartini, increases our knowledge of Indies' society at the turn of the century, and is an example of the thought of the first generations of western-educated Indonesians, it is presented here in English translation. It represents the first time an Indonesian woman publicly addressed herself to Indies' social problems and stressed the role of women in their resolution. The original text of "Geef den Javaan Opvoeding!" may be found on pages 390-410 of the fourth edition of Door Duisternis tot Licht, edited by J. H. Abendanon (The Hague: Luctor et Emergo, 1923).
EDUCATE THE JAVANESE!

If it is utterly impossible to educate a people of twenty-seven million souls straight away, it is not infeasible to educate and train the upper classes now so that they will be a blessing to the masses. The people are deeply devoted to their nobles and easily accept whatever they adopt. What profit has been drawn from this fact that could be of benefit to all the parties: Government, nobility and people?

Thus far, only law and order guaranteed the State, and regular tax revenues! The State and the nobility have profited from this, but what have the masses got out of it?—what have they got from the nobility they respect so much and which the Government uses to rule them? Till now nothing, or miserably few benefits indeed; instead they have suffered each time the nobles misuse their power, and that is still no rare exception.

This must change, and nobility must deserve the people's veneration and become worthy of them. That will be of incalculable benefit to the population.

The Government must equip the nobles for this, and it can only be done by giving them a sound education, one that is not based exclusively on intellectual development, but on character building too.

This should be the guiding principle of all education provided for the Javanese!

People claim that one grows out of the other, that a person's character is refined and elevated through training the mind. But there are countless examples which show that intensive intellectual education is definitely no guarantee of superior morals.

One should not come down too hard on those who, despite their brilliant minds, are still coarse and uncultivated; more often than not the fault lies not with them but with their education. The greatest pains were taken to train their minds, but what was done to shape their characters? Nothing! Unless a person is morally formed, not even the best instruction can bear the fruit one should be able to expect from it.

The Native community is greatly in need of a better moral foundation without which the Government's measures, no matter how well intentioned, will yield poor results—if they do not fail altogether. Therefore, the moral foundation of the Native community must be improved; one will be able to sow and nurture with the utmost success once such a moral basis has been laid.

Can anyone deny that the woman has a great role to play in shaping society morally? She is precisely the person for it; she can contribute

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1. Kartini followed Dutch usage in styling the local peoples of the archipelago as Inlanders.
much, if not most, to raising society's moral standards. Nature itself has assigned this duty to women. As mothers, they are the first teachers of humankind; at their knee children first learn to feel, think and speak; and in most cases people's earliest upbringing influences their whole life. It is the mother who first plants in a person's heart the seeds of good and evil, which generally remain throughout one's whole life. It is not without reason that people say good and evil are imbibed with mother's milk. How can Javanese mothers train their children, then, if they themselves are uneducated? Never will the uplifting and development of the Javanese people proceed vigorously so long as the woman is left behind with no role to play.

Raise up the Javanese woman in mind and spirit and you will have a vigorous fellow worker for the great, wonderful task: the civilization of a people which numbers millions! Give Java energetic, intelligent mothers and the raising-up of a people will be a question of time only!

As a first step, educate the daughters of the nobility; from this, refinement will certainly be diffused to the masses. Make them into capable, wise, good mothers and they will actively spread enlightenment among their people. They will imbue their children with their own refinement and maturity: their daughters, who will themselves become mothers, and their sons, who will be called to watch over the welfare of their people. And in many other ways too they, cultivated in mind and spirit, will be able to be of great benefit to the people and to their community.

As far as I know, the present Director of Education, Religion and Industry is the only person in the Government who has considered the importance of women in raising up the Javanese people and who has taken steps in that direction.

Unfortunately his efforts have come to nothing, and precisely because of the unwillingness of the very people who stood to benefit, along with all Javanese. The Regents, whose opinion on this issue was sought, as a group considered the times not yet ripe for schools to be established for the daughters of Native rulers and other notables.

But what is actually the case? The very Regents who gave that advice consider the time has come for their own daughters to have an enlightened education and are giving it to them. The question is: since European education is not yet the general rule, especially not for young Native women, will everybody just look out for themselves, make sure their children get the best education there is, but not recommend or encourage it for others, because each one wants very much to be cultivated but is not anxious that others should be too?

If schools were opened now, everybody would send their children and they would all receive the same education that people are so eager to monopolize for themselves.

It is important to note what a prominent, educated Native leader said in connection with this: "The Javanese, and especially the aristocracy, wish white rice for their table, but begrudge it to others; for them red rice is quite good enough."

2. This was J. H. Abendanon, Director from 1899-1904.
"By keeping the majority in ignorance one gains control"--that could be the slogan of very many high-ranking people who see with regret that others too are striving for knowledge and cultivation.

It is well known that many dukun [Native doctors] who know a secret remedy for this or that ailment take their secret to the grave, unwilling to pass it on even to their own children. A sense of solidarity is entirely lacking in the Native community, and it is very important that it be fostered, for without it the advance of an entire people is impossible.

This custom of wanting to have the best for oneself alone and regarding this as right arises from a deeply rooted fallacy that aristocrats are superior beings, of a higher order than the people and as such have the right to the best of everything. Here, too, mothers can do a tremendous amount to stamp out those ideas which act as a brake on progress. Children should never be addressed by their future title, the way their nobly-born mothers do now as soon as the little ones who can barely walk open their mouths.

Truly an important factor in civilizing the masses will be the development of the Javanese woman. Therefore, the Government's prime duty is to raise the Javanese woman's moral sense, to educate her, to instruct her, to make her into a capable, intelligent mother and teacher.

Private and government schools are demonstrating that more and more Native leaders want a liberal education for their daughters too.

Several Regents are having their children and the children's mothers taught by European women teachers. And still more parents would have their daughters taught if there were the opportunity; because there are few schools for girls and people are opposed to sending their little girls to co-educational schools.

A couple of years ago a private, subsidized school was opened in the Priangan by a European woman teacher for children of the Native nobility. Both boys and girls attend the school; they have separate rooms, however, and the boys leave for home first so that children of either sex cannot meet each other, in accordance with the customs of that region.

I will not argue further, but the Native community should confront this one fact: that this is the only school for daughters of the ruling class.

Personal qualities, a good name and recognized talents will guarantee success for those who direct such a school, but the Government has a role to play here too. It can help that success along, first by giving the school all the support it needs, then in some tangible way by demonstrating that it sets great store by the progress of the Javanese woman.

Like any other child-like people, the Javanese are very impressed by great pomp and show. Well, let's satisfy that appetite, but let's give them something that is both sound and of lasting value.

Think of children to whom one wants to give medicine for the good of their health. If one just gives them the tablets, for example, only after many loving words, exhortations and finally threats do they
grudgingly take them; but if one gives them these same pills with sugar and wrapped in silver or gold paper, in nine cases out of ten the children will stretch out their little hands eagerly for them!—when they're wiser they won't need sugar or silver wrapping to make them take the pills they know are good for them.

Would the example set half a century ago by the late Pangéran of Demak— he was the first Javanese to give his children a European education—have been followed as much if the Government had not shown in tangible fashion that it valued his actions?

Four sons and two grandsons of that same Pangéran were, and are, Regents; and people qualified to judge were, and are, full of praise for this family of Regents.

It is true to say that the Government profited directly from the efforts of that Native ruler; but the benefit to the whole Native community from raising-up the Javanese woman is obvious, and anyone who really thinks about it can see this.

Schools alone cannot advance society; the family must cooperate too. This edifying force must above all come out of the home—for the family is there day and night, but school only a few hours a day.

And how can the home give a healthy upbringing if so important an element in it as the wife, the mother, is totally incapable of providing it?

If the Government were to prove to the Javanese in some positive way that it values the advancement of Javanese women too, it would promote this good cause strongly. It would work better than any other form of encouragement. It would have a much greater effect than if the Government were, for instance, to order all Native rulers to send their daughters to school, a regulation the Government would never bring in!

If the aristocracy knew that the Government wishes their daughters to have a superior education, they will send them to school, no longer out of personal persuasion, but as a matter of course. The aristocracy must be led to this! What do their motives for sending their daughters to school matter? The point is that they do send them to school!

The task of those who teach the young girls entrusted to them must be, to the best of their ability and knowledge, to make them into refined, cultivated women, conscious of their moral calling in the community to become loving mothers, wise, wholesome teachers, and then to be useful to the community in every possible way, in every area where help is urgently needed.

The first step should be to establish a boarding-school so that children can be wholly trained in this spirit; however, the institution must be opened to day girls as well.

The language of instruction should be Dutch!^4

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3. This was Pangéran Ario Tjondronegoro, Kartini's paternal grandfather.

4. In 1903 there was still strong opposition from Europeans to the spread of Dutch among Indonesians, and many officials expected Dutch-speaking Regents and their subordinates always to respond in Malay or high Javanese.
Only knowledge of a European tongue, and in the first place, naturally, of Dutch, will enable the upper classes of Native society in the first stage to become educated and spiritually free.

The best way to learn a language is to think and speak it as much as possible. One should not neglect one's own tongue, however, but devote most attention to Dutch.

It is a very attractive idea to translate all the European works which should be instructive and fruitful for the Javanese into their own language. And this must be done too! But it has not been done yet, and will not be within the next few years.

But must the Javanese still wait and grow up in ignorance and darkness, when "more light" is so urgently necessary these days in a society that has so much need for a better moral foundation in order to attain greater material welfare? It is not intended to teach Dutch to all the Javanese people; what use would a farmer, a forester or a grasscutter have for Dutch? Teach Dutch only to those who have the aptitude and ability, and keep clearly in the minds of pupils in language instruction that knowledge of Dutch in itself is nothing, that cultivation is demonstrated by something other than speaking Dutch, knowing all the ins and outs of Dutch manners, and even less by wearing European clothes. Knowledge of the Dutch language is the key that opens the treasure chest of western civilization and science; one must train oneself so as to be able to make these treasures one's own.

A good number must be made cultivated people in heart and spirit, well versed in their own tongue and culture, and then in Netherlands' and European science. The strong must assimilate the New for their fellow countryfolk so the countryfolk can adapt themselves to it through them.

Translate now all important European works into Javanese, and put them before the Javanese people; just see if the majority won't appreciate it!

Those who missed all moral training in their earliest and later youth, which is true of nearly all Javanese, can still be brought round to this very important part of their education.

This can sometimes happen by chance; people come into contact with noble, clever persons who take an interest in their spiritual development, or who unwittingly guide them through example.

A self-help way of learning, and one from which much good can be expected, is reading. It will be an excellent teaching aid. The Javanese have practically no reading material; what they have consists of some epics and moral tales which are really only accessible to very few, because almost all of them are handwritten. They are heirlooms, handed down from generation to generation, and many of them are written in symbols and in a tongue unintelligible to the ordinary person. Moreover: the Javanese take what they read literally, and so these books lose most, if not all, of their actual value.

For example, in Javanese ethics abstaining from food and sleep is recommended as a way to well-being in this world and the hereafter.
Many beautiful thoughts underlie that; nonetheless, they are lost to the majority of people.

People fast, hunger, stay awake and believe they have achieved it, while the beautiful idea escapes them. "Abstention from eating, drinking, and sleeping is the goal of life--and--through suffering (effort, self-control and self-denial) one reaches bliss." People do this with other things too.

Give the Javanese reading matter, written in the vernacular, comprehensible to everyone; not sermons and not frivolous, superficial banalities either, but stories told simply, freshly, entertainingly, little pieces from real life, from the present, the past, and from the realm of fantasy, but always keeping in mind: that there must always be a moral, educative foundation.

While chatting pleasantly, give the Javanese food for heart and soul, and useful suggestions for practical living.

Books and pamphlets in this spirit must be written for both adults and children, and then journals and little magazines which appear weekly or monthly should be published, in which all kinds of things are written that broaden the mind, develop the spirit and edify. Absolutely none of the usual newspaper subjects of fire, robbery and murder, and anonymous slander and libel. Readers should be given the opportunity to ask questions on all sorts of subjects and have them answered, either by the editor or other readers.

Exchange of ideas and debate between readers must be stimulated as much as possible through journals.

Just as with the establishment of schools for daughters of the upper classes, such magazines must be founded on a small scale at first. It is always easy to expand little by little, whereas it is extremely discouraging when one begins in a big way and has few successes.

The appearance of Bintang Hindia, the Malay-Dutch illustrated paper, is most heartening; it is printed and edited by some young men of the younger generation, who are continuing their studies in colleges in the Netherlands. They are young men full of love and enthusiasm for their country and compatriots, whom they wish to guide to greater civilization. Their struggle should be supported.

Popular knowledge about the Indies and its people should be spread among the Dutch; they should be taught to understand the Javanese from a proper point of view through which prejudice will dwindle and in the future not only the exceptional, but also the ordinary, Netherlands will regard the Javanese as fellow human-beings who, through no fault of their own, are intellectually their inferior and not because they are brown-skinned.

Books written in this spirit for the Dutch should be very useful for Java and for the Netherlands itself, and would be all the more worthwhile and powerful if a child of the people were to teach the Netherlands to know that people. For this reason, too, it is essential
that the Javanese be taught Dutch—they will best be understood by the Dutch if they express themselves in that language and tell about their wishes, wants and needs in it.

But why should interest in the Indies be awakened in the Dutch only later on in life?—could this not happen earlier on? Schools present an excellent opportunity for this, in the Netherlands as well as in the Indies.

Among school texts readers should be included that clearly show the land, people, beliefs, customs and state of things in the Indies; not dry, scholarly, scientific works, but entertaining books that children like reading so much and which contain sound information about the beautiful lands and gentle brown people far across the sea.

Books alone are not enough to give schoolchildren basic information on the Indies, no matter how well written and informative. It is also necessary that teachers know more about the Indies than they do now, if only so they are not struck dumb when little ones, curious about what they have read on the Indies, want to know more about this and that.

Should not a new subject be recommended for introduction to teachers' training colleges: detailed, solid information on the Indies?

Every means must be used to arouse interest in the Indies in Holland, and above all among young people. The children of today will be the Indies' rulers of tomorrow!

Better even than the most popular book would be visual displays from the Indies for arousing interest in its land and peoples in Holland. Exhibitions, such as "East and West" put on at The Hague, of Indies' arts and crafts, and as far as possible in their own setting; for example, an Indies' house with inhabitants (real Javanese) and a gamelan, shown in many towns throughout the country with as low an entrance price as possible so that the masses can take advantage of it. Put together such an exhibition and then move it from town to town and show it throughout the Netherlands.

It is a tragedy for the Indies and deplorable for the Netherlands that the Dutch in general, not excepting the educated, know so terribly little or nothing at all about the Indies. Without doubt, one regulation the Government ought to make to bring greater development and well-being to the Javanese and for the good of Holland itself is promotion of knowledge about the Indies among the Dutch and arousing interest in "the East."

Dutch people in the Indies can exert a very beneficial influence on the masses; every educated European, and especially those who in their work normally come in contact with the nobility or the peasants, can in some way be a teacher and benefactor of the Javanese. They can exert their personal influence and do good by helping in cases of sickness and injury.

What great moral influence can be wielded by the individual officials who are in contact with the highest in the land, the rulers and aristocracy.
What are the results of this personal influence? In general, sadly little, oh, so very little. Those officials would always be remembered with gratitude who had compassion for the brown people whom they ruled, who did not regard the Native officials under them as inferior in everything, made to obey their orders, but rather as fellow human-beings and comrades.

Oh, for better relations between the European and Native civil servants; if only the relations described above were the rule and not the exception!

"Prestige" stands as a barrier between them, keeping the European and Native elements apart.

Wouldn't both the Netherlands and the Indies be better served if the Dutch in general, and government officials in particular, sought other ways of maintaining status than they do now? Humanity will look better in the long run—and is the best way of binding Java to the Netherlands for the Dutch, especially government officials, to inspire awe for Netherlands' authority by placing themselves on a level with the gods! Native officials show the same deference to Europeans that they give to their own rulers, because they know the masters demand that—but do they do it from their hearts???

The Dutch official stands high enough not to need any proof of respect other than that which comes from the heart.

European women can also exert their influence for the good of the Native community. Cases are known of Native girls who, having already had some education at home, have developed further through the personal influence of European women, and who will one day work for the benefit of the Native community, fully aware that they have a moral duty to fulfill.

Holland itself benefits from this act of humanity of its daughters; they have sown love for their land and nation in the hearts of Native women and their families. They themselves have come to know Javanese people from a better point of view. It has thus led to mutual respect and trust, which will be good for both parties.

There is an incredible amount of fine things that European men and women can do in the Indies. With a little good will they can win the people's love so easily. It is often said that the Javanese are an ungrateful lot. If people only knew with what touching and respectful love these "ingrates" speak of Europeans who have shown them affection, they would talk differently.

The Javanese are extremely sensitive to genuine friendliness. Europeans must make the first overtures; Javanese would never approach Europeans on their own initiative, they are too retiring, too timid to do that, and Europeans have still to win their confidence.

5. Dutch colonial officials were integrated into the Javanese hierarchy, given titles (e.g., kanjeng for Residents and Assistant-Residents) and assigned umbrellas (payong) whose number and color designated their precise rank. Breton de Nijs' (Robert Niewenhuyss) album, Tempo Doeloe fotografische documenten uit het oude Indië 1870-1914 (Amsterdam: Querido, 1973), contains photographs of European officials with a crouching Javanese servant holding a payong.
All this can come about if a sound knowledge of the Indies becomes general in Holland. Spread it among youth at school and at home, impress on them that the Netherlands has a moral duty towards the Indies, that beautiful, rich land over the sea, to which Great-Netherlands owes its importance as a colonial power. Teach people in the Netherlands to ask themselves: "What would the Netherlands be without the Indies?" and the Indies should be taught to ask: "What would the Indies be without Holland?"

On popular education read the proposal by the present Regent of Ngawi. It should also serve as a recommendation to study thoroughly the educational institutions, vocational training, etc., at Modjowarno and their results. Why could there not be more beneficial institutions such as at Modjowarno established in more towns in Java?

If the question of religion were left out of this, if people were entirely neutral about it, then there would be nothing to fear from the fanatical element of the nation. If there were no religious propaganda one could do that blessed work of love throughout Java without fear of opposition from the fanatics. The Javanese still regard their compatriots and former co-religionists with more or less contempt when they give up their old beliefs in order to embrace Christianity. Muslims regard this as the greatest of sins. And for their part, Natives who have become Christians regard their compatriots and former fellow-believers with contempt for having remained Muslims. They think they have raised themselves above them now that they confess the same creed as the Whites, and they try to be their equals in everything.

Teach the Javanese to think for themselves, and when they have matured intellectually let them choose their religion for themselves. Let them be baptized out of conviction, let no one prevent that. Christianity would only gain by it; it would count them as upright, pious believers among their fellow religionists. If people want to remain in the faith of their parents, then let them!

Teach the Javanese through word and deed what real civilization and love are. True cultivation does not lie in the color of one's skin, in one's clothing, manners, in the language one speaks, nor in the particular religion one confesses. True refinement is in the heart. It is character and nobility of the soul! It can be found in people of all races and creeds, to the glory of God, the one true God and father of all creatures.

Let the Netherlands send to the Indies true children of God, angels of love, for the salvation of the Javanese people.

More schools for officials must be established, one at Batavia, at Semarang, and at Surabaya, and a school especially for jaksa [Native justice officials] where young people can be fully trained for this department. Dutch should be the language of instruction in all these schools.

6. This was Radèn Mas Adipati Oetoyo, later Regent of Japara.

7. Modjowarno was a community of Javanese Christians founded in the Jombang district of Surabaya residency in the mid-nineteenth century by the evangelist Jellesma. In Kartini's time it had a church (Protestant), a school and a hospital.
Five times as many students apply each year to the schools for officials than there are places. If there were more of such schools officials could be recruited solely from their students in the near future. Without question the country would greatly benefit from that. At the present time the corps of officials consists for the most part of *magang* [apprentice-officials] whose education is generally nothing extraordinary.

The entire education of practically all *magang* consists in having gone through the ordinary Native primary school, after which they become scribes for European or Native officials and help them with their paper-work and copying.

After spending one or two, and often several, years in this way, frequently without pay, one is usually made a clerk on the recommendation of one's "sir official," the same job that is, but with this difference that one now gets a salary from the Government one has already served for years, and one is admitted to the officials' corps with the privileges that are so important to our child-people: having a payong and wearing gleaming W-buttons!8 Many come late in life in this way to the lowest rung of the official ladder.

Is this in the interest of the service? Older people have more experience perhaps than the young--(yet what experience can one have acquired in the service when one has always stood outside it?)--but young people undoubtedly have this advantage over their elders, "freshness." And if talent is combined with freshness, what ought one not then expect? It should be made a firm rule in promotion: less emphasis on seniority and more on competence.

The procedure followed recently by the Government in appointing the highest Native officials, i.e., Regents, is to be highly commended. Three men, two of whom are still very young and one who was not even a member of the civil service, but who is very gifted, were called to that high office. All three had gone through the HBS,9 one even in the Netherlands.

This brings freshness into the corps and also leads people in the Native world to the realization that high birth by itself means nothing now, but that one must join good family with competence in order to be considered for high office. This will be an incentive to high-born and top-ranking parents to have their children as well educated as possible.

Apart from the three already mentioned, the corps has three more Regents with an HBS education.

It should gradually be made a rule: no one will be considered for Regent who has not had an HBS education and is not highly cultivated and fully qualified for the job as well.

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8. W stood for Wilhelmina who had ascended the throne in 1898.
The crying need for medical help in the Indies is notorious. Officials and teachers should try to do something about this. A new subject should be introduced in officials' schools and teachers' training colleges: hygiene and first aid. So many lives would not have to be lost if someone with a knowledge of elementary hygiene were close at hand. How many times has it not happened that a person bled to death before medical help, which is often miles away, could come. There was a child run over by a train; the nearest doctor's clinic was two hours away. The child was taken there, but bled to death on the way because no one knew anything about bandaging.

Native chiefs ought to be able to instruct their village headmen in hygiene, and then there would be that much at least in the village.

Teachers must give instruction in sanitary science in schools. At Magelang where there is a school for officials and also many health officers, one could have students take courses in hygiene and first aid. And in Jogja, too, where there is a teachers' college and also many health officers, one could begin straight away.

Provide a well-stocked library at the training schools for Native officials and teachers, if possible with books in the three languages, Javanese, Malay and Dutch, that are scholarly, educative and stimulating. Love of literature should be fostered among students as much as possible. So that people will read most profitably, they should read under the guidance of teachers who themselves love books. They should discuss what they read over and over again. Free exchange of ideas and debate must be fostered among students as much as possible. "Discussion evenings" should be organized, for example, where interesting events and subjects are discussed under the guidance of teachers. Young members should think about these things and share their thoughts at the next meeting. They should not be laughed at if they put forward odd theories, but helped along with tact, gentleness and affection.

If people begin by poking fun, then their hearts will close with their mouths. They must be taught to think for themselves. As has already been said, teachers have a two-fold task, that of instructor and guide. They must take pains to carry out this education, the intellectual and the moral.

Students must be made conscious that they have a moral duty to perform in society for the people whom they will govern. Also, the bond formed between students must be maintained after they leave school. That would best be done through establishing a little magazine for students and alumni of the school, run by teachers with help from senior students. In the magazine—which would be in Dutch in order to keep up fluency, and also so that it could penetrate European circles too—former students should share their experiences in the civil service, which would then be discussed back and forth by teachers and pupils.

The regulation made by the Government a couple of years ago is excellent for broadening the Native teachers' outlook. Each year

10. These were European military doctors stationed at KNIL barracks. They represented practically the entire medical profession in Indonesia. At this time there were only 103 medical doctors in all Java, and few nurses. Most were concentrated in the three principal cities of Batavia, Semarang and Surabaya.
during the long vacation a number of teachers will be given the oppor-
tunity to visit one of the three chief cities at the state's expense. They have to make a report about it, preferably in Dutch, and hand it in to the Inspector.

With the increasing education of Natives, it is absolutely essen-
tial that new branches in the civil service be opened up to sons of the nobility.

It should be noted here that young people who have received an HBS education, or who are now getting it, have little desire to be in the civil service. The reasons are obvious: the freedom of thought and action they enjoyed during their school years has become deeply rooted in them, so that they could not lightly enter a field where that cherished freedom is practically unknown.

The intellectually deadening clerical position, where a Native official career apparently must begin, is just not apt to make a young man fresh out of the HBS like the civil service. The position which he has as the lowest Native official is tremendously different from his high school years. He might just as well lock up in a box all that he has acquired over the past five years with so much diligence, energy and difficulty; none of that is needed for his present life and work.

How many ideals are buried with deep sighs, beaten down by the first penpushing as a clerk!

And it has happened that his European fellow student of today is his chief tomorrow, whom he must approach on his knees and to whom he must pay all the respect which he, being of high-ranking family, gives his parents and older relatives.

Give energetic, intelligent Native youths the opportunity of continuing their education at European colleges.

Native lawyers could be of excellent service to their country. After finishing their studies at college, give them the opportunity to pursue them in the land of their birth and among people of the same speech group. Have them study the Native law there.

They would be able to discover things very useful to the Government and the people. As children of the people they would have entrance everywhere, they would be able to penetrate into the uttermost depths of the people's public and inner life. They would be able to go everywhere, to places where Europeans have no hope of going. Natives would confide in them what they would never tell a stranger for all the money in the world.

Much would be gained too if they were to assume the presidency of provincial tribunals. No interpreter would be necessary, and they would be able to communicate directly with the defendants. The people speak only one language, their own. And hearings might one day be held in regional tongues, that is, in Javanese, Madurese or Sundanese. Why do presiding officers of provincial tribunals prefer Dutch-speaking jaksa? They express themselves as best they can in that language; but not all jaksa speak Dutch.
Native doctors trained in Europe should also give outstanding service to our country. The advantages of having a child of the soil ought to be immediately apparent, especially in examinations and other duties where one has to come into close contact with the people.

Better equipped than the ordinary dokter-jawa, steeped in their own language and mores, Native doctors trained in Europe should be able to render good service to medical science. They could study Native remedies thoroughly, not all of which are quackery, and introduce them to the European world in scientific dress. They would never be accepted in any other form.

Natives use many simple, harmless cures, some of which are really reliable. If a lay person, for example, were to tell a doctor that Natives successfully ease inflamed eyes by using eels' blood, that learned individual normally would sneer. Yet is is a fact, and there are many others like that. There are curative powers in coconut water and bananas with pits. It's as simple as possible--sick people of this land are cured by remedies from the land itself. That there is a lot of nonsense in it is no proof that there is no validity in it at all.

It has often happened that patients (European), especially those suffering from dysentery (a tropical illness) and who have been given up by scientific doctors, have profited by simple Native remedies.

Not long ago a clever doctor confirmed that a young Native girl had an advanced case of throat disease. He gave her two weeks to live at the most and predicted a terrible end. In despair her mother took the girl back to her people to find a cure there, and she found it. The girl is alive, healthy, never has any pain, and has her voice back again. Learned people probably would shrug their shoulders in pity if they heard what the child was given: small insects caught in the sawahs, taken in live with sugar bananas. Barbaric remedy! What happened? She benefited from it where she had not from science.

The dokter-jawa could make that sort of thing well known too. They could, but they do not. Perhaps they are afraid that the intellectuals will laugh at them? A Native doctor, as well trained as a European, ought to be able to defend convictions, whatever they are.

As engineers, as foresters, capable, intelligent Natives should be able to do much good both for the Government and for the people.

Therefore, let the Netherlands give to the sons and daughters of Java the opportunity to acquire skills that will enable them to lead their country and people to intellectual development and to great prosperity--to the glory and honor of the Netherlands!

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11. From the mid-nineteenth century some Indonesians were trained in Batavia as medical assistants. Courses were frequently upgraded, and just before World War II the school became a medical college. Students had been drawn from all over the archipelago, but the appellation, dokter-jawa, stuck.