THE ORIGINS OF THE MODERN CHINESE MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA

Kwee Tek Hoay

Translated and Edited
by
LEA E. WILLIAMS

TRANSLATION SERIES

Modern Indonesia Project

Southeast Asia Program
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York
1969

Price—$3.00

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"Atsal Moelahnja Timboel Pergerakan Tionghoa jang Modern di Indonesia," from Moestika Romans, nos. 73-84, 1936-1939.

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PREFACE

Professor Lea E. Williams of Brown University is outstanding among western scholars for his knowledge of the overseas Chinese and in particular for his understanding of the development of nationalism among them. He is already well known among Southeast Asian scholars for two major studies: Overseas Chinese Nationalism, (1960), and The Future of the Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, (1966). Scholars particularly interested in Indonesia will surely recall his important article "Chinese Entrepreneurs in Indonesia" published in Explorations in Entrepreneurial History (Harvard University), v. 5, no. I, October 15, 1952, pp. 34-60.

From its inception in 1955, one of the major foci of the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project has been the Chinese minority in Indonesia. Previous studies include:

1. The Chinese of Sukabumi: A Study in Social and Cultural Accommodation, by Giok-Lan Tan, 1963.

2. Peranakan Chinese Politics in Indonesia, by Mary F. Somers, 1964.

3. The National Status of the Chinese in Indonesia: 1900-1958, by Donald E. Willmott, 1961.

4. The Chinese of Semarang, by Donald E. Willmott, 1960.

The first three publications were all published by the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project directly. Donald E. Willmott's The Chinese of Semarang was published by Cornell University Press.

Professor Williams' present sensitive translation and editing of this important monograph by Kwee Tek Hoay is an important contribution to the still all too scanty scholarly literature available in English concerning Indonesia's Chinese. Our project is grateful to Professor Williams for making this study available to a wider audience.

George McT. Kahin
Director

Ithaca, New York
November 17, 1969

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INTRODUCTION

Some time ago, a scholar in the Netherlands asked to borrow my copy of the work translated here. His request led me to discover that a unique and highly informative study of the Chinese in Indonesia had become all but unavailable. My typed copy, acquired in Jakarta in the early 1950's, seemed to be the only one on accessible shelves. The work had originally been published in a minor Sino-Malay journal of pre-World War II Indonesia; and, the destruction of war and revolution had promoted it from obscurity to rarity.

There is something for virtually everybody in this study. Sociologists, anthropologists, students of nationalism and historians can find rewards here. The story presented is, of course, set in Indonesia; but it is closely linked to parallel or related developments in other parts of Southeast Asia and in China. If Kwee Tek Hoay is to be believed, and evidence supports his presentation, certain long-held assumptions require reexamination. The overseas Chinese were innovators and pioneers in the creation of national movements in Southeast Asia. They acted spontaneously and relied only on their own resources. Moreover, the first strivings of the leaders of the pan-Chinese movement were consciously directed toward meeting community needs within an Indonesian context. In short, the national awakening was not initially prompted by outside mandarins, reformers or revolutionaries.

The study is particularly valuable for its documentation of the local cultural assimilation of the Chinese of Batavia and elsewhere at the start of this century. The sections on marriage and funeral customs are especially rich sources of data on culture change among that minority population. Even the language of the author is the product of local assimilation. His Batavian Bazaar Malay is a rapidly dying language, as the official tongue of Indonesia moves toward final victory.

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Warnings and apologies to the reader are appropriate. The typescript with which I worked was often murky. As the typist had been unable to use a new ribbon, faint symbols sometimes escaped deciphering. There were also the normal number of omissions and slips of the finger. I tried to render a faithful translation, but was forced to cut and change in two sorts of passages. First, because the study originally ran as a series of pieces in a periodical, some introductory and repetitious material had to be removed. Second, the author was extremely fond of marathon sentences. For the readers' comfort and my own sanity some of the lengthiest wordy serpents were divided.

Finally, and most importantly, I wish to convey sincere thanks to Mrs. Rosie Kim-nio Tan of Singapore. Without her help in puzzling out terms in romanized Hokkien, the translation could not have included some of the most revealing passages on religion and customs.

Lea E. Williams
Brown University
May 1969

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CHAPTER I

Reasons for the Founding of THHK

The causes leading men in Batavia to establish the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan[1] are not to be simply explained as resulting from the initiative or the proposals of K'ang Yu-wei[2] or Dr. Lim Boen Keng.[3] It is indeed true that those two wise men, in indirect ways, did contribute to the birth of that association; but there were many other causes leading several men in Java to plan for the establishment of an association which organizationally and in objectives would be very different from other Chinese associations which had existed up to that time.

We wish first to discuss the indirect help of K'ang Yu-wei. In order to be clear we ought to speak briefly of certain developments in China.

In 1895, China was defeated by Japan and therefore had to surrender the island of Formosa and lose her suzerainty over Korea. Although the Chinese of Java were not then as intensely concerned with events in China as they are now and their nationalist feelings were not hurt, still they did not want to see China abused and humbled by other countries.

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1. Simply, the Chinese Association; hereafter abbreviated as THHK.

2. The acknowledged leader of the reform movement in late Ch'ing dynasty China. After the collapse of the "100 Days of Reform" in 1898, K'ang went abroad as a political refugee. As will be shown later in this translation, K'ang commanded respectful audiences among many Indonesian Chinese at the beginning of the 20th century.

3. An Edinburgh-trained physician influential in the overseas Chinese movement in Indonesia as well as in his native Singapore.

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The defeat by Japan, regarded as a small and insignificant country, caused disappointment and led men to realize that much in China needed to be changed and improved.

The weakness and rottenness of China became more apparent when Russia occupied Port Arthur and Dairen, Germany seized Kiaochow, England took Weihaiwei and France demanded the harbor at Kwangchouwan, which China was forced to surrender under "leases," all for 99 years. All of this took place in 1897-1898.

Suddenly in June 1898 reports spread that the Kuang-hsü emperor, on the advice and at the suggestion of an official named K'ang Yu-wei, had issued a series of decrees in which it was commanded that all sorts of major and important reforms should be made in education and other areas.

The Chinese people, especially those who lived overseas and had broader perspectives, came to hope that they would soon see China become advanced and powerful with the leadership and service of K'ang Yu-wei who had won the trust of the Kuang-hsü emperor.

But those high hopes did not last long. On September 22, 1898 Empress Dowager Tzu-hsi seized power from the Kuang-hsü emperor who was then imprisoned on an island in the palace gardens, while K'ang Yu-wei and his friends were threatened with death sentences. Six officials who worked with K'ang Yu-wei were sacrificed to the executioner's sword; but the leader himself, with the help of a British consul, was able to flee to Hong Kong and thus was free to encourage the overseas Chinese to support a movement for reform in the motherland and for the restoration of the Kuang-hsü emperor through the overthrow of the conservative faction led by Empress Dowages Tzu-hsi. The movement set in motion by K'ang Yu-wei was named the Po Hong Hwee or the Po Hong Tong[4], that is, the association for the support of the Kuang-hsü emperor, because it was believed that when that emperor, thought to be liberal, was restored to power, all the reforms needed to advance China would be easily implemented.

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4. In romanized Mandarin, Pao-huang hui or Pao-huang tang.

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Thus the goal of K'ang Yu-wei was different from that of Dr. Sun Yat-sen who sought to topple the Manchu dynasty.

The Boxer Uprising of 1899-1900 took place under the leadership of the faction of conservative officials headed by Empress Dowager Tzu-hsi, who wished to expel all foreigners from China, exterminate all Christian converts and oppose all reform so that China could return to her condition of former times before the foreigners had come to cause trouble. From June 3, 1900, when the Governor General [of the Dutch East Indies] issued a decree granting legal recognition to the founding of THHK-Batavia,[5] until June 8, when that decision was announced in the Javasche Courant,[6] the Boxer Uprising in China was at the point of spreading violently, as can be seen from the facts noted below:[7]

June 2, 1900: Messrs. Norman and Robinson, missionaries, along with five Chinese Christians were killed by Boxers at Yung-ching.

June 3: The station at Yangtsun on the Tientsin-Peking line was burned and all railway employees killed.

June 3-5: A column of German and Austrian legation guards reached Peking.

June 5: The international relief force landed at Tientsin.

June 6: The rail connection to Peking was cut and totally broken.

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5. The first THHK was established in Batavia. Sister THHK's later were founded in other cities. To be specific, the individual THHK's identified themselves by adding hyphens and the names of their locations.

6. The journal where official Dutch announcements appeared.

7. Except to lend drama to the narrative there is no reason for the author to present here a brief record of this week of Boxer activity. The THHK and Boxer movements had no connection. In fact it is highly doubtful that the Chinese of Java paid the slightest attention to the rising in North China at the time.

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June 7-8: The killing of foreigners, the destruction of rail lines and of the houses and churches of missionaries spread from the environs of Peking to several nearby provinces.

June 9: Under pressure from Prince Tuan, leader of the pro-Boxer faction at court, the Empress Dowager Tzu-hsi, in the name of the emperor, sent telegrams to the officials in their areas. That decree, so blind and so stupid, had its evil removed by two officials of the Tsungli Yamen,[8] Yuan Chang and Hsu Ching-cheng, who changed the word extermination to shelter and who, when their act was discovered on July 28, as resolute opponents of the Boxers, were immediately sentenced to decapitation.

From the record above, one can understand the historical period when THHK was founded, that is, the time when the Chinese government displayed extraordinary intolerance and ignorance which not only endangered the Manchu dynasty but also placed China in the depths of misfortune while the Chinese people were universally humiliated.

At that dark moment people often thought back to the reform attempt of K'ang Yu-wei which surely influenced those overseas Chinese who thought of copying those efforts on a small scale within their own sphere. The attempt was begun with the founding of THHK to work principally in the field of education and to bring reform in customs, especially in marriages and funerals.

The indirect help or influence of Dr. Lim Boen Keng can be seen in the following account.

At the beginning of 1900 the Soekaboemisch Snelpers Drukkerij of Sukabumi published Malay translations of Tai Hak and Tiong Yong,[9] prepared by the late Mr. Tan Ging Tiong with the help of the late Yoe Tjai Siang.

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8. The prototype of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

9. In romanized Mandarin, Ta-hsüeh and Chung-yung, two Confucian Classics.

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In his introduction, "The Purpose of Translation," dated February 24, 1900, Mr. Tan Ging Tiong among other things wrote:

"On December 24, 1899 we met Dr. Lim Boen Keng in Singapore."

"According to a statement of a friend of mine, Dr. Lim Boen Keng, who had already established an organization for the promotion of the Confucian religion[10] in Singapore and Malacca, said that the books Tai Hak and Tiong Yong had not yet been perfectly translated and, therefore, he hoped that, when our translation had been printed, a copy would be sent for inspection by his organization."

From this brief account, we know that Dr. Lim Boen Keng had founded a Khong Kauw Hwe[11] in Singapore and Malacca prior to the establishment of THHK. It appears that the meeting with Dr. Lim Boen Keng led Mr. Tan Ging Tjong to consider translating Tai Hak and Tiong Yong.

Mr. Yoe Tjai Siang, who assisted Mr. Tan Ging Tiong, in his introduction to readers of the book, encouraged the Chinese of Java to found an organization to assure the study of Confucianism, as can be seen in the words below:

"In order to promote study, it will be necessary to establish an association and to choose officers to administer it. Therefore, anyone who wishes to join the association must be viewed as sincerely motivated to study."

That statement of Mr. Yoe Tjai Siang is dated January 15, 1900.

The publication of the translations of Tai Hak and Tiong Yong, which attracted much interest from men literate in Chinese characters, was first announced by the two translators in the weekly, Li Po, of Sukabumi.

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10. Confucianism classically is a philosophy rather than a religion, but, as will be seen later, THHK and others sought to use the teaching as a religion.

11. In romanized Mandarin, K'ung-chiao hui --Confucian religious society.

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Thus one can see that the efforts to resurrect[12] Confucianism in Java date from the meeting of Mr. Tan Ging Tiong and Dr. Lim Boen Keng in Singapore.

If one examines article 2 of the by-laws of THHK-Batavia, the purpose and goal of the association become clear:

a. To improve the customs of the Chinese, insofar as possible in keeping with those principles of the prophet[13] Confucius so necessary to civilized conduct, and to broaden the knowledge of the Chinese in language and literature;

b. To establish and maintain in Batavia and in other places in the Netherlands Indies, for the purposes indicated above, quaters to serve as meeting places for the members of the association to discuss the affairs of the association and other matters of general interest, and to establish and maintain schools to serve the purposes indicated above, so long as no laws of the colony are violated;

c. To build up a collection of various books useful in acquiring knowledge and understanding.

From this it is seen that the primary purpose of THHK was to promote the reform of customs in keeping with the principles of Confucianism. Later, knowledge in languages and literature would be encouraged, and for that schools and supporting libraries would have to be set up.

Thus there were influences for reform from K'ang Yu-wei and for a Confucian revival from Dr. Lim Boen Keng.

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12. The verb resurrect implies that Confucianism had enjoyed earlier vitality among the Chinese of Java. Such an implication cannot be historically justified. The point to be made is that the Confucianist awakening discussed here was a progressive movement, not a return to the past.

13. The title nabi, from Arabic and ordinarily reserved for the prophets of the Koran, was often used by Indonesian Chinese writers to indicate reverance for the Chinese philosopher. In Chinese, of course, Confucius is honored with the more appropriate title of sage or master. The attempt of the THHK founders to messianize their patron is but one more example of Chinese acculturation to the Javanese environment.

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But beyond those influences, there were several other reasons to cause men to see the urgent need for an association like THHK. Those reasons, of significance only to the Chinese of the Nertherlands Indies, will be made clear in the next article.

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CHAPTER II

Reasons for the Founding of THHK (Continued)

The Chinese were an extremely inflexible people and did not easily break away from their customs and habits. That inflexibility, in part, rested on the belief that Chinese civilization and culture, based in large measure on the Confucian classics, were preeminent, in themselves flawless and perfect. Until a few decades ago, in the time of the Ch'ing dynasty the general attitude in China was to regard foreigners as barbarians, uncivilized people who did not acknowledge the supremacy of Chinese civilization.

That belief also accompanied the Chinese wandering in foreign lands, particularly in Southeast Asia[14] where their early settlement can no longer be doubted, who in general were less cultivated than the average Chinese. Thus the overseas Chinese of Java carried on the religion and customs of China though innovations were added from indigenous sources.

Those [cultural] additions were due to the fact that Chinese immigrants to Southeast Asia were very rarely accompanied by wives and children and, therefore, were obliged to marry local women. Batavia, the chief port of entry for the Chinese of Java, in olden days became the assembly point for slaves brought from all over Indonesia, especially from Bali and Celebes.[15] The slaves from Bali,

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14. The region is designated Lamyang (Mandarin: Nan-yang) by the author. The term Southeast Asia was of course not yet in use when Kwee wrote.

15. Those two islands of course could supply Hindus and pagans, respectively. Muslims enjoyed a certain immunity to enslavement.

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Celebes, Amboina, Timor and elsewhere, male and female, ordinarily were auctioned in Pasar Boedak[16] as cattle are now auctioned. Of the female slaves bought by Chinese, many became concubines or wives. The position of the slaves can be seen in the fact that down to the present Chinese mothers-in-law in West Java ordinarily address sons-in-law as Babah Mantoe and daughters-in-law as Njonja Mantoe.[17] The terms Babah and Njonja, indicating respect, were customarily used by female slaves who had been married to Chinese but had not forgotten their low status. Sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, not born as slaves but as the children of successful Chinese merchants, were of higher status than indigenous mothers-in-law, originally bought as slaves. This usage over time became a general custom and is followed at present, though mothers-in-law are not native slaves originally bought at auction but merely free Chinese ladies of high status. There are also fathers-in-law who call their daughters-in-law Njonja Mantoe and, among the poor who have wealthy sons-in-law, many fathers-in-law call their sons-in-law Babah Mantoe.

Moreover, the Chinese who came to Java in the old days were not from the educated class but merely were coolies and poor peasants or petty traders. There was a time, just after the Ming dynasty had fallen, when a number of men of high status, some said to be relatives of the Ming imperial house, fled to Southeast Asia to save themselves from the cruelty of the Manchus. But those men of high status and learning returned to China as soon as peaceful conditions were restored in China; thus most of the Chinese who remained in Java were unlettered and interested only in making money.

That group, as was to remain the case until about half a century ago, did not take much interest in the education of their children. A few wealthy men were able to hire tutors to teach their male children Chinese characters and language; sometimes lessons in the Confucian classics were given. No attention

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16. Literally, the slave market.

17. Literally, Chinese Son-in-Law and Madam Daughter-in-Law.

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was paid to the education of girls. Girls were brought up by their mothers, female slaves from Bali, Celebes or Java, who brought the girls up according to the manners, patterns and concepts of their [native] places and peoples. The result was that the girls were not only fifty percent Indonesian in blood; in thought and in custom, they were seventy-five percent indigenous. Moreover, when those girls married and became mothers themselves, they brought up their own children the same way.

Because China-born fathers in general did not regard the education of girls as important, they did not consider serious nor did they attempt to prevent the rearing of their daughters to become native women. The women were one hundred percent native in clothing and in many customs and also in marriage ceremonies and the like which did not clash with Chinese institutions. As the fathers remained firmly attached to the customs and traditions of China, a laughable [cultural] combination or mixing developed. For example, in marriage ceremonies Chinese brides had to wear Chinese wedding clothes on the marriage day, but on other days they were required to wear silk coats,[18] embroidered sarongs, and even shawls.[19] The filing of teeth and other customs also came from native sources.

It was the same with funeral customs. Not a few native customs slipped into the patterns and habits of the Chinese. For example, the decoration of a casket with graveyard flowers[20] clearly was a practice taken from the indigenes. It was also a [borrowed] native custom to split a coconut and to cut off a piece of rattan at the graveside when the casket had been put into the grave.

Offering prayers according to the seasons [i.e., following the Chinese lunar calendar] was certainly done by the Chinese in Java. But, in addition to that, in the houses of the Chinese

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18. Badjoe koeroeng soetra, presumably long garments like the so-called Johore style now in vogue among Malay women of that state.

19. Selendang, a shawl worn over one shoulder by many Indonesian and Malaysian women, especially on formal occasions.

20. Boenga sembodja or bunga kembodja, plumiera acuminata.

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of Java special feasts were prepared on Mohammed's birthday and there were other practices from the customs of Islam brought in by the mistress of the house who had learned them from her native mother or grandmother.

Thus in time the customs, beliefs and religion of the Chinese of Java grew extremely chaotic and burdensome. From China-born fathers the Chinese inherited practices from China which could not be neglected; by their mothers they were engulfed in native practices and customs as firmly and fanatically held to as those from the fathers' side. And among the Chinese residents of West Java, especially in Batavia, there was the strongest tendency to practice old-fashioned customs and habits which had originally come from the Malays, the Javanese, the Balinese, the Buginese, one or the other, and become mixed in with Chinese customs and habits. As has already been pointed out, Chinese mourning customs and funeral ceremonies had been so greatly transformed that people weighed themselves down with the addition of all sorts of customs from various native sources.

In time the Chinese bore that unorthodox burden with patience and accepted it as fate. Various educated young people who sought to reform their marriage ceremonies because they did not like acting foolishly were obliged to submit to the smooth words of parents and elders who said: "One is a bride or a groom only once." When it came to reform of nonsensical funeral customs, submission and silence were insured with threats of being branded "unfilial."

However, at the beginning of 1900, when word of the reform movement in China had already come, there were several Chinese residents of Batavia, educated, broad in perspective and liberal in thought, who became not only progressive but bold enough to fight against everything false. They were awake to the need for the Chinese here in Java to reform in order to lighten the oppressive burden of great variety in those customs and ceremonies connected with funerals, weddings and other affairs. The Chinese people needed to have a religion or a moral system that was pure for use as a guide and a source of improvement in their social lives and the like. Thus those men who were awake, including Messrs. Phoa Keng Hek, Lie Hin Liam, Lie Kim Hok, Knoe A Fan, Khouw Kim An, Khoe Siauw Eng, Khouw Lam Tjiang, Tan Kim San, Tan Tjong Long and others, met together to form an association to serve as the center of the whole movement for the reform and improvement of Chinese customs and traditions. That association

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was later named Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan; and, when the name was announced, many people asked each other the meaning of "Tiong Hoa." At that time even the term "Tiong Hoa" [Chinese],[21] as well as "Tiongkok" [China],[22] was strange to Indies-born Chinese here. They ordinarily referred to their own people as "Tjina" and to their ancestral land as the "Tjina" country.[23]

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21. In romanized Mandarin, Chung-hua.

22. In romanized Mandarin, Chung-kuo.

23. Tjina, of Western origin, has in this century become pejorative in Indonesia; but its Malay equivalent China, remains respectable in Malaysia.

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THHK and Confucianism

Although among the founders of THHK there were learned and broadminded men who were influential among their compatriots, their number at the time was still too small to permit them to overwhelm the opposition of the staunchly old-fashioned who in some cases were the older members of their own families. To achieve various reforms, men could not simply say: "We believe that is wrong and must be eradicated" or "We feel this is good and must be adopted." At least the reformers needed the support of more than their own feelings. They had to base their appeal on what was respected and admired by the Chinese people. The support could be none other than that of the Prophet Confucius who, though not known then as now, had always been paid the highest respect by Chinese intellectuals. Thus THHK was built upon a foundation of Confucianism and reforms, whenever possible,[24] were in agreement with the teachings of the Prophet Confucius.

Without the support of Confucius, THHK surely could not have made such rapid progress because the old-fashioned opposition would otherwise have accused the association of being principally "Christian." In fact the accusation of "becoming Christian" was flung out by the opposition, while in the press and within the association itself the reformers were referred to as "the progressives"[25] and the resistance was branded "the conservatives" or "the old-fashioned clique."

However, the use of Confucianism as the foundation of THHK was not simply a means of facilitating the introduction of reforms. Indeed the [THHK]promoters had long recognized how great the benefits would be for the Chinese if they were given knowledge of that learning. Among the founders of THHK who highly esteemed Confucianism were the late Mr. Lie Kim Hok, who though not very literate in Chinese had acquired much information on Confucian learning from friends with mastery over Chinese characters such as the late Messrs. Tan Kie Lam and Tee Pek Thay, both residents of Buitenzorg,[26] Mr. Khoe Siauw Eng of Batavia and others. In

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24. Italics added by translator for meaningful emphasis.

25. The author employs Kaoem Moeda here. Literally the term means youth faction, but progressives renders the sense more adequately.

26. Now, Bogor.

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addition to that, Mr. Lie Kim Hok learned much on the life and learning of Confucius from books in Dutch, such as those of Henri Borel [27] and other Sinologists.

Mr. Lie Kim Hok was one of the few Chinese of half a century ago who became well-known as a journalist, author and poet. His understanding of Christianity was considerably greater than that of most other Chinese. As a boy, he had studied under Christian ministers, Mr. Albers in Tjiandjoer and later, Mr. S. Coolsma, who opened a Sundanese language mission school in Buitenzorg, and Mr. D. J. van den Linden who taught in Malay. Mr. Lie Kim Hok was a pupil in the latter school and later, through diligence and intelligence, became a salaried assistant teacher and was taught Dutch in the afternoons.[28] At the time Dutch lessons were denied Chinese except those children of wealthy men or of Chinese officers[29] who were given permission to attend the government's European Schools. In time, because of his hard work and cleverness, Mr. Lie Kim Hok could not only read advanced books in Dutch, he could write properly in that language. Later he gained employment with and became a regular contributor to several Malay language periodicals run by the Christian missionaries, such as Bintang Djohor and the like. At the time, he perfected his Malay, which he called "Batavian Malay"--concerning which he published a book--and which has become the Chinese Malay of today.[30]

Mr. Lie Kim Hok's life in his youth was under Christian influence. That fact can be learned from the books in Malay used by [missionary] school children, entitled Spelling Book and Children's Friend, which have numerous Christian features. Their stories about God are exclusively Christian.

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27. Actually, Borel's major writings were published after Lie Kim Hok is said to have achieved Confucian enlightenment.

28. Presumably regular school classes were held only in the mornings.

29. For most of the Dutch colonial period, the authorities bestowed titles of military origin on typically wealthy and influential Chinese who were expected to serve primarily as communications links between the government and the Chinese communities of Indonesia.

30. The variety of Bazaar Malay used by many of the Chinese and those other peoples in contact with them became a commercial lingua franca in many places and eventually contributed to the development of independent Indonesia's official language, bahasa Indonesia.

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If, despite that intimate connection with the missionaries, Mr. Lie Kim Hok did not become a Christian, it was because he had beside him several friends, learned in Confucianism, who served as a counterbalance. Rather [than being a Christian], in 1901, after THHK's founding, Mr. Lie Kim Hok was made head of a committee set up by the association to provide information on Chinese religion. [The acquisition of] such knowledge was attacked by the Christian missionary, Mr. L. Tiemersma, and that led to a quarrel printed in the weekly Li Po running over a period of several months. [During that debate] Mr. Lie Kim Hok was easily able to defeat the Christian attack as it was in many parts weak.

Thus Mr. Lie Kim Hok, though raised in the Christian manner, later became a Confucian religious leader and paid high respect to the learning of Confucius. Three years before the publication of Thay Hak and Tiong Yong[31] by Messrs. Tan Ging Tiong and Yoe Tjai Siang, Mr. Lie Kim Hok had already translated into Malay a biography of Confucius taken from a Dutch book and supplemented by information from friends literate in Chinese. That book, entitled Hikajat Khong Hoe Tjoe,[32] was composed in 1896 and printed by G. Kolff & Company in 1897. That was the first effort to make Confucius known to Malay language readers.

With his broad knowledge of Confucius, when THHK-Batavia was founded, Mr. Lie Kim Hok sought to realize his desire to form an organization for the propagation of Confucianism. That is the reason that the THHK movement was based on Confucianism. Confucianism was not merely to be exploited to introduce various reforms but was to become the body of spiritual knowledge for all the Chinese people of Indonesia. To achieve that purpose, it was necessary to have Chinese children study Chinese characters and language in order to be able to read the books of the Confucian religion. Therefore, THHK had to establish Chinese language schools and invite to serve in them teachers truly learned in Confucianism. The teachers were required not only to teach Chinese characters and language and provide instruction in the

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31. v.s. note 9.

32. The story of Confucius.

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Confucian religion, but also they were expected twice a month, on the first and fifteenth days, to preach sermons to explain Confucian texts after the example of missionary schools where Christianity is promoted.[33]

To find teachers able to meet their requirements when the schools were opened, the directors of THHK-Batavia asked the help of Dr. Lim Boen Keng, promoter of the Confucian religious movement in the Straits Settlements. The first teacher, recommended by Dr. Lim Boen Keng, was Mr. Louw Koei Hong, who was learned in the Confucian religion and who had already preached several times in the THHK meeting hall. As a matter of fact, Dr. Lim Boen Keng had originally hoped to employ that teacher himself to assist him in his ardent study of Chinese characters and classics. At that time, the aspirations of Mr. Lie Kim Hok had begun to be realized. Since the founding of THHK-Batavia, the Chinese populace had been widely attracted to interest in the teachings of the prophet Confucius through the appearance of several weeklies on the Confucian religion; i.e., Li Po of Sukabumi, Loen Boen of Surabaya, Ik Po of Surakarta, Ho Po of Buitenzorg and several others.

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33. The Christian missionary inspiration for such unorthodox behavior in the name of Confucianism is invariably clear but seldom so frankly admitted.

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CHAPTER III

THHK and Chinese Education

From what has been said in the previous section it is seen that the primary purpose of THHK was not the promotion of education but the propagation of the Confucian religion. The establishment of a school by the association was a means to familiarize the Chinese with the works of Confucius written in Chinese characters. However, among the founders of the association were men with various kinds of ideas and aspirations. While Mr. Lie Kim Hok primarily sought to provide knowledge of Confucian learning, Mr. Phoa Keng Hek and one or two others had a broader purpose, wishing to use the THHK school as an implement or a weapon to force the Dutch colonial government to pay attention to education for Chinese which was then totally ignored.

> Those latter gentlemen were not in disagreement [with Lie] nor did they believe that Chinese did not need to study their own language and characters, but they saw what was unrecognized by many at the time. That is, if the Chinese people wanted to advance themselves and to raise their standards, they--at least the able ones--would have to know Dutch. But it was extremely difficult for Chinese children to attend the government Dutch language schools. If [their fathers] were not close friends of the Resident or Assistant Resident, who ordinarily was head of the European school's committee, Chinese children could not hope to be accepted. If the head of the school committee was cooperative and did not put up obstacles, Chinese children still might be refused admittance by principals claiming there was "no room." Also, the school fees were always set at the highest level, around f 15 per child, in addition to which children sometimes were required [before admission] to speak Dutch and to know Western customs. For that purpose, parents had to entrust [for tutoring] children to one of the teachers of the school, paying an extremely high fee of f 80 to f 100 per child. Except for the children of Chinese officers or of wealthy men with great influence, few could enroll in government schools.

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To change that ugly situation, there was only one path: the Chinese had to show that they had a thirst for education. If they were ignored by the government, they would then organize their own schools to meet their needs. Later, when English was added to the curriculum , the THHK schools did attract the attention of the government which then became aware of the need for Dutch language schools for Chinese children.

When first established, the system used in THHK schools indeed caused surprise and had to be made to seem respectable, because it followed modern principles so different from those of the old-fashioned Chinese schools.[34] The first textbooks in use came from Japan and were modeled after those used in primary classes in the West which sought to help pupils understand through lavish use of illustrations. Later on, books of that modern type were also printed in Shanghai and came to be as attractive and thorough as possible. As a result, pupils made amazing progress, being able [to learn] to read and write quickly and to understand clearly the meaning of the characters, not merely to repeat sounds like parrots. Mr. Henri Borel, an officer for Chinese affairs [in the colonial government], who was especially interested in the THHK movement, helped publicize the association's school with high praise for the textbooks in the Dutch press, saying, among other things: "If the Yellow Peril ever arises, that peril will have been generated by the modern textbooks."[35]

The phrase "Yellow Peril" was an expression of Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany, who painted a picture of how Europe would be threatened when the yellow race awoke and modernized.

Another action which was vitally important and invited wide interest was the use in THHK schools of Mandarin. In that language the aspirations of the entire nation could be expressed. The idea for employing Mandarin came from Mr. Phoa Keng Hek who led a debate on the curriculum of the schools in which he argued for a dialect then so alien to Java. Such thinking had been a

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34. Traditional schools, where children memorized a few texts, had long existed. The author refers to such schools as haktong, in Mandarin romanization, hsüeh-t'ang.

35. Borel, of course, meant that the emergence of a forceful, revived Chinese nation would result from educational modernization.

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basis for the founding of THHK by Chinese of various groups, namely, Hokkien, Cantonese, Hakka and Peranakan.[36] If Hokkien were used [in the school], the Cantonese would surely feel mistreated. On the other hand, Mandarin was the official language used by officials and by a large number of scholars in all the provinces. Natives of North and Central China who spoke Mandarin almost never came to Java, thus Mandarin could be said to be a neutral language. Based on those firm reasons, it was finally agreed to use Mandarin, though many Hokkien people felt threatened and would have preferred to see the school use the language of their own group. However, their objections were gradually overcome and practically all THHK schools have taught Mandarin from the beginning until now.

The excitement surrounding the establishment of THHK schools attracted the attention of the Chinese government. A few years after the visit of K'ang Yu-wei, the Viceroy at Canton sent a minor official, named Lauw Soe Kie,[37] whose duties were connected with education, to inspect THHK schools on Java. For that purpose, Lauw was given the title of admiral in the Chinese Navy and in Java wore a naval uniform when he was received by the Governor General and other officials. He was welcomed by the officers of THHK in various places with great ceremony; but it seems that he was obliged to cancel a trip to Central and East Java because of illness.

From then on, officials were sent out from China nearly every year, sometimes coming by warship. The purpose and the result of the visits being to make the Chinese here feel closer to China. The victory of Japan in the war against Russia [in 1904-05] fired the Chinese people with determination to progress to a high level. The visits [to Indonesia] of officials [from China]

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36. The Hokkien group is that of speakers of the Amoy language of Fukien province. The first three groups named here are sharply separated from each other by distinctive, mutually unintelligible spoken languages of South China. The Peranakan people are, at least in part, descended from Chinese immigrants; they use a variety of Batavian Malay or some other indigenous Indonesian tongue as their home language.

37. In romanized Mandarin, Liu Shih-chi.

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produced results in the form of Khay Lam Hak Tong[38] in Nanking, [the school] sponsored by the Viceroy Toan Hong[39] for overseas Chinese children who wished to further their educations in their own fatherland. Furthermore, the Chinese government stationed an [educational] inspector in Java (the first being Wang Fung Cheang[40]), whose salary was paid by the Chinese state. Wang inspected the various schools and also provided a subsidy for the establishment of a high school in Semarang.

The whole movement in the field of education was like a thorn in the eye[41] of the Dutch government, which regretted that children of its citizens--the peranakan Chinese by then were regarded as Dutch subjects--received educations supported by the Chinese government. In that connection, Mr. Phoa Keng Hek continually pressed the Director of Education [in the colonial administration] , Mr. Pott, with requests that Chinese children be given easier entry into European primary schools; and the Director appeared sympathetic. However, after several months passed without any news of his petitions, Mr. Phoa Keng Hek was received in audience by Governor General van Heutz and from the mouth of the Governor General himself Mr. Phoa heard that the government would, as soon as the budget was settled, establish special schools for Chinese children which would not differ in quality or expense from the primary schools for Dutch children. Those [schools] were [to become] today's Dutch-Chinese Schools.[42] Thus the government went beyond [Phoa's] requests, which merely had sought to facilitate the entry of Chinese children into existing Dutch schools.

That unexpected concession would surely not have been granted so quickly had there not been at the time so many THHK schools already established in various places. With the opening of the Dutch-Chinese schools the goal of the faction

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38. In romanized Mandarin, Chi-nan hsüeh-t'ang.

39. In romanized Mandarin, Tuan-fang.

40. In romanized Mandarin, Wang Teng-hsiang.

41. Doeri di mata; surely a more vivid colloquialism than the English "thorn in the side."

42. Hollandsch-Chineesche Scholen, where Chinese children received exclusively Dutch educations.

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seeking better education for Chinese children could be said to have been achieved. A few years after the founding of the Dutch-Chinese Schools, the government then opened the Dutch-Indies Schools for the Indonesian element.[43]

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43. The three ethnic groups, Dutch, Chinese and Indonesian, were thus segregated in government primary schools.

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CHAPTER IV

THHK and Kong Koan-Batavia

Before the THHK school was established, there had been the Kong Koan[44] school, the Gie Oh,[45] which taught Chinese characters in the Amoy dialect according to the old curriculum based solely on the Confucian classics. That school was to serve the children of the poor who could not afford tuition. The Kong Koan paid out f 300 per month to the Gie Oh for the salaries of a headmaster and two assistants and for other expenses. However the results achieved by that school for the poor were most discouraging because the number of pupils in daily attendance ran to only seven or eight. That was partly because the poor of that time lacked the ambition to make their children literate and partly because, as the school was free, people did as they pleased. Pupils might come for a few days and, then, not reappear for several weeks. In short, pupils studied or dropped out when it suited them. Therefore, though the number of names on the school roll could be fairly large, the pupils who came every day were very few. Moreover, it can be said that the children accomplished nothing because the old teaching methods made learning seem unattractive and valueless to the disinterested pupils; while the teachers, with their fixed salaries, would not exert themselves to make the school prosperous and popular.

The teachers knew that more pupils would mean more tiring work for them. Furthermore, as the Kong Koan itself took little interest in the management of the Gie Oh school, it can be said that the teachers were given a blank check and that their f 300 was merely thrown away.

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44. In romanized Mandarin, Kung-kuan; the office of the Chinese major of Batavia.

45. I-hsüeh in romanized Mandarin.

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That decayed state of affairs at the Gie Oh school was familiar to the directors of THHK-Batavia. Therefore, when the THHK school had been built and the success of its new educational methods was evident, the THHK President, Mr. Phoa Keng Hek, called on Major Tio Tek Ho, Chairman of the Kong Koan, who was also the patron of THHK, to discuss the desirability of combining the Gie Oh and THHK schools. In that event, the THHK would provide free education for poor children in exchange for the f 300 monthly subsidy from the Kong Koan formerly paid to the Gie Oh. The idea appealed to Major Tio Tek Ho, who immediately agreed to the proposal; but in a few days the Kong Koan changed course and began to raise objections. That shift was caused by those with vested interests in the Gie Oh, especially the teachers, who spread ugly rumors about the THHK pupils whose quality at the time was indeed unknown by outsiders and recognized only by THHK directors and teachers. As a result, the THHK directors proposed holding a competitive examination to determine which of the two educational systems was better and more productive.

For that purpose, the Gie Oh headmaster was asked to select several of his best and most advanced pupils to demonstrate their learning in competition with a random sample of THHK pupils who had had only one year of instruction, for at the time the THHK school had been open only that long. The competition, organized by THHK, was witnessed by nearly all the officers of the Kong Koan and by the directors and members of THHK. The results, as might be guessed, brought defeat to the pupils of the Gie Oh. That was because, though they could recite from memory the sounds of the Confucian classics as well as recognize and write their characters, they had no idea of the meaning and the purpose of those writings. The THHK pupils were very different, for they could read, write and understand various characters and phrases as well as compose short essays in colloquial language. It was thus clear that the THHK training was more practical. Therefore Major Tio Tek Ho and the other officers of the Kong Koan finally made a firm decision to provide for the education of the Chinese poor in Batavia in the THHK school, which was then given a monthly subsidy of f 275. The decrease of f 25 from the amount formerly paid to the Gie Oh was subtracted because the THHK directors refused to take over the maintenance of the Confucian portrait and altar which had been in the Gie Oh so that prayers could be offered on festival days by the teachers and pupils in that school.

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That refusal was based on the regulations of THHK which strictly prohibited any form of worship in the building or the school of the association. Although THHK had been founded on the basis of the Confucian religion and sought to spread Confucian doctrines as widely as possible, it was not desirable to have the Prophet, let alone a disciple,[46] worshipped like a Buddha surrounded by incense and candles.

In fact, it was THHK-Batavia which first acted to honor the anniversaries of the birth and death of Confucius and took the initiative to have those days declared official holidays for the Chinese. However, THHK did not wish to set up a place of worship of any kind nor to have the association building resemble a temple.

On the other side, the faction which sought to preserve old habits was extremely resentful that the THHK directors wished to take over the Gie Oh and the subsidy from the Kong Koan but refused to accept an altar to a Confucian disciple which ordinarily occupied a prominent place in old-fashioned Chinese schools. Accusations that THHK was under "Christian" influence were strongly voiced. And the affair was one of several sources of the conflict between the THHK directors and the Kong Koan which only ended when Major Tio Tek Ho died and was succeeded by Mr. Khouw Kim An, of the THHK side, who became Major of the Chinese in Batavia.

As has already been made clear, when the literatus K'ang Yu-wei came to Java, THHK-Batavia and its branch at Buitenzorg[47] had already been established which proves that the movement was not launched under the initiative or guidance of K'ang Yu-wei.

Those who give the credit to K'ang Yu-wei appear to make their mistake--after so many years have passed--because they recall that the literatus indeed held a large meeting in the THHK building to bring various associations into harmony, an initiative which was rewarding and brought improvement to the Chinese living in Batavia.

Before the founding of THHK, the large Chinese associations in Batavia for the most part were like secret societies or Thian

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46. Chu Hsi?

47. Bogor.

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Tee Hwe,[48] the work of which, in the eyes of many, consisted of "helping out at funerals" or caring for a temple. Other associations were groups of men in the same occupation (for example, the association of the Cantonese cabinet makers), maintained a temple, or collected funds for the mutual support of members from the same [Chinese] province, clan or the like.

The best known associations at that time were Yat Hien, Kong Gie Hien, Poo Liong and Seng An Hien, the members of which were totok [China-born] Cantonese, Hakkas and Fukienese; while the Peranakans [Indies-born] had their Tjoe Hoe Tee Beng and one or two other less known associations. Those associations were in the form of secret societies, like Thian Tee Hwe, ordinarily protected their own interests and were in a state of war with rivals even to the point of bloodshed because their courses were selfish and served only their own people.

When THHK was first established, it immediately attracted the attention of all kinds of people who wished to take part. The directors felt that it was necessary to follow a pattern very different from that of the various craft guilds and societies already in existence. It was hoped that many kinds of people could be brought into close contact and united in cooperation. However such a break with the past could not be achieved easily because not enough influence could be exerted to guide and advise those Totoks who dominated the [old] associations.

When K'ang Yu-wei came to Batavia, the THHK directors saw that that scholar represented the right kind of person to generate new currents. When K'ang Yu-wei received an invitation, together with an account of the frequency with which the purposes of the [old] associations clashed, he immediately replied that he would like to give an address to stress harmony and unity. Thus many of the leaders and members of various associations were invited to the THHK building to hear K'ang Yu-wei speak.

So many came to hear K'ang Yu-wei that the THHK building became packed and many could not get inside. Windows were broken in the pushing. The result of [K'ang's] advice was extremely satisfying, for from that time on one did not often hear of the friction among the associations that had led to frequent violence

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48. T'ien-ti hui, in romanized Mandarin; the chief secret society of the overseas Chinese.

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in Semarang and other places. In Batavia, such things rarely happened any more; on the contrary, secret society movements, like Thian Tee Hwe, quickly disappeared. Only in recent years have they reappeared but not as cruelly and dangerously as in the past.

In connection with the refusal of THHK to worship Confucius and Chu Hsi, those who favored old ways confronted K'ang Yu-wei to ask that he use his influence to compel the THHK directors to agree to erecting a [Confucian] altar. At first K'ang Yu-wei agreed strongly with the idea that the THHK should be a sort of temple association. He also could not understand why THHK would promote Confucian education but would not provide for the worship of the Prophet himself.

When it was learned the K'ang Yu-wei had been won over by those who favored worship, Mr. Phoa Keng Hek, President of THHK, immediately decided to visit Tjangkareng where he called on Mr. Lie Hin Liam, with whom K'ang was staying, to explain why the worship of Confucius or Chu Hsi by [THHK] pupils was unnecessary and that, if there were an altar in the THHK building, it would be hard to prevent people from coming to pray for favors, wealth, and so on. In that case, Batavia, where there were enough temples, would simply have acquired another place of worship.

The scholar, K'ang Yu-wei, at first did not wish to understand and, pointing a finger at Mr. Phoa, he said: "You are like the historical figure who prohibited people from worshipping Confucius because it cost too much. As a result, people who felt spiritually deprived prayed at all sorts of temples."

Mr. Phoa then asked Mr. Tjioe Kok Hian, a young man from the Straits Settlements [Singapore, Malacca and Penang] who served as the interpreter for K'ang Yu-wei and who was fluent in Malay, English, Cantonese and Amoy, to escort the scholar on a visit to the cannon Sri Djagoer in Kota Intan, [an ancient Portugese gun in the old part of the city, finally removed by the Indonesian authorities amid popular protests after the country gained independence in 1949], which was worshipped by many Chinese, to show K'ang the superstitious practices that THHK sought to end. Moreover, K'ang Yu-wei was informed that there were about 30 temples for all sorts of worship in Batavia, so it was not necessary for THHK to provide another. Moreover, it was hoped that those many temples could be closed and that the Chinese of Batavia would worship only Confucius.

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When he had heard that explanation, the opinion of the scholar was immediately changed. Taking both of Mr. Phoa Keng Hek's hands in his, he said: "You are right. Stick firmly to your course; don't deviate."

Thus at last those who wanted a temple were defeated; from then on, there were no more aggressive demands for some sort of an altar in the THHK building in Batavia.

However from other quarters there were sources of unpleasantness for the directors of THHK. Unexpectedly, when there was an election of officers in the large Toaseebie temple in Batavia, Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang, first treasurer of THHK, was chosen to be Louw-tjoe or chairman of the temple. That appointment, controlled by the Kong Koan, was recognized as an effort to cause trouble for the directors and members of THHK in the matter of worship at the temple which they opposed.

In accordance with the traditions of that time, a man chosen to be Louw-tjoe [49] [of the temple] could not refuse. As Louw-tjoe, Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang would be in charge of all sorts of ceremonies, the collection of donations, the management of temple funds, and other matters, all under the supervision of the Kong Koan. Thus the election of Khouw Lam Tjiang to be Louw-tjoe was seen as not only affecting that gentleman himself but as closely touching the whole THHK. For that reason, the THHK directors unofficially united to block the appointment of one of their high officers to an embarrassing position as a religious official.

The first action taken by THHK to free Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang from the duties of Louw-tjoe was to find a substitute. As head of the Khouw Koan Company, then the largest food and drink provision house in the city, Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang had sound reasons to be unwilling to assume the duties as head of a temple Therefore, guaranteed by himself, Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang selected as his agent a small businessman named Mr. Liem Tian Kiat. Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang and Mr. Phoa Keng Hek then went to the Kong Koan to seek the agreement of Major Tio Tek Ho. When it was proposed that Mr. Liem Tian Kiat be appointed under Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang's guarantee, Major Tio Tek Ho said he "had no objections."

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49. Presumably, lu-chu, master of the incense burners, i. e., master of ceremonies.

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Hearing that, the two men [Khouw and Phoa] immediately produced a letter they had prepared in advance and asked the major to sign it. The letter stated officially that Mr. Liem Tian Kiat would serve as agent of the Louw-tjoe. The letter obliged Major Tio Tek Ho, having agreed to the arrangement, not to change his mind. Such a thing might have happened if the two gentlemen [Khouw and Phoa] had not been alert: for, while Major Tio Tek Ho himself had no evil intentions toward Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang, there were a number of men under him, especially the Second Secretary of the Kong Koan, Mr. N. L. S. [Nie Liang Soei], who constantly sought to make trouble for THHK. That Second Secretary had incited unpleasantness when Major Tio Tek Ho became the patron of THHK and he had since grown increasingly cool and aloof toward the association's directors.

Once Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang had been spared the unpleasant duties of the Louw-tjoe, the THHK faction took the offensive. According to annual custom, in the seventh lunar month there was a prize competition. The Louw-tjoe was required to go with a procession through the streets of the Chinese district. Now, Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang as Louw-tjoe did not wish to order people to collect the prize money; he merely placed advertisements in the Malay language newspapers of Batavia stating that anybody who wished to contribute to support the prize competition could come to his office at a specified time to make a contribution. Any one who knew the character of the Chinese, who were used to having the Louw-tjoe or his agent come to them to collect money for the temple, will know that this innovation was unproductive. The money that was actually contributed was not enough to finance the customarily large ceremony.

Now the Kong Koan interfered, asking the Louw-tjoe to follow past practice in the performance of his duties including the collection of money. Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang was obliged to obey, but he asked for the books that listed the names of regular past contributors so that his work would be facilitated. The Kong Koan finally gave him a blank book, never used, explaining that the old books had been lost. When Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang protested that he needed the old books for his work, the Kong Koan finally replied that the former Louw-tjoe possibly had them.

The former Louw-tjoe, a China-born businessman, had gone bankrupt and all his books were in the custody of the court [Weeskamer]. Mr. Phoa Keng Hek and Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang asked the

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court to search for the temple account books, but the court stated it had no such books.

Somebody then reported that the former Louw-tjoe, at the time of his bankruptcy, had been engaged in smuggling opium and that many of his books were held by the police for further examination. Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang and Mr. Phoa Keng Hek sought the help of the police, and the books were actually found in the office of the public prosecutor.

The two gentlemen needed to gain possession of the list of past contributors because with it the THHK would have a powerful weapon for ending a deception that had been practiced from olden days to that time in the manipulation of temple funds.

As was customary among the Chinese when matters of money were involved, the donations of famous persons, especially the Chinese officers, had to be listed at the top and their donations had to be bigger than those of other people, so that the general public would not look down on them.

However, majors, captains and lieutenants were not always in better financial situations than ordinary businessmen. Nevertheless, officers always had to contribute more than other men, and the donation of an ordinary businessman could not be greater than that of the Chinese head of his place of residence. For example, if a major or captain contributed f 50, ordinary businessmen would not dare donate more than f 40, even if they could afford f 100 or more. As a consequence, when the Chinese headmen made small contributions, the cause would receive only limited support, as nobody would make a large contribution and bring embarrassment to the headmen of their group.

For a cause to win large support, there developed a system which in Indonesia may have been used only by the Chinese. The system known as Tee-jan Bohong[50], provided that the Chinese officers would be recorded as having made large donations so that people in general would be lured and enticed, when in reality the officers had not paid out a single cent or had made only the modest contributions they could afford. Thus a list of contributions for a prize competition ordinarily would record: The Major, f 250; a certain captain, f 200; a certain firm, f 150; and so on. The object was to permit large businessmen, especially those who prayed at the temple, to contribute as much as f 150, that is, a sum not greater than those donated by the officers. When it is recalled that at the time the Chinese officers of Batavia,

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50. The literal meaning of the phrase is unclear, but the practice involved publicizing false lists of contributors and contributions.

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including those with honorary titles, numbered several tens, it can be understood that there were always several hundreds of guilders missing from the funds collected.

Having gained possession of the old books, it was possible to reckon the sums that ought to have been collected each year. Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang, having done that, asked the Kong Koan to hand over the balances due to the temple or to give an accounting of annual receipts and outlays. That request to the Kong Koan was like the explosion of a powerful bomb, for the officers would be forced to pay out large sums of cash or admit that their contributions had been falsely recorded to encourage others.

Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang--or more precisely the directors of THHK--carefully calculated the expenditures of the temple and the contributions of those who had actually made donations and discovered that there was a great difference between the true figures and the false totals. It was further discovered that when the expenditures of the temple were subtracted from the real total of contributions, there was a very considerable, unexplained, unspent surplus. But when he was appointed to the office of Louw-tjoe, Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang found that there was not one cent in the temple treasury. Furthermore, because the contributions to the temple had been in the custody of the Kong Koan, the major and other officers of the Kong Koan would be held responsible for the present confusion and have to make an accounting covering a number of years.

Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang pushed straight ahead and demanded the accounting and, when he was not given it, the matter was finally taken by Mr. Phoa Keng Hek to the Resident of Batavia, Mr. Bakhuizen van den Brink, who said that the liability must be that of Mr. N. L. S. [Nie Liang Soei] the Second Secretary. According to Major Tio Tek Ho, all the funds for temples--there were then four temples managed by the Kong Koan--had been handed over to that Second Secretary in whom the major had the utmost confidence. Despite that, many believed that the Second Secretary had pocketed large sums.

When it was learned that the Resident of Batavia planned to interfere in the matter, the Second Secretary was frightened half to death. Even Major Tio Tek Ho was quick to absent himself from the Kong Koan on grounds of "illness." Possibly he was in fact ill with anxiety over the possibility of being dragged into the extremely distasteful affair.

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But it was not the purpose of THHK to cause trouble for Major Tio Tek Ho, who was the association's patron. The matter of the money had been brought up only to teach a lesson to those who had sought to embarrass THHK and who were opposed to progress and to put the affairs of the temple in order. It was certainly not intended to strike blows at the head of the Kong Koan.

With Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang as Louw-tjoe, the THHK faction could also take action to end evil and dangerous customs such as encouraging masses of people to struggle to get hold of ritual objects placed on the tops of several high platforms. The Keng Hoo Peng[51] ceremony each seventh lunar month had come to be known as the ceremonial contest (sembahjang reboetan) during which reckless fights were customary as tests of strength between opponents. Those sometimes became brutal and blood flowed. The THHK wished to transform those ceremonies into peaceful affairs and have the ceremonial remnants go to the poor without any contest.[52]

This task became easier during the confusion over the matter of contributions. Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang was firmly set against collecting donations to support ceremonies so long as the accounts of the temple were not in order. From the Chinese community which had been asked by advertisement to make donations at Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang's office, there came no help. Therefore there was no money at all to support the ceremony which had once been so large and turbulent.

It was not, however, the purpose of THHK to destroy that ceremony. The goal was merely to stop the spending of large sums. Therefore, THHK itself finally collected about f 75 to be used for a peaceful ceremony. This led to an amusing situation involving the priest who ordinarily led the ceremonies and addressed the gods asking for happiness and safety from the spirits invited to feast.

Ordinarily for that work, the priest and his assistants were paid f 75; but because the money available came only to that amount, bargaining with the priest reduced his fee to f 25.

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51. Presumably, Ching ho-p'ing, prayers for the repose of wandering souls.

52. Obviously, the ceremony described involved scrambling for ritual food offerings.

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The priest raised objections, pointing out how tiring and heavy his work was, saying that he had to pray afternoons and evenings for the several days of the ceremony.

Mr. Khoe Siauw Eng, who dealt with the priest, told him: "You won't have to work that hard any more. Just give prayers worth f 25, not more."

That was a truly businesslike arrangement. Because it could not pay at the usual rate, the THHK group asked the priest to ignore those gods not provided for in his fee.

Unfortunately, those who reported the story did not record the response of the priest to the fair offer made to him by Mr. Khoe Siauw Eng, who did not wish to get more gods than were paid for!

In the end, THHK obtained all that it sought. The ceremony was peaceful and the offerings were not fought over, merely divided among the poor. But a reaction later set in.

The Keng Hoo Peng ceremony at the Klenteng Besar in Batavia ordinarily had been performed in two parts, at the beginning and in the middle of the Tjhitgwee [seventh lunar] month. What has been said above refers to the first ceremony. For the second, there quickly appeared an organization of leading gamblers who suggested that the customary large ceremony complete with competitions be held. They would guarantee to cover the costs of putting on Cantonese opera and similar entertainments. But it was not for the sake of worshipping at the temple that those men concerned themselves. They were solely interested in promoting gambling which was so profitable to them because during the ceremonies Chinese residents from the whole Batavia area came to the competitive festivities and later went to the gambling houses. That had been the annual custom. Whenever there was a competitive ceremony, the gambling houses were at their busiest.

That proposal was rejected by Khouw Lam Tjiang. The beams and boards for building the platforms for the competitions were the property of the temple and were not given to [the gamblers] to use. Thus, without platforms, people could not compete for the ritual offerings. That year, then, for the first time there was no ritual competition at the Toaseebie temple.

The next year, when a new Louw-tjoe was selected, Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang was not chosen again. The ritual competitions and

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other practices quickly were restored. But that was the final gasp of the old order. The public had had its eyes opened to the fact that it was wrong to aid the poor according to who won and lost. Thus, in later years and continuing down to the present, the competitions have ceased, though the Keng Hoo Peng ceremony is still held annually with the leftover ritual offerings being divided among the poor.

That reform was later imitated by the heads of other temples throughout Indonesia, wherever the spirit of reform was strong, especially where THHK directors had influence. Thus an ugly and degrading custom faded away.

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CHAPTER V

THHK as Leader in the Reform of Chinese Customs

As already explained in Chapter I of this account, THHK was founded primarily to reform the customs of the Chinese of Java, particularly in West Java. For that purpose, the association relied on the sage Confucius and sought to promote his teachings and make them familiar among the Chinese, especially the Peranakans.

Perhaps there were other motives behind the movement to reform customs; or, at least among the founders of the movement, there may have been men whose aims went beyond reform. But, when THHK was first established, the sole visible function of the association was to foster reform in keeping with Confucian teachings.

As also already explained, THHK was founded in 1900 and was given legal recognition by decree of the Governor General on June 3rd of that year. On November 25th when the association had been in operation for barely six months; one of its members Mr. Tjoa Tjeng Yang of Sukabumi, was quick to seek the advice of THHK when his father died so that the funeral arrangements would follow the teachings of Confucius.

Because THHK at the time had not yet developed a firm pattern for the division of authority, an ad hoc committee was set up [to handle Mr. Tjoa's problem]. The four members of the committee were Messrs. Ang Sioe Tjiang, vice president; Khouw Kim An, commissioner; Oeij Koen Ie, commissioner; Khoe Siauw Eng, adviser. The four went to Sukabumi to meet with Mr. Tjoa Tjeng Yang and later issued a statement calling for the reform or the abolition of 25 practices followed in funerals.

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It is first necessary to make clear that a large proportion of the practices and customs cited for abolition or reform are now no longer known or followed. Moreover the situation was restricted solely to West Java; thus, it is possible that in Central and East Java and, surely in the Outer Islands the customs discussed were unknown, as those areas had their own traditions. However, when the committee drew up its advice, all of the customs discussed were still in force and faithfully observed by all [West Java] Chinese who honored the old traditions. There follows the advice of the committee:

1. Placing a lighted lamp at the feet of the corpse (Phoa-pouw-an)[53], later placing it under the altar and guarding against the flame's dying. This originated in mythology. Confucius said nothing of this custom; therefore, it is not necessary to follow it.

2. Burning wood in front of the door [of the deceased]. Confucius said nothing on this. In China the custom is not followed. It is unnecessary.

3. Giving a person in extremis a watermelon for the journey of the coffin to the cemetery. This originated in a folk tale. It is unnecessary.

4. Mourners asking for ashes from three neighbors. Confucius never mentioned this. It is satisfactory to use ashes from one's own kitchen. In China people use ashes from rice husks.[54]

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53. The author inserted parenthetical phrases and terms such as this in romanized Hokkien in sections of his work dealing with funeral and marriage customs It seemed neither feasible nor desirable to attempt to translate or render into romanized Mandarin these phrases and terms. In any event, their meanings are made clear in the text translated from the Batavian Malay of the Chinese of pre-World War II West Java. That language of course, was the sole vehicle with which the author could reach his public.

54. Ashes and rough white clothing are worn as traditional symbols of mourning.

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6. Throwing pillows and covers on top of the roof. This custom is from the religion of Tibet. The objects are supposed to represent a grave mound where birds can feed. (Thian Tjong): grave in the sky. Unnecessary.

7. Mourners placing the clothes and bedding of the deceased at the front door and eating vermicelli[55]. Confucius never spoke of this. Needless.

8. (Djip Bok Kan). Putting paper representations of servants into the coffin. Confucius condemned this.

9. Mourners, male and female, pretending to weep. It is better not to wail, calling out this or that because such actions upset those who are truly grieved and make those who hear the wailing uncomfortable.[56] In the Hsiao-ching, Confucius said: "Children who are truly filial do not pretend to weep at a parent's funeral."

10. Driving the pegs into the coffin by candlelight. Confucius never mentioned this. Unnecessary.

11. Mourners sleeping on the floor. It is better not to do this, as it might cause illness. Confucius said: "We must not, because of a death, inflict troubles on the living." And, further: "Our bodies, hair and skins came from our parents. We dare not damage them."

12. The body does not need to be kept in the house for a long period. If the grave is ready, bury it.

13. If the coffin has already been buried, it is not necessary to keep doors closed through the night.

14. For ritual food offerings, it is best to use ordinary foods. It is unnecessary to use elaborately prepared delicacies. Similarly, it is unnecessary to use whole raw pigs or goats. Confucius said: "For the dead, it is better to demonstrate genuine sorrow than to prepare all sorts of decorations."

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55. The translator acknowledges that this phrase sounds odd, but this is not a unique example of strange and seemingly irrational customs.

56. Anyone who has ever witnessed the demonstrative agony of remote relatives and professional wailers at a traditional funeral knows just what the authors of this admonition had in mind.

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15. When the coffin arrives, it is better to keep it in the house, not on the street.

16. It is useless to have paper images of mourning servants in the house or the funeral procession. Confucius said: "The use of paper representations of servants is bad for the future: There will be no descendants."[57]

17. Chanting monks and priests are totally useless. Confucius said: "He who deviates from the true teaching will have an evil fate."

18. Clothing of sack cloth is not essential. If mourners wear white garments of any crude cloth, that will be appropriate.

19. To kneel and weep at every bridge [on the route of the procession] or to tie paper images over holes in the bridges is unnecessary.

20. Drums are unnecessary. Confucius said: "When an intelligent man mourns, drums cannot raise his spirits."

21. Rituals of filial piety are better performed only when people regularly sit to eat.

22. Joss sticks and paper money of various kinds bring no rewards at all.

23. Hoen-Sien [?] is totally useless.

24. It is better not to make ritual use of the kitchen utensils of the dead. When the child of a figure in the classics died the utensils were not so used; Confucius praised him for it.

25. Those in charge of the funeral ought to inform people whether to wear white or blue so that they can later shave before the ritual on the 100th day after death, (Thia Leng); and for the food offerings before the cortege departs do not used boiled chicken, pork and fish (sam-seng) and the like, but only sweets (tee-liauw) and candles.

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57. It is doubtless clear that the author was a highly imaginative interpreter of the Confucian classics.

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Those are the 25 suggestions for reform recommended by the committee of THHK-Batavia to Mr. Tjoa Tjeng Yang. But they represented no more than advice. People could follow or ignore them.

From the tone of the 25 suggestions for reform in funeral customs, it is clear that THHK then already planned to destroy a body of old customs that were useless, embarrassing, burdensome and extravagant. This was to be done, insofar as possible, with reliance on the teachings of Confucius or the Confucian classics. But there were a number of matters that, although not touching on Confucianism, demanded attention in keeping with the spirit of the times and the maintenance of good health; as for example, the reforms in paragraphs 4, 6, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23 and 25.

There were several other customs, as illustrated in paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 5, 7 and 10, which could be disposed of by saying: "Confucius said nothing of this." Those customs therefore, were regarded as needless.

Practices and customs which were abolished or reformed because they were in opposition to Confucianism were those described in paragraphs 8, 9, 11, 14, 16, 17, 20, and 24.

Thus, of the 25 paragraphs, only eight or one-third really rested on the teachings of Confucius. For the rest, the committee simply decided to rely on their thoughts and feelings on what was proper and good. When that point is clear, it is seen that Confucianism was used by THHK as a weapon or an illustrious symbol to introduce reform in those customs that were troublesome. Whether or not customs were offensive to Confucianism, those inappropriate to the age or false had to be reformed or destroyed.

In all honesty, if one were to rely solely on the teachings of Confucius for guidance it would be extremely difficult because many of the funeral customs described originated long after the death of the sage. Thus, in many cases, Confucianism is neither offended nor helpful. However, relying on Confucius whenever possible, THHK stimulated great interest in reform circles and formed a faction to oppose all outmoded customs. Thus, opposition to reform and THHK became synonymous with opposition to the thought of Confucius!

Indeed, when one closely examines the Li-chi, one of the Confucian classics, there is much discussion of funeral customs

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that seem more complex than those then observed on Java. If there had been some one with the THHK committee who could have elucidated the Li-chi, the work of that body would have been more complicated because a Confucian scholar would have paid strict attention only to passages on funerals in that classic. Therefore, the reforms proposed in paragraphs 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 21, 25 and perhaps in two or three other paragraphs could not have been put forward. On the other hand, there would have been other old customs, not previously observed, that would have demanded revival had THHK truly sought to follow Confucianism!

The 25 reform proposals were later augmented by 10 additional ones, drafted by the Directors of THHK, not by the committee. The additional proposals follow:

26. Until the body is buried, the house should not be swept. If sweeping is done, rubbish must not be thrown out, but merely piled behind doors or in corners. This practice does not need to be followed because it is superstitious: Some say that, if rubbish is thrown out before the body is buried, it signifies throwing out good fortune. However, dirt must be disposed of, as it can cause disease.

27. Gambling in a bereaved house is improper; it is even worse if mourning relatives sit down to gamble. Enjoying strong drink is of the same order.

28. In the matter of giving sack cloth mourning headgear (thauwpe)[58] to men who are to accompany the body to the cemetery, it is best to determine ahead of time which men genuinely wish to wear them. The cloth is supposed to be wound around the head. If it is given to a man who really does not want it, the one giving can be said to lack etiquette because he presumes to ask guests to put the cloth on their heads. [Guests are forced to display grief that they may not feel].

29. Throwing paper money on the road (Pang-tjoa) is not really needed. According to folklore, the purpose of the custom was to give presents to various evil spirits along the route of the funeral procession. But it is better simply for a member of the family appropriately dressed [in mourning garb], to walk ahead of the coffin as a guide.

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58. Presumably of rough, white material; a sort of loose hood traditionally symbolic of deep mourning.

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30. The bereaved do not need to provide carriages for men accompanying the funeral procession.

31. According to ordinary custom, after the funeral procession has moved some distance, a mourner kneels at the edge of the road wailing, while a second person standing at his side shouts clearly three times: "The mourners express thanks [to the guests]" (Hauw-lam Khauwsia). The purpose of this is to urge the guests not to go further. It would be better to discontinue this practice and simply display a banner inscribed with large characters expressing thanks to guests who have joined the procession.

32. It is customary, when the coffin has been lowered into the grave but not yet covered, for some one to place a coconut covered by rattan at the edge of the grave. Immediately thereafter, they are hacked so that the rattan is broken and the coconut is split and part falls into the grave with part of the rattan. The coconut still left is eaten and the rattan is smoked like cigarettes by the family of the deceased, so that the family can forget the dead relative. This should not be done, because it is a custom borrowed from the Moslems of this country. Also, why must people forget their dead relatives?[59]

33. It is not necessary to feed funeral guests as if they were at a fiesta. If tea and one or two dishes to forestall hunger are served, that will be adequate.

34. On the return from the cemetery it is best for the graveside joss sticks to be taken along.

35. When going to the grave to pray on the third day, it is not necessary to go before dawn. Prayers can be offered when it is already light.[60]

All of the reforms were enthusiastically accepted by Chinese of the "modern group" and studied throughout Indonesia as they offered release from the oppression of awkward old customs. Nevertheless some people did not dare to abandon old customs for fear of being branded unfilial. Once THHK-Batavia had risen as the vanguard to

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59. If the practice discussed here was in fact followed as described, it suggests that the ancestral cult of the Chinese did not prosper in the pre-20th century Batavia. That would be a startling conclusion.

60. These instructions were prepared by THHK-Batavia under date of 23 February 1901.

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free the modern group of the old chains that had bound the Chinese for so long and so heavily, it was not astonishing that in many places, large and small, people worked to establish other THHK as strongholds where all Chinese seeking to destroy worn-out customs and practices could assemble, confer and plan for the realization of their aims.

Although the THHK movement stirred up so much excitement, its strength was not yet sufficient for the implementation of all the necessary reforms. The reactionary opposition, though it could be noisy, became a minority. Most Chinese remained passive, unable to accept reforms easily, even though their validity was recognized. Moreover, the reactionaries were supported by powerful people who could immobilize youth attracted to reform. Those people were the old grandmothers, middle-aged women, younger women, the mothers-in-law, mothers and aunts, who were universally opposed to any reform.

When Mr. Tjoa Tjeng Yang tried to follow the 25 instructions endorsed by THHK-Batavia, his mother and other elderly female relatives argued so bitterly that a great row resulted. Reportedly his mother wept continuously, not only because her husband had died but also because his son's actions had marked him as a follower of Christian customs and unfilial. The charge of unfilial conduct was seized upon by the reactionaries as their most potent weapon in the struggle to preserve old customs. Few sons could be firm in insisting on following reformed customs when their mothers and mothers-in-law wept copiously in disagreement. Moreover, old women could influence their daughters-in-law, daughters, nieces and other relatives of the "weaker sex", whose ideas were easily shaped and who were afraid of their elders, to form a sort of conspiracy to reject the ideas of their husbands and brothers and only observe the old ways. Therefore, the "modern group", which had been so enthusiastic over THHK actions and had contributed important officers and members of the association were forced to bow their heads in surrender.

Mr. Tjoa Tjeng Yang, who truly wished to follow the advice the THHK-Batavia committee, also felt threatened by the charges of unfilial conduct thrown at him from left and right. Due to the quarrels raging, he was obliged to seek protection from THHK in support of his actions. Thus, when his father's body had been properly buried, he wrote THHK-Batavia to say that, because the 25 reforms had been adopted, he had been denounced as an unfilial son. He, therefore, wanted THHK to inform him of what constituted filial piety or respect for elders.

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Upon the receipt of that request THHK must have appointed another committee to examine the Confucian classics in order to understand the teachings on filial piety. Altogether 21 passages were taken from Hsiao-ching and Lun-yü and translated into Malay to be sent to Mr. Tjoa Tjeng Yang to establish that Mr. Tjoa had not acted contrary to the principles of filial piety in arranging his father's funeral. There follows a copy of the letter sent on January 16, 1901:

"Sir:

"We have the honor to reply respectfully with this letter to the one you, Sir, sent THHK regarding confusion over the concept of filial piety."

"In your letter, it is stated that some people charge that your conduct in arranging for your father's funeral was contrary to filial piety. Your letter also says: 'We must love and honor our parents throughout their lives and not cause them suffering. After their deaths, we must guard against tarnishing the name we have inherited.'

"That is very true.

"Thus, if we now merely say that you have truly and concisely summarized the principles of filial piety, our words would be an adequate response to your letter.

"However, we feel that it might be better if we expand your concise summary, although only with the limited knowledge we possess. We hope that, despite the many inadequacies of our statement, our remarks will be useful. Everything to follow is not based only on our own opinions, but is derived from the teachings of Confucius, Mencius and Tseng Tzu.

"You surely already know that expressing the teachings of the Chinese classics in Malay is very difficult. Therefore, we believe that it is necessary to supplement our remarks with passages from the classics so that you, if you are confused, can discard our ramblings and refer directly to the original texts."

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(There follow the 21 passages from Lun-yü and Hsiao-ching on filial piety; they are too lengthy to reproduce here).[61]

"It is the opinion of the THHK Directors that, in all of the matters discussed above on filial piety, it can be demonstrated that, if in the management of a parent's funeral, a man does not burn joss paper of various types and the like and does not provide an elaborate, glittering[62] funeral, his conduct is not necessarily contrary to the principles of filial piety.

Respectfully,
Khoe Siauw Eng, Adviser
Lie Kim Hok, Commissioner
THHK"

Those 35 reforms in funeral customs, which so effectively lightened the burdens of the bereaved, and the letter of advice on filial piety sent to Mr. Tjoa Tjeng Yang were printed and distributed as a circular or pamphlet. That program awakened considerable bitterness against the oppression of all the out-moded customs that had previously lain dormant. So much excite-ment and eagerness were generated that people began to establish THHK branches in virtually all major towns and cities and to dream of introducing reforms to a wide range of Chinese practices and customs. Thus, at that time, there was a great deal of correspondence between THHK-Batavia and leaders of the reform movement in outlying places. The Modern Chinese[63] hoped for leadership and guidance in all sorts of matters. They sought advice on organizing new associations, on founding schools and on reforming customs, all strange subjects to the Chinese of the day.

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61. It is a pity, that the author did not include these classical passages, for they would provide a means of judging the proficiency in Chinese of the early THHK leaders.

62. The Batavian Malay term here is rame-ramean, which ordinarily means noisy, cheerful, bustling; and, indeed, Chinese funerals could often be so described.

63. The author seeks to underline the identity and solidarity of those supporting reform by designating them, collectively, Kaoem Moeda Tionghoa, literally the young Chinese group. To refer to them in this translation as the Modern Chinese, in capitals, more accurately expresses the spirit of the term.

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Thus one can appreciate the heaviness of the work load of the THHK-Batavia Directors who suddenly had to serve as the leaders of a great movement which quickly spread throughout the Dutch East Indies. It was fortunate that within the leadership of the association there were several men who, though they had not achieved the high standard of learning of today's Chinese intellectuals, were educated and anxious to fulfill their obligation without stint. Among them were Mr. Phoa Keng Hek, who had gained a lot of knowledge on modernization through his mixing with Europeans, Mr. Lie Hin Liam, who was recognized as liberal and enthusiastic in his expenditures of both energy and money; Mr. Lie Kim Hok, the literatus who systematically drew up all the regulations, pamphlets, circulars and newsletters in Malay in a beautiful and accurate style that appealed to all; Mr. Khoe Siauw Eng, who understood Chinese characters and the classics and could translate them into Malay and who, as an adviser, bore the burden of answering all questions and providing information on Confucianism and ancient Chinese customs; Mr. Khoe A. Fan a Hakka who was broadly familiar with all kinds of modern movements; Mr. Tan Kim San, who for the time was learned in English and Chinese and was determined to improve the situation of his people; Mr. Tan Tjong Long, who like Mr. Tan Kim San was trained in English and Chinese and could translate into Malay; and Mr. Tan Kim Bo, who as First Secretary carried a heavy load managing and answering all the correspondence, keeping minutes, maintaining records and the like with dispatch and neatness that amazed people even while his regular duties with K.P.M.[64] were very heavy. Mr. Tan Kim Bo was fluent in Dutch and wrote accurately in Malay. Those gentlemen named here, who were the pillars of THHK-Batavia, are no longer with us.

The last to die was Mr. Phoa Keng Hek, Knight of the Oranje-Nassau Order, who passed away on July 19, 1937 at the age of 80. Of the first officers of THHK-Batavia only two men survive, Major Khouw Kim An and Mr. Khouw Lam Tjiang, both highly honored.

The heavy work of the Directors of THHK-Batavia in leading a large movement among the Chinese throughout the Dutch East Indies

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64. Koninklijk Paketvaart Maatschappij, the inter-island Dutch shipping company.

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to support a broad program was eventually lightened with the publication of the weekly Li Po[65] in Sukabumi under the control of Mr. Tan Ging Tiong and Mr. Yoe Tjai Siang. Though the weekly was small (only four to six pages of magazine size), it became an arena for the display of Confucianism and Chinese religion and custom. Inquiries formerly sent to THHK-Batavia came to be printed in the weekly and were answered by the editors or by Chinese subscribers throughout the country. Not infrequently written debates were printed, not the least important being that between Mr. Tan Ging Tiong and Mr. Yoe Tjai Siang, the two editors of the weekly who quarreled bitterly over discarding the queue,[66] which was supported by the latter and opposed by the former.

Similarly there was an exchange between Mr. Tan Ging Tiong and several readers on the question of shortening the months of mourning by counting the intercalary month [which in some years makes the year have 13 months]. Mr. Tan concluded that the intercalary month must be counted so that, for example, if a mourning period started at the beginning of the first lunar month and an intercalary month came up during the lunar year, the mourning year should be terminated at the end of the eleventh lunar month. Mr. Tan's argument was that it was unreasonable for one family to mourn 13 months while another mourned only 12.

This position was challenged by a number of people who argued that Li-chi, in its guidance on mourning, states the intercalary month must not be counted. But Mr. Tan would not surrender because, if in cases of limited mourning [for lesser relations] which lasted only one, three or six months the intercalary months were not counted, confusion and irregularity would result. Finally, Mr. Lie Kim Hok settled the question, stating that for mourning periods calculated in lunar years the intercalary month must not be counted, but for mourning periods calculated in months the intercalary month should be included in the total. At that, the people were satisfied.

Another debate to be noted took place between the THHK-Batavia Committee on the one hand and the Reverend Mr. L. Tiemersma on the other. The debate was over the matter of the Chinese

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65. Li-pao, roughly, the Confucian etiquette newspaper.

66. The queue was, of course, the symbol of submission to the dynasty; snipping it off was a bold demonstration of modernity and, later, of revolutionary leanings.

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Religion.[67] One question sent to THHK-Batavia had sought a definition of the Chinese Religion. The Directors set up a committee composed of Messrs. Lie Kim Hok, Khouw Kim An and others to prepare a reply. The Committee advised Mr. Lauw Tjiang Seng [presumably the questioner] that the term, Chinese Religion, was intended by THHK to mean a religion based on the teachings of Confucius and Mencius.

When that statement was made and published in Li Po, the Reverend Mr. L. Tiemersma printed a criticism in the weekly, Kristen Bentara Hindia,[68] stating that he acknowledged that the efforts of THHK to stimulate interest in the teachings of Confucius were educational; but the enlightenment pursued came from the rays of a setting sun, while Christianity came from the rays of a rising sun sure to grow ever brighter.

That criticism was printed, with Mr. Tiemersma's permission, in Li Po and prompted Mr. Lie Kim Hok to reply. A bitter argument was generated for the THHK Committee not only defended the teachings of Confucius against attack by the Christian minister, it assailed Christianity by digging up and exposing weak spots in the Bible. The argument went on for several months.

In addition to Li Po, there were several other weeklies printed, such as Ik Po in Solo, Loen Boen in Surabaya, Ho Po in Bogor and others, some of them using Chinese characters. However, most of those papers were short-lived. When dailies, directed by Chinese editors, appeared; the small weeklies folded up.[69]

The appearance of the various weeklies designed to help the Chinese reform on the basis of the teachings of Confucius and to broaden the study of the Chinese Tjeng-Im language greatly added to the work of the Directors of THHK-Batavia, and opened up new centers of Chinese scholarship in many places. There was general interest in the ancient customs of China and in explanations of traditional thought and knowledge. In that

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67. The author capitalized the term in Malay, Agama Tionghoa, for he regarded it as a specific body of doctrine, practice and belief.

68. Literally, the East Indian Christian herald.

69. Goeloeng tikar; literally, "rolled [up their] sleeping mats." One of many vivid phrases made poorer in translation.

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work, THHK-Batavia did not remain idle. After proposing reforms in funeral customs, THHK turned to the improvement of marriage customs and, again, came forth with many reform proposals for those customs and practices normally followed in Batavia and other places in West Java, which really were so complicated and involved that many who married felt bitter and disgusted. Those practices were not only based on Chinese customs but were mixed with indigenous traditions, such as, for example, the filing of teeth, the coating of the bride's body with cosmetic rice powder, the obligation to eat all sorts of medicinal preparations and so on.

The THHK-Batavia Directors did not draw up the reform proposals with the intention of forcing their faithful adoption by all members. They merely wished to offer thoughts or advice to be followed if acceptable and rejected if unacceptable or to be adopted selectively. Those "thoughts" were printed in a widely distributed circular and also in the newspapers.

Below is reproduced the entire circular, covering 47 kinds of reform, divided into 13 paragraphs. Not one word has been added or omitted, nor has the spelling been changed, so that the text can be read in the original form in which THHK published it 36 years ago.

Thoughts of the Directors of THHK-Batavia on Marriage Ceremonies.

I. Asking for the Girl's Hand.

1. Asking for the girl's hand. It is permissible to request that a horoscope be cast or that a report be made available on the sign of the zodiac, the hour, the day and the month, [of the birth] of the girl sought. But, such information should not be reported to a temple idol or to ancestral tablets in order to seek signs to be interpreted one way or another. Similarly, do not have an astrologer try to match the girl's horoscope with that of the boy. Do not attempt to seek guidance by throwing sticks in front of a temple idol[70] nor have a fortune teller determine if a couple will match in marriage.

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70. A traditional method of divination. The patterns made by the fallen sticks are believed to answer questions.

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2. Asking for the ring measurement. Do not send the matchmaker.[71] It is better to have the help of an elderly female relative [of the boy].

That woman can take [as gifts to the girl's family] two pairs of candles; she must not offer a red money packet.[72] One of the two pairs of candles may be placed on the ancestral altar.

3. In obtaining the measurements for the slippers and jacket [to be given to the girl?] , it is better not to use the services of the matchmaker.

II. Engagement.

4. During the engagement, the exchange of gifts is unnecessary if there is agreement of both sides.

III. Preliminary Arrangements.

5. The parents of the boy sending formal cards to the girl's parents giving them kinship names, [setting] the day for cutting [the wedding clothes] and the day for sewing them, the day for paying the bride price, the day for the ritual blessing of the marriage bed to insure fertility and happiness and the wedding day. The cards may be accompanied by two pairs of red candles. Do not send a red money packet

6. It is not necessary to consult an almanac to determine an auspicious time and date [for the wedding].

IV. The Filing of Teeth.

7. This is an indigenous practice. If [the girl's] teeth are good and do not need to be shortened, it is better not to file them.

V. "Protection From Disease."

8. Several days before the scheduled wedding, the prospective bride is fed medicinal preparations morning and night and her body is rubbed with cosmetic rice powder. Do not do these things for they may damage her health.

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71. The professional, paid intermediary who was the communications link between families in arranging marriages.

72. Ang-pauw, nowadays the customary gift to children and servants on Chinese New Year's Day. Perhaps the Batavian Chinese formerly exchanged ang-pauw with social equals.

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VI. The Bride Price.

9. In this matter, it is better to send only those things that are truly wanted by the bride and her family.

10. It is better to place an ancestral altar, rather than an idol, in the center of the house.

11. Dragon candles[73] need not be very large.

12. Do not have singers and dancers accompanied by gamelan music. Stage plays, Western music[74] and Chinese music are acceptable.

VII. Blessing the Marriage Bed
(Antjeng)

13. The door to the bedroom and the bedstead do not have to have pasted on them red paper with traditional phrases inscribed to give protection against evil four-footed or two-footed creatures.

14. It is unnecessary to offer prayers at the bed.

15. The person who adjusts the mosquito net and the fan does not need to say anything [to the newlyweds?].

16. It is unnecessary to have the groom's attendant do whirling somersaults on the bed [to frighten away evil spirits?].

VII. Ceremonial Confirmation of the Wedding Plans.

17. It is best to have a mutual agreement to keep this simple.

18. Invitation cards may be accompanied by ribbons and two pairs of candles, but not with red money packets and seedlings.[75] It also is unnecessary to send sweet dumplings that will later be returned with other sweet dumplings, while the ribbons will be exchanged for red string.

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73. Lilin-liong; decorative altar candles.

74. Muziek, in the original text. This instruction is a good example of the Chinese effort to rid themselves of Indonesian influences, while accepting those of the West.

75. Bibit. This is one example of the uncertainties of this translation.

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IX. The Wedding Day

19. The prospective bride may wear an embroidered jacket and sarong. She may also wear the modern Chinese loose blouse and skirt.

20. The gift for the matchmaker may take the form of an exceptionally generous red money packet.

X. The Wedding

The Hair Dressing and Shaving Ritual of the Groom.

21. The door of the house may have a ceremonial red cloth banner hung on it, but there is no need for the pasting up of prayers inscribed on red paper.

22. The ceremonial ornaments [of the groom] do not have to consist of a large quantity of varied objects nor do they have to be accumulated in advance. Such practices are of mixed origins.

23. It is permissible to use a ceremonial actor (samkaij).

24. It is unnecessary for the groom's hair to be combed by a small child.

XI. The Wedding Feast.

25. Do not eat and drink lavishly! Eat and drink properly and sparingly.

26. It is unnecessary for the groom to eat a combination of all the wedding dishes mixed together for him by the matchmaker.

XII. The Hair Dressing and Shaving Ritual of the Bride.

27. See nos. 21,22,23, and 24 above.

28. It is unnecessary, after praying and kowtowing to relatives, for the bride to wear a child's bib packed with four kinds of seedlings, two pieces of dry cake, four skewers of sweets made of kinkip[76] and a red money packet.

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76. Triphasia trifolia.

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XIII. Escorting the Bride.

29. Before going to fetch his bride, the groom sends a card along with a red money packet and some firecrackers. Those objects are escorted by the matchmaker, two wedding officials and two musicians. It is unnecessary to send the red money packet and the players.

30. The wedding carriage should not be covered with flowers and it should not have prayers on paper pasted on it. It is better to decorate it simply with a red cloth banner and two umbrellas.[77]

31. In front of the bride's house, the groom has yellow rice and pennies scattered over him. Do not have this done, for it is a mixed custom.

32. If there is a mutual agreement, a best man[78] is not needed.

33. If a best man is used, it is better not to observe an elaborate wedding ritual.[79]

34. The wedding official[80] offers tea or herb tea to the bridal couple and the best man Spirits, eggs and flowers are inappropriate.

35. The bridal couple need not stand on the ceremonial cloth [under their chairs?].

36. The groom approaches his bride without passing through the second door [presumably leading to the interior of the house].

37. In front of the groom's house, the couple need not be dusted with yellow rice.

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77. It is evident that the reformers did not realize that the umbrella is a traditional symbol of royalty in much of South-east Asia and, at a wedding, signifies that the bridal couple are temporarily regal. Thus, among Malays, for example, brides and grooms are dressed in styles otherwise appropriate only for their rulers. Had the reformers recognized the origin of the umbrella symbol, they surely would have denounced it.

78. The original Hokkien term is Kia Saij Poa.

79. Kia Lee.

80. Kianteng.

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38. The bride need not be carried nor given a small tea kettle. Being carried is a mixed custom. The parents-in-law of the couple lead their children inside, the groom going first.

39. After lifting the veil of his bride, the husband and his wife do not need to kneel and kowtow before the bed. They merely should bow to each other.

40. Before sitting at the bridal table, the man and his wife need not perform an elaborate bowing ritual.

41. Do not place fancy cakes, but merely arrange two wine cups, two teacups, one wine pot, one tea pot, two bowls, two plates and two pairs of chopsticks.

42. It is better actually to partake, if only sparingly, of the food and drink set out by the wedding official.

43. When drawing out the decorative hairpin [of the bride], the man does not need to press her head with his index finger.

44. The bride must let her husband undress her quickly.

45. Whether or not the traditional elaborate headgear (Hongkoa) is worn, once the bride is undressed, she should be given a loose blouse and a skirt to wear.

46. On the day after the wedding, it is unnecessary for the wedding official to come from the house of the bride's parents to raise the mosquito net of the bridal bed.

47. Only on the third day may the bride eat from the kitchen of her husband's house. If she cannot eat that food, why was she invited to the bridal table? [This question is both unclear and unanswered.]

Batavia, 1 September 1901

Khoe Siauw Eng

Secretary and Adviser

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Such was the phrasing of the circular that reformed so many customs and practices that today are unknown to most modern Chinese. Indeed many of the Chinese terms are no longer understood.[81] However, 40 years ago all of the practices were strictly and properly followed. Even though some broad-minded people then felt that it was burdensome and awkward to follow all the practices, almost no one dared rebel against them. That was not merely because they would be regarded as violating custom but also because they feared quarreling with the women in their families who in general were old-fashioned and fanatical in maintaining the old ways. Moreover, public opinion leaned to the conservatives.

At present, when the Chinese can free themselves from the restraints of custom in funerals and marriages and act in rational, moderate ways, it must not be concluded that THHK-Batavia erased all the old, stupid ways without difficulty. If the obstinance of the old people of the period is recalled, then it is clear that the THHK ideas met strong resistance and were attacked by the conservative faction.

As already stated, all of the funeral and marriage reform proposals put forward by THHK-Batavia took the form of opinions or suggestions to be voluntarily accepted by the membership. That arrangement was necessary because of the opposition to the implementation of so many reforms that came from older family members who argued so forcefully that a member might not adopt reforms, even though he fully agreed with them. Moreover, when THHK was first established, its Directors always moved cautiously because their power was weak and their group small. But, later, when the reforms were seen to be beneficial and there was wide approval for their implementation the Directors became more resolute.

Thus, when THHK-Batavia had existed for six years, in October 1906, a special Directors' meeting accepted a document entitled "Marriage Regulations," which established the rules and practices to be followed by those wishing to marry in the modern manner, using the THHK building as a church. At the ceremony, the wedding vows were to be read to the couple by the President or the Vice President of THHK who would then make a speech wishing the newlyweds good health and security. In that way the President or Vice President served in the manner of clergymen.

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81. The translator firmly supports this statement.

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In addition, instructions for a marriage committee were prepared, setting forth the duties of a committee composed of the President or Vice President as chairman and one commissioner, one secretary and one master of ceremonies as members.

Once the procedures and instructions were approved by a THHK meeting they were made known through the press and by circular to the membership and others who were receptive to reform suggestions.

The circular, which we have kept, is presented below without changes in vocabulary or spelling so that it can be read as it appeared 30 years ago:

Marriage Ceremony Regulations

Adopted at a special meeting of the officers of THHK-Batavia, 28 October 1906, no. 140.

1. These regulations are issued to fix the procedures for celebrating marriages.

2. The title of these regulations is "Marriage Ceremony Regulations."

3. Anyone wishing to follow these regulations, whether or not a member of THHK, may make his wishes known by letter to the officers of the association giving his name, address and occupation, as well as the name of his fiancee and the proposed date of the wedding, (no earlier than a month after receipt of the letter).[82]

4. Wherever branches of THHK-Batavia exist, these regulations are in force. Thus, weddings can be held at branches and the arrangement specified in paragraph three, above, can be made through branches.

5. A. The THHK Directors will decide which applications to approve and which to reject.

B. When an application is approved, a man may use the premises of THHK for his wedding at his own expense, but he may not have a red banner hung on the building nor place ceremonial objects inside it.

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82. The phrasing of these regulations demonstrates the degree to which THHK soon became a bureaucratic apparatus; indeed, it sought to be the de facto government of the Chinese.

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C. In the name of the THHK Directors, those asking to follow these regulations will be notified of the Directors' decision on their applications. If an application is approved, the applicant will be advised of the hour set for the wedding.

6. If a wedding is cancelled or postponed or if the date is advanced, the applicant is required to report the fact promptly to the THHK Directors.

7. Those wishing to follow these regulations are obliged not to deviate from what follows.

8. On the day and at the hour set, the parents of the couple are required to come to the THHK building with the couple, with or without guests.

9. When coming to the THHK building, the groom must ride in a separate vehicle, not with the bride. The two sets of parents must also ride in separate vehicles. The bride and groom may be accompanied by other adult relatives and, if desired, by wedding officials. However, no matchmaker[83] or sing-song girls or the like may participate.

10. When entering the grounds of the THHK building, the carriages of the groom and his party must enter first, after that the carriages of the bride and her party may enter.

11. The bride and groom and their parties are required to follow the instructions given them upon arrival by the THHK master of ceremonies.

12. When the President or the Vice President of THHK asks for it, the parents of the couple will provide the marriage contract to be read in front of the couple and those assembled.

13. While the marriage contract is being read, there may be no music played.

14. When the marriage contract has been read, the bride and groom will bow to each other as will the two sets of parents.

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83. Excluding the matchmaker in these regulations was a significant departure from the position taken on intermediaries in the earlier THHK views on marriage ceremonies. It is, perhaps, worth noting that in 1901 in this regard THHK used the Hokkien term tjo-h'm-lang, matchmaker; but in 1906 referred to tjomblang, which can mean pimp.

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15. When leaving the THHK building, the newly married couple may sit in the same carriage, accompanied by a relative of the bride or a wedding official.

16. From the THHK building, the couple should go directly to the groom's house to offer respect to the ancestral altar and to members of his family.

17. From the groom's house, the couple should go to the bride's house to offer respect in the manner just described.

18. When offering respect to members of the two families, the couple need not kneel for that would be exhausting.

19. In addition to the procedures set forth in these instructions, people marrying may do whatever else they have agreed upon.

If these instructions are followed, a wedding will have been performed.

[A brief section on the mechanics of forming and employing the THHK Marriage Committee has been omitted from the translation at this point. It contains nothing noteworthy beyond a sentence establishing the rules of dress for the Committee members, black jackets and white trousers or the reverse. The sentence perhaps illustrates the fact that THHK rules were specific and dealt with the personal behavior of the membership].

Those were the marriage regulations decided upon by THHK-Batavia for everybody, members and non-members, who wished to observe modern wedding customs and to use the THHK building as the place where a couple could meet to have a marriage legally performed with the reading of the marriage certificate and the offering of good advice [in a ceremonial speech]. But those regulations applied not only to conduct in the THHK building. Paragraphs 15 through 18 concern the exchange of ceremonial greetings in the houses of the couple and the ancestral rites performed after leaving the THHK building.

It is necessary to point out that the regulations were drawn up at the request of several Directors who sought to make the THHK building into a sort of church and to provide a model for marriages that would be moderately modern, yet proper. The great hope of the Directors for the success of their movement can be seen in the work of the Marriage Committee. It was hoped that in time many persons would use the opportunity to have marriages performed in the THHK building.

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But that hope was not realized, for records show that only about a half dozen couples were married according to the THHK regulations and for many years there has been no mention of weddings in the THHK building. That was probably due to the establishment of the Civil Registry for Chinese and to the shift in emphasis of THHK away from the reform of customs to an exclusive concern with the Chinese educational movement. And, indeed, reform is no longer much required, for the "modern group" has progressed to the point when marriages without religious or traditional practices are performed with bride and groom simply signing their names in front of the Civil Register.

However, as a leader and trail-blazer in pushing aside all sorts of old-fashioned, complicated practices and replacing them with rational, practical ones not in conflict with Chinese tradition, THHK truly played a large role. The association awakened people to reform and the improvement of everything confusing and awkward.

At the present time, when in nearly every city highly educated Chinese take the lead in backing the interests of their people whenever there is an unfair situation or heavy pressure from Government regulations, the representation of the whole Chinese community by a single organization is barely needed.

Thirty or forty years ago, however, when THHK was first founded, it was very different. The number of Chinese who then could speak, read and write Dutch was but a fraction of those who now hold degrees. Because THHK was the first Chinese association and had intelligent men in its leadership, it won the interest and the support of the community. It was justified for THHK to become the center of the movements for the reform of customs, education and moral and cultural elevation based on Confucianism, as well as the spokesman for all the Chinese of the Dutch East Indies whenever there was injustice and opposition or leadership was demanded.

Of course, THHK never acted outside propriety or the law, but within the association, at the meetings of the Directors, there was discussion of everything regarded as useful to the Chinese as a whole. There came out all kinds of thoughts on improving the position of the Chinese, not only in the area of education, but also in the economy and on steps to secure better rights and privileges as permanent residents of this

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country and on support for the nationalist movement to strengthen ties with China.

The Chinese today, who have so many privileges, do not always know how heavily the Chinese were oppressed and inconvenienced by regulations dating from the time of the East India Company which had survived over the years and were often applied heavily and without mercy. For example, the pass and segregated residential district systems, up until 20 years ago, made the position of the Chinese like that of internees. No Chinese could live outside a Chinese district even if he owned several houses in the European district, unless he obtained special permission from the Resident or the Assistant Resident. In a number of places, where influential Dutchmen who hated the Chinese lived--and such persons were not rare--the prohibition on living outside the Chinese district was so strict that some who had permits to operate businesses and dwell outside the Chinese district were chased out and forced back into segregated areas. The owner of a rice mill situated tens of miles[84] from a Chinese district would be forced to leave home early each morning only to return in the evening, no matter how heavy his work might be. Moreover, to travel to his place of business, he would have to have a pass with him to show the police; otherwise, he would be fined. When there were no automobiles, one can imagine the misery of owners who daily had to go back and forth to distant places to operate their businesses.

To go from one administrative district to another was even more difficult. For example, anyone wishing to travel from Bogor to Batavia had to apply for a pass from the district chief [wijkmeester], who would send the application to the office of the Assistant Resident where processing took hours. Applications had to be submitted one day before the proposed journey with a fee of f.50 to f 1.00. People who received telegrams reporting severe family illnesses could not travel quickly, even if a train were available, when the Assistant Residency was closed. A man from Bogor without a pass for Batavia could be held there in jail like a fugitive until a train could take him home. He ordinarily would also be fined f 25.00; and, if he could not pay, he would be sentenced to a month's forced labor cutting grass along the road or sweeping filth in the market or other public places. The fine of f 25.00 might also be imposed on those who had passes but who were traveling a few days behind schedule and had not had their passes properly endorsed.

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84. Beberapa poeloeh pal. Before motorized transportation such a distance could not have been traveled as described here. The author seems to have exaggerated.

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Similarly, a pass for travel from one town to another was valid only for visits within the town. If, for example, a Chinese went to a town, he could only visit the market place and could not decide to go swimming nearby without permission from the District Chief. Otherwise, he might be fined as if he had no pass at all. Permission to stay overnight in a village was rarely given. A man who wanted to visit a swimming resort for his health, had to produce a medical certificate; and passes were not always given in such cases.

In the matter of taxes, Chinese had to pay two times more than Europeans. Permission to enroll in Dutch primary schools was given only to the children of Chinese officers or of wealthy friends of the Resident. They had to pay the highest fees and sometimes had to board children with one of the teachers at high rates; because, even though the Assistant Resident as head of the School Committee had approved a child's enrollment, a principal might claim there was no room for him or say the child was not suited to mixing with European children or claim that the child had not learned good manners. Thus, in the end, to avoid trouble, the child would have to be boarded with a teacher.

The only escape from all those difficulties was in seeking legal assimilation as Europeans, but in former times not many could do that. Not only did a Chinese have to be carefully examined with respect to his wealth and education, he also had to be fluent in Dutch and know European customs and manners. Furthermore, he was required to state that he sought assimilation among Europeans because "he no longer felt at ease living and mixing with Chinese." Nevertheless, many of the wealthy who spoke Dutch hoped for assimilation, but formerly only a few accomplished it.

These circumstances have been described so that readers may know the position of the Chinese when THHK was founded. It was natural that, after they had a large, modern organization to lead them toward improvement, there would soon be a movement to free them from restraints and oppression.

In these matters, THHK-Batavia played a most important role. That association was not merely regarded as the leader by other THHK because it was the oldest and largest and was in the capital city of the Indies; it also was seen to be directed by men considered the most talented of all the distinguished Chinese of Java of the period. Under the leadership of Mr. Phoa Keng Hek, the THHK-Batavia officers, working both through and outside the association, were in touch with the Government in order to obtain relief for the Chinese from the many pressures and difficulties they had

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endured. That was especially the case during the administrations of Governors-General van Heutz and Idenberg.[85]

THHK-Batavia worked not only through the Government but also in large measure outside it. The leaders decided to establish a Malay language daily newspaper with Chinese capital to promote the interests of the Chinese community. That paper named Kabar Perniaga'an, later shortened to Perniaga'an, and finally named Siang Po[86] and still published under that name, can be said to have been the organ of THHK-Batavia. It was counted as the only paper in Malay of the period that dared to expose the oppression of the Chinese and to print sharp, biting criticism. Because there was at the time [of the paper's founding] no Chinese qualified to serve as editor and because no Chinese without the assimilated legal status of a European could risk being editor for fear of violating the press laws and incurring a sentence at forced labor, the office of chief editor was given to a Menadonese, Mr. F. D. J. Pengemanann. He wrote forcefully and critically under the guidance and prompting of THHK from which he received his facts.

Mr. Phoa Keng Hek himself often wrote in Perniaga'an under a pseudonym.[87] A series of his writings which caused a considerable stir in 1907 are faithfully reproduced below. In them the work of THHK is discussed in response to criticism in Java Bode[88] which was acknowledged to be anti-Chinese. Also, the many injustices and the oppression experienced by the Chinese of the period are exposed. Because that series of writings is so valuably informative to people today and because it is so closely related to the history of the Chinese movement in the Dutch East Indies, the writings will be reproduced one by one starting with the next issue [of Moestika Romans]. It is believed that those writings of 30 years ago by a distinguished, talented and famous Chinese who was the President of THHK will

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85. 1904-1909; 1909-1916, respectively.

86. Commercial news, commerce and commercial news, respectively. The final change to a Chinese name, shang-pao, reflects the increased nationalist orientation of the Indies pan-Chinese movement. As Siang Po, the paper was eventually published in Malay (later Indonesian) and Chinese editions and won both prestige and large circulations.

87. He signed himself Hoa Djien.

88. The leading Dutch newspaper of Batavia.

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capture the interest of all who read them.[89]

GAINS WON FOR ALL CHINESE RESIDENTS BY THHK

From what has been recorded, it is apparent that, when THHK was first established, the position of the Chinese was very bad.

1. There were a number of old laws from the time of the East India Company that discriminated against and severely restricted foreign Orientals,[90] including the Chinese.

2. The Chinese themselves had not yet developed a general consciousness of their rights and interests or a desire for the improvement of their position in this country. Only the powerful among the Chinese were active. That is, the opium monopolists,[91] most of whom were Chinese officers, rigidly enforced the pass and segregated residential district systems in order to halt the movement of [competing opium] smugglers.

3. There was not a single association working in the social sphere to better the lot of the Chinese. The secret societies provided some help in meeting funeral expenses; but, for the most part, they were sources of disunity, fighting, extortion, the promotion of gambling and other activities that hurt and disrupted society.

4. In the matter of education, not only were Chinese children denied Dutch schooling, there was no attention paid to teaching Chinese language and characters. There was only instruction by private tutors who followed the old system of trapping children for several years, from five in the morning to five in the evening, with no useful result gained.

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89. While the translator's interest in Phoa's writings is not inconsiderable, it has been decided not to include them here. They took the form of lengthy letters to the editor and dealt largely with the subjects covered in the main body of Kwee's work. Furthermore, a scholar wishing to read the letters no doubt could use back files of Perniaga'an. It would also be possible to request the translator or the Library of Brown University to furnish duplicated copies of the letters and the commentaries which accompany them.

90. Vreemde Oosterlingen; all Asians, except those indigenous to the archipelago.

91. The Government sold licenses to opium dealers. The former gained revenue; the latter made fortunes.

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5. There was no popular movement for the improvement of community [moral] standards, for the unification of the Chinese, for help to the sick, relief to the poor or to combat arbitrary treatment and the like.

6. There was no sign of any sort among the youth of a movement for the elevation of ideals, physical improvement or the increase of knowledge beyond the classroom. As a result, the activities of the young were largely in the direction of learning to chatter, dance, gamble, smoke opium, or, better still, to use weapons needed in street fighting, and to follow other evil paths.

7. Chinese customs and traditions had become mixed with indigenous beliefs and practices introduced by Indonesian women married to Chinese. Thus wedding and funeral customs and the like were extremely confused, terribly extravagant and very burdensome. They had drawn on all sorts of superstitions, like those customs of women who give offerings to idols in shrines or believe in witch doctors and the like. Those practices were far from the ancestral rites, temple ceremonies and other customs of the Chinese tradition.

THHK was the first association to work for progress in all those areas. The achievements of the movement were:

1. Chinese education, based on a modern system and directed by professional teachers, spread like a tide over all Indonesia.

2. The Dutch authorities established the Dutch-Chinese Schools[92] and opened doors to other schools that had long been closed.

3. There were popularized various reforms to remove confusion in custom and practice.

4. Interest in the study of Confucian philosophy was stimulated.

5. Feelings of nationalism and identity with the motherland[93] were generated.

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92. Hollandsch-Chineesche Scholen; Dutch in language of instruction and curricula, but Chinese in enrollment.

93. The author meant, of course, China.

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6. Youths were led into sports, social and other movements. The first Chinese sports association, Tiong Hoa Oen Tong Hwe[94] in Batavia was founded by THHK leaders and teachers. Associations like Shiong Tih Hui,[95] established by youths at Bogor, also were inspired by THHK.

7. The Dutch administration was awakened to the need to erase or reform regulations that were troublesome to foreign Orientals and to end offensive discrimination.

8. Chinese women were allowed to participate in social and educational movements because THHK schools also taught girls to be interested in sports, gymnastics, handwork, music and so on. Those girls later became leaders or promoters from the women's side.

9. Indonesians were inspired to follow the example of the Chinese movement, first at Batavia with the association, Daja Oepaja, which shared THHK goals, and later with the establishment of Boedi Oetomo throughout Java.

10. Progress was made by the Chinese in the publication of newspapers and magazines. In addition to Perniaga'an [Siang Po], the organ of THHK-Batavia, there were founded a number of weeklies to promote the study of Confucianism and the adoption of social and other reforms. They included Li Po in Sukabumi, Ho Po in Solo, Loen Boen in Surabaya and others.

11. The interest of the Chinese Government in the Chinese residents of Southeast Asia was awakened. Thus, almost every year officials were sent south to survey the situation [of the overseas Chinese]. Several times, warships and education inspectors were also sent. Khay Lam Hak Tong[96] was founded to provide higher education at Chinese Government expense for overseas Chinese children. There were other signs of Chinese Government support and concern.

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94. Chung-hua yün-tung hui.

95. Hsiung-ti hui; literally a brotherhood.

96. Chi-nan hsüeh-t'ang at Nanking.

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12. It came to be desired that cooperation and unity among the Chinese would replace the former fragmentation into local communities. That desire was seen in the annual conferences of Hak Boe Tjong Hwe[97] and later in the organization of other associations.

When considering both the direct and the indirect results of the movement, it is inadequate, indeed grossly false, to say that THHK failed in its work. It is certainly true, in the matter of education for locally-born Chinese children who stayed permanently in this country, the THHK schools did not meet the hopes and aspirations of the majority. But was Dutch schooling available [earlier] and could it have served the interests of the Chinese? With the rapid changes in living conditions and in the economy of this country, the question of education will always remain an important problem. Education can never be allowed to fall behind the times. What was once seen as satisfactory will not meet the demands of 20 years later. Therefore, if it is to be said that THHK failed in education, important achievements in other areas must not be forgotten.

The Chinese of Indonesia should not forget that THHK was the seedling or root of all the modern Chinese movements in Indonesia and was also an inspiration to the Indonesians.[98]

The services of the leaders of the movement....the founders of THHK-Batavia, who struggled so hard when the association was first founded for the realization of their noble aims, must not be forgotten.

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97. Hsüeh-wu tsung-hui, an educational association.

98. It is noteworthy that the author emphasizes and repeats this point. Perhaps a major research undertaking on the roles of the Chinese example in the national awakening of the Indonesians and other Southeast Asians would be worth consideration.

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