

The dynamics of indigenous education in the Dutch East Indies: Sekolah Dokter Djawa (Javanese Medical School) 1856-1913

Iswahyudi

Yogyakarta State University

ABSTRACT : During the period 1834 to 1848, the expansion of indigenous education remained in the planning stages. A possible explanation for his desire for indigenous education was the introduction of the Cultivation system in 1830. The intensification of the Dutch East Indies economy created a greater demand for native workers and administrators who could speak Dutch, as a result of which the colonial state had mainly economic interests in it as an extension of indigenous education. . However, it was not until 1848 that the budget was actually made available for indigenous education and it was until the late nineteenth century that plans for indigenous education were actually implemented. The Javanese Medical School which was established in collaboration between the Ministry of Education, Religious Affairs and Crafts and the Ministry of Health in 1851 was a continuation of the discussion about the need for native workers as vaccinators. In its development, the Javanese Doctor School is a vital institution due to the increasingly complex health problems handled by the government. Further collaboration between the Javanese Medical School and the Military Health Service (Militair Geneeskundise dienst) will influence the government's attitude in its further development. A very important change occurred in 1898 with the upgrade of the Javanese Medical School to become STOVIA (School tot Opleiding yan Inlandsche Artsen).

KEYWORDS: Education, indigenous people, Weltevreden, Javanese Medical School, vaccinators

I. INTRODUCTION

The idea that the colonial state in the Dutch East Indies was responsible for the education of indigenous people dates back to the nineteenth century. Although the 1818 government regulation still placed the responsibility for education with the indigenous population, the task of establishing indigenous education was not entrusted to the governor-general until 1854. The turning point in this shift in responsibility lay in 1848. Under the liberal Thorbecke government, a budget of 25,000 guilders were set aside from 1848 onwards for the establishment of an indigenous education system. In 1851 the first public school for indigenous peoples was established: training for indigenous teachers (training school) in Soerakarta, followed by the establishment of a second training school in Bandung in 1866 (Goovaarts-Tjia, 1999: 49-50). The colonial government handed over the establishment of customary primary schools, especially to the traditional regents. They set up their own district school for indigenous youth from rich backgrounds. In 1865 Java already had 58 district schools which were attended by a total of 3,017 native students (Goovaarts-Tjia, 1999: 50). Primary education in government was in a very modest state during the nineteenth century and was especially accessible to European youth. Incredibly, an indigenous student of wealthy descent can attend school in Europe, although the high entry requirements, including full command of the Dutch language, create additional barricades. Although the entry of native students to European education is limited, this is theoretically possible. It was the Minister for Colonies, ID. Fransen, who took a liberal orientation where European elementary schools were opened for native children in 1864 (Groeneboer, 1993: 236-237). However, this growth has been limited due to the increased focus on European schools. Not only for liberal ideological reasons, the colonial state expanded the education of the native people during the second half of the nineteenth century. Indigenous education also received the attention of Governor General Van den Bosch. He ruled the Dutch East Indies from 1830 to 1834 and tried to initiate the development of indigenous education. However, he encountered resistance from the Dutch and his plans to establish an indigenous school were rejected by King William I (Brugmans, 1938: 83).

During his tenure as colony minister from 1834 to 1848, the expansion of indigenous education remained in the planning stages. A possible explanation for his desire for indigenous education was the introduction of a cultural system in 1830. The intensification of the Dutch East Indies economy created a greater demand for native workers and administrators who could speak Dutch, as a result of which the colonial state had mainly economic interests in it as an extension of indigenous education. However, it was not until 1848 that the budget was actually made available for indigenous education and it was until the late nineteenth century that plans for indigenous education were actually implemented.

Hence, colonial education was largely the exception for the nineteenth century indigenous population. However, the modest and limited state of education for the indigenous population applies primarily to government education. The nineteenth century can be characterized in the field of education for the indigenous population as a strong development of missionary education and expansion of Islamic religious education. However, the government is critical of these forms of private education (Colijn, 1963: 150-151). Due to their religious emphasis, these schools will not be able to provide an "objective" picture of society, so this education can have a "confusing" effect on the students. The importance of the education of these schools cannot be denied. Especially in fighting illiteracy, much success was achieved in these schools in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the colonial administration maintained a critical stance towards this private school well into the twentieth century. The red line of religion that passes through the knowledge imparted in these religious schools will not improve the quality of education.

The dynamics of indigenous education : In the late nineteenth century, the European Primary School (*Europese Lagere School*= ELS) was the main route for the indigenous population to Western education. Although the demand for indigenous employees and company workers increased in the 1800s, it was still a very small number of indigenous people attending ELS schools. In 1900, there were about 1955 non-European students attending ELS schools and this number was only 10 percent of the total number of students (Groeneboer, 1993: 237). With a population of around thirty-five million, of which only 75,833 are European, this is a very small proportion of the indigenous population. Although ELS schools were the main route to higher education around 1900, the qualifications for entry to these ELS schools were very high in the early years of the twentieth century. The language of instruction is Dutch, so certain knowledge of this language is a requirement for entry. The government also doubts the number of indigenous students in the ELS school. Due to their inadequate knowledge of Dutch the government was worried that they would reduce the education level of other European students (Hazeu, 1963 : 156-157). Therefore, education for indigenous people must be carried out in separate institutions.

The desire to separate education was formed in 1892 with the establishment of the first class school (*Eerste Klasse School*) and the Second Class School (*Tweede Klasse School*) (Abendanon, 1963: 5-7). This is a school set up by the government for indigenous children from the upper classes of the indigenous population. The first grade school is intended for the children of the indigenous aristocracy, while the second grade school is in principle open to all indigenous people. However, due to the high cost of second-grade schools, these schools can still be accessed by indigenous children of wealthy parents. As a result, the first- and second-grade schools earned the nicknames "prominent population schools" and "ordinary citizen schools", respectively. In fact, the education department pays less attention to these indigenous schools. Its existence is neglected and the level of education is low, so that indigenous students who wish to continue to secondary education still have to attend ELS schools. The educational policy in the Dutch East Indies thus reached a crossroads. On the one hand, the colonial government could make ELS schools more accessible to indigenous children, on the other hand, the colonial government could improve the quality of indigenous schools and schools developed quantitatively. With the emergence of ethical politics, the colonial government seemed to choose the latter.

"As an embodiment of Christian power, the Dutch kingdom is obliged to inspire its government policies with the awareness that the Netherlands has a moral calling to the inhabitants of the region" (Groeneboer, 1993: 237). With this sentence Queen Wilhelmina officially paved a new way of Dutch colonial ethical policy in the Dutch East Indies in 1901. Under the keywords irrigation, emigration and education, the colonial government had to raise the indigenous population to a higher level bringing the level of economic and spiritual civilization. In the field of education, ethical politics operates in two directions: first, through the expansion of basic education for indigenous people and secondly through the expansion of indigenous education to make secondary education accessible to indigenous children. Governor-General Heutsz expanded the basic education of the indigenous people in 1907 with the establishment of a village school, also known as a people's school. Village schools are fairly simple village schools established with one important goal: fighting illiteracy at the local level. Basic education is left to the village community, so that larger groups of indigenous peoples can be reached at a lower cost, because the financing of village schools and the appointment of teachers will also be arranged from the village community. This was a profitable move for the colonial government, because second-grade schools were too expensive for the general expansion of indigenous peoples (Brugmans, 1938: 305-306). This was a profitable move for the colonial government, because second-grade schools were too expensive for the general expansion of indigenous peoples. The establishment of village schools contributed primarily in a quantitative sense to the primary objective of educating indigenous people. Except for some handicraft lessons and arithmetic principles, village schools are limited to teaching reading and writing in the local language. The colonial government

Wanted a simple curriculum because it left education to the indigenous villagers, because a more in-depth curriculum required a European teacher (Brugmans, 1938: 306-307). Although basic education is exempted to the indigenous population, the education department has a long list of requirements and guidelines for establishing village schools, up to a long school table (Pott and van Rees, 1963: 69-77). Villagers finance and manage village schools, but must organize schools according to the rules of the education department. In addition to the existing village schools and second-grade schools, first-grade schools were also subject to change in the first twenty years of the twentieth century. The colonial administration recognized the importance of these schools and wanted to equate their educational value with ELS schools. This happened in 1914 when the first grade school was renamed to *Hollands-Inlandsche School* (HIS) (Brugmans, 1938:319-320). The primary objective of this primary school is to teach Dutch, which is why gifted HIS students can easily transition to secondary education. The new challenge for the colonial administration was to expand secondary education for Indigenous people. In the early 20th century, four Hogere Burgerscholen (HBS), including a gym in Batavia, had opened in the Dutch East Indies. However, these schools are direct copies from the Netherlands. These four schools are sufficient for young European students who attend school, but new solutions must be designed for a growing influx of indigenous students. Brugmans also describes the westernization of education under the wing of ethical politics. On the contrary, he emphasized the ideal of a new ethics course: nothing is clearer than the idea that provisions. Western culture is the best and fastest way to elevate the inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies to the high levels that Western civilization has long achieved. According to Brugmans, since the enactment of the ethical policy, education officials with all their zeal to bring indigenous civilization to a higher level have lost sight of the "peculiarity of the Dutch East Indies", making the westernization of colonial education a natural outcome (Brugmans, 1938: 290). After all, the designs of educational institutions, curricula, textbooks and even the teachers in some cases were imported directly from the Netherlands.

Despite the role of ethical ideals in the formation of a functioning education system in the Indies, Brugmans saw no socio-economic rationale for the westernization of education, namely the developing colonial state and the resulting demand for native civil servants. Therefore, not only education policymakers were responsible for the transformation of colonial education, but the changing nature of indigenous peoples themselves also played a major role in this. The colonial government did not have a monopoly on education in the Dutch East Indies and could not follow its own path, without being criticized by the population. The Javanese Medical School (*Sekolah Dokter Djawa*) which was established in collaboration between the Ministry of Education, Religion & Crafts (*Departement van Onderwijs, Eeredienst & Nijverheid*) and the Ministry of Health in 1851 was a continuation of the discussion about the need for native workers as vaccinators. a vital institution because of the increasingly complex health problems handled by the government. Further collaboration between the Javanese Medical School and the Military Health Service (*Militair Geneeskundigedienst*) will influence the government's attitude in its further development. A very important change occurred in 1898 with the upgrade of the Javanese Medical School to become STOVIA (*School tot Opleiding yan Inlandsche Artsen*). The interesting thing about this institution is that later, like what Savitri Prastiti Scherer wrote, there will be many professional priyayi groups to be opposed by bureaucratic priyayi supported by established priyayi (Prastiti Scherer, 1985: 225-226). This fact can be understood by because as a free middle class they are not tied to the government and can move outside the government bureaucracy. This interest in the painting descriptively is also conveyed by the educational systems from time to time in a theoretical manner. Likewise with the relationship between it and the culture and philosophy that underlie human life at that time. From that viewpoint, it is hoped that a writing can reach up to its *zeitgeist*, so that the existence of social phenomena can be better understood.

This review that emphasizes the policy in the field of education focuses more on the original goal, namely that which emphasizes the policy of bureaucratization and mass recruitment, not education policy in the framework of the formation of a native intellectual elite. As is well known, education in the formal sense has long been used as a central issue in discussions about the dynamics of society, especially in the context of social mobility. In relation to that, it is natural that the educational process is always placed in a decisive position, some even place it as a liberating factor for the group to play an important role in society, coupled with possible social, political and economic situations. This will clearly further clarify the direction he wants to achieve. It was really a difficult choice for the government at that time in implementing its educational policy. On the one hand, the government wants to stick with the policies that have been implemented, but on the other hand there is pressure from several groups to add to the existing portion. It is known that in the Dutch Parliament itself there were two opposing camps in their efforts to ensure that the ideas of their group were adopted by the government. In line with the political waves that existed at that time, groups who were influenced by ethical ideals had the opportunity and finally got a vote in the Dutch parliament (Kartodirdjo, et al. ed., 1975: 25).

Western education, which offers many opportunities for society, is a separate, multi-faceted dimension. From there also arises a basic assumption regarding a small group of people who are fortunate to receive Western education, namely that they will later play a lot of important roles by offering advanced ideas. It cannot be denied that many places provided for native high school graduates are not suitable for their fields. One clear example is the case of R.M.A Koesoemo Joedo, as the son of Paku Alam V who successfully graduated from Leiden University with a specialization in Indology, apparently unable to get a job in accordance with his field for trivial reasons (Sutherland, 1983: 50-51). In addition, the school atmosphere that still views Europeans as having superiority is still very pronounced, especially when you listen to Achmad Djajadiningrat's account regarding his experience when he first entered Western schools (Djajadiningrat, 1936: 67). One more side that would be interesting to examine further is related to the emergence of the urban middle class as a direct result of the increasing quality and quantity of education. Wahidin Sudirohusodo, Tjipto Mangunkusumo Soetomo, Gunawan Mangunkusumo, and Suwardi Suryaningrat are figures who can be said to represent their era to promote ideas of progress (Surjomihardjo, 1980: 19). As representatives of his era, of course there are certain qualifications which in this case it is often not enough to rely solely on educational background. In fact, it is quite difficult to put forward the above premise because until now there has never been any research that specifically addresses this problem in accordance with the period. However, from this vague signal, it is hoped that an analytical description will be drawn, in accordance with the purpose of this writing.

Javanese Medical School (*Sekolah Dokter Djawa*): Weltevreden is the name of an area located in the city of Batavia, which in the following description will be discussed a lot. As an educational center for the Javanese Medical School (*Sekolah Dokter Djawa*), the name Weltevreden has a long history. In its position as the new city center, it is hoped that it will be able to replace the old city area (Pasar Ikan) which is deemed not eligible as a city center, partly due to health conditions that cannot be accounted for (Stibbe et al., 1919: 751). According to F.de Haan, the name Weltevreden was thought to have been given by Cornelia Chastelein, who in 1697 built a house and two sugar cane mill, then he began to expand his land (Haan, MCMXXXV: 311-319). Previously, when the area still belonged to Anthony Paviljoen, in 1648, it was still a swamp forest area and partly in the form of grasslands. Only after being leased to the Chinese did sugarcane and vegetable gardens and several rice fields appear in the region. The Weltevreden area, which is geographically located somewhat higher than other areas, such as Noordwijk, Rijswijk, Koningsplein, Tanah Abang, Parapatan, Menteng, and Gondangdia, has the following boundaries: to the north along the Sluice Street (sluisbrug) from the post office up to Gunungsari, on the east from Jalan Gunungsari through the Senen market to Jalan Kramatbrug, on the south from Jalan Kramatbrug to the river (Prapatanbrug), while in the west it is bordered by the Ciliwung River (Stibbe et al., 1919 751).

A further development that should be noted is the establishment of a market in Weltevreden in 1735, which later became known as Pasar Senen and was founded when the area became the property of Justinus Vinck. The next successive owner was Jacob Mossel, who more or less in the mid-18th century built a large building known as Het Landhuis Weltevreden. Since 1767 Weltevreden belonged to Governor General Petrus Albertus van der Parra, who served from 1761-1775 and then in 1797 was bought by Governor General Mr. Pieter Gerardus van Overstraten (1796-1801). The government's desire to hold a health course which was later upgraded to become a Javanese Medical School is closely related to various aspects that occur in society. On the one hand, this clearly shows that the government's attention to the problem of education is getting better. This fact was also supported by the legality of the political education that was implemented at that time. Likewise, on the other hand, the establishment of this health course is closely related to the government's need for educated personnel in the health sector. an atmosphere like this is very coloring against the establishment of educational institutions that print this vaccinator. It should be emphasized here that the government has long hoped that this group will be able to replace the role of the dukun who are many in society. The real difference between a Javanese doctor and a dukun is in their educational qualifications. A shaman bases his treatment on super natural things such as amulets, heirlooms and so on. A Javanese Doctor (*Inlandsche Arts* or *Dokter Djawa*) based on scientific knowledge based on Western medical knowledge (Encyclopaedia van Nederlandsch-Indie, 1919:767-768). As is known, they also practice treating a disease in a traditional way.

The government's desire to educate the native people to become injection doctors is getting stronger and is gaining the right momentum with the receipt of reports about the outbreak of various dangerous diseases in the Banyumas area. A. De Waart in his article stated that in 1847 Dr. W.Bosch as the official head of the Health Service has received reports that the Banyumas Residency has contracted various kinds of dangerous diseases, such as bubonic plague and smallpox. At that time the government in Java was divided into three provinces. West Java Province consists of the residencies of Banten, Batavia, Bogor, Karawang, Priangan and Cirebon;

Central Java Province covers the residency of Pekalongan, Banyumas, Kedu, Semarang, Jepara-Rembang; East Java Province covers the residencies of Madiun, Bojonegoro, Kediri, Surabaya, Malang, Besuki, and Madura (Day, 1904: 74). This situation prompted the government to provide each village with a health guide book in Javanese or Malay with the aim that each village could maintain the health of the village and its inhabitants. However, it turned out that this idea did not get support, so that a new idea emerged to form a health corps consisting of syringes from among the population itself. In this regard there is primarily an emphasis on educating semi-skilled health workers for government programs that show the government is still ambivalent (Waart, 1929: 3). From these ideas, finally the government, based on its session on November 9, 1847, decided to take several healthy and capable young men from all over Java to be educated to become practical health professionals; Of course, this should be added with the conditions of reading and writing Javanese and Malay characters. Then another absolute requirement is that they are at least 16 years old and they will later be educated at the Military Hospital in Weltevreden. Thus, from the results of the trial, it was only a matter of waiting for further steps from the government, of course through cooperation between agencies, namely the Health Service, Ministry of war (*Departement van Oorlog*), and the Home Affairs Department, to procure students. This place of education will be added to the Semarang and Surabaya Military Hospitals. In these three places the courses referred to in the description above were held. The decision of the government session within two years has been stated in the Government Decree dated January 2, 1849 No. 22, which among other things contains the following provisions (Gouvernement Besluit van 2 Januari 1849 No.22):

- a. A total of 30 Javanese youths will be educated at the Military Hospital for free and then will be appointed as a medical officer and syringe.
- b. The young men were selected from a good family environment, polite, clever in Malay language, able to write and read Javanese characters and were gifted. They will be appointed as government employees in positions as Health Speeches or Injectors who as far as possible will become health educators in their respective areas.
- c. They are given a salary of f.15,- per month, in addition to getting free housing from the government.
- d. Admission was determined in 1849 in Weltevreden 12 people, plus 6 people in 1850, and the rest in Semarang and Surabaya 6 people each so that the total number of 30 people.
- e. The leadership and management are handed over to the Head of the Health Service (*Chef over den Geneeskundigen Dienst*), assisted by Class I and Class II Health Officers at Military Hospitals and several teaching staff for certain subjects.

Of course, the selection of young people is based on criteria that have been determined by the government, in this case, loyalty plays a role in the election of a person. This unilateral conclusion can be drawn due to a fairly loose dispensation from the leadership. The Health Office to allow the respective residents of Banten, Priangan, Cirebon, Tegal and Pekalongan as well as the Assistant Resident of Bogor to nominate two youths to be educated. A further provision is that the head of the Health Office has the right to choose one of them. All of this, based on the consideration that the residents have good character and have made many contributions (Gouvernement Besluit van 2 Januari 1849 No.22). As a course that emphasized sufficient skills in a relatively short period of time it was officially opened in January 1851, after the necessary preparations had been made. Dr. P. Bleecker, a Class I Health Officer at the Weltevreden Hospital, was appointed by the head of the Health Service. Then as a provider of courses on medicine, surgery and injection, G. Wassink, also a Class I Health Officer was appointed (Waart, 1929: 2-3). During this course, 15 subjects were taught including: basics of Dutch, arithmetic, geometry, geography (Europe and Indonesia), inorganic chemistry, astronomy, natural sciences, aircraft science (medical equipment), soil science, flora science, zoology, body anatomy, principles of pathology, obstetrics, and surgery (Waart, 1929: 3). Furthermore, in the Gouvernement Besluit January 14, 1850 No.3, the budget provided by the government is f.16,758,- per year for salary, residence, and so on, with the following details (Gouvernement Besluit 14 Januari 1850 No.3):

1. Batavia	18 students	f. 8.283,-	a f. 460,-
2. Semarang	6 students	f. 3,684,-	a f. 614,-
3. Surabaya	6 students	f. 4.791,-	a f. 800,-

If we observe carefully, this amount is already a quite high budget from the government, of course in the financial condition as at that time. This amount is also an increase than what has been stipulated in the Gouvernement Besluit dated January 2, 1849 No. 22 which stipulates the amount of the allowance amounted to f. 5400,- per year. Repeated revisions suggest that the relatively short course is not sufficient to educate a fully prepared health care professional.

Then based on the Government Decree dated June 5, 1853 No.10, since 1856 education was increased to three years and for the first time six students received from outside Java, two each from West Sumatra, two from Minahasa, and two others from other islands (Wart, 1929: 4). The increase in levels concerning the length of education also brings consequences for the graduates. In accordance with the Government Decree dated May 11, 1856 No.3, the graduates were given the title Javanese Doctor (*Dokter Djawa*) (Gouvernement Besluit 11 Mei 1856 No. 3). A further consequence was that the health course was upgraded to become a Javanese Medical School. In connection with this, after these Javanese doctors started carrying out their duties, they were under the supervision of the Civil Health Service with salaries ranging from f. 30 - f. 50 per month. It is also hoped that in carrying out their duties they will always develop their knowledge, so that it is not limited to what has been obtained from education. This Javanese doctorate title is often referred to as *Dhemang Dokter*, where the title is *Dhemang*. This has an equal position with other *Dhemang* titles such as *Dhemang Tamping*, *Dhemang Pemajekan*, *Dhemang Pangrambi*, *Dhemang Mloyo*, *Dhemang* and so on. This *dhemang* title has the connotation of accompanying (*geleider*) and leader (*hoofd*). Likewise, the aforementioned *dhemang* title has almost the same meaning. *Dhemang* doctor means someone who serves as a health officer under the Health Office, as well as *dhemang pemajekan* which means the head of the land tax recipient office (Gouvernement Besluit 5 Juni 1853 No.10). Apart from obtaining this title they are also entitled to use other honors. By the governor general, at the suggestion of the leadership of the Health Service, it was agreed on the use of these honorifics. Thus, it is hoped that it will be able to distinguish it from a shaman and aligning with other indigenous officials. As stated in Resolution 24 February 1824 No.3 (Staatsblad No.13), for a sign of honor. A doctor's *dhemang* is in the form of: one *lantee*, one *epok*, one umbrella (*songsong*) and two *panurong* spears.

The progress that has been made by the Javanese Medical School is mainly due to the increasingly stable infrastructure that supports education. It seems that the curriculum refinement continues to be carried out with continuous reorganization, such as increasing the level of education to 5 years. The five-year education includes a preparatory period (*voorbereidende afdeling*) for two years and at an advanced level (*geneeskundige afdeling*) with a period of five years. Age restrictions are also applied, namely between 14-18 years and have a diploma from a government school (*inlandsche gouvernementsschool*). Likewise for entry, an entrance examination has been held. In 1898 when the position of school director was held by dr. H.F. Roll held a total overhaul covering the curriculum and educational infrastructure. The name of the Javanese Medical School was later changed to STOVIA (School tot Opleiding yan Inlandsche Artsen) and its graduates were entitled to hold the title *Inlandsche Artsen*.

II. CONCLUSION

As mentioned above, the main objective in this paper is to find a common thread connecting the political education policy of the colonial government with the Javanese Medical School and also with the national movement in its early stages. These three main issues are interrelated. It turns out that from this writing a picture can be given according to our basic assumption that the colonial government at that time was ambivalent in implementing its policies. In this connection, what comes to the surface is a side effect which turns out to be able to promote internal dynamics in society. This fact has caused the government's practical goals not to meet their targets, but for several decades it has shown results in line with the government's expectations. In relation to government policies which resulted in the emergence of ideas regarding progress, it is closely related to the function of education itself as a modernization factor, even in this case there is an opinion that says education is dynamite for colonialism. Here it was also revealed that the aims of bureaucratization and mass recruitment were the goals of the colonial government's educational politics. Expected. with this the graduates were able to fill and carry out lowly functions in colonial society. Meanwhile, from the education system, creating educated groups through the Javanese Medical School (*Sekolah Dokter Djawa*) to occupy a position as the modern elite is an inevitable by-product.

The Javanese Medical School whose graduates are given ranks commensurate with the rank of civil servants is actually a form of socialization of obedience to the government as well as other government employees. The government, which acted in this generalizing way, was apparently not aware of the universal function of the fledgling higher education system. The Javanese Doctor School is an educational institution that carries out that mission, where through its Western educational philosophy, it has created a feeling among its students to think forward. Later this feeling found the right momentum with the increasingly refined teaching curriculum in this school and the political climate that took place in the Dutch East Indies. After the reorganization in 1898 which changed the name of the Javanese Medical School to STOVIA, the dynamics of the students became increasingly apparent. The situation from within was then added to the atmosphere of life in a big city like Batavia which offered an opportunity to breathe in the air of freedom.

This is quite reasonable because as a member of society who has one expertise in the field of health, he finds a supportive community atmosphere, which is different from; the situation in the small towns where it was impossible for even a person who had a particular profession to live outside of a feudal atmosphere, let alone the displeasure of the already established *priyayi* group of the new *priyayi*.

REFERENCE

1. Gouvernement Besluit van 2 Januari 1849 No. 22. Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI)
2. Gouvernement Besluit van 14 Januari 1850 No.3. Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI).
3. Gouvernement Besluit van 11 Mei 1856 No.3. Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI).
4. Boeke, J.H., 'De ethische richting in de Nederlandsch-Indische politiek', *De Gids* 104 (1940): 21-35.
5. Brooshoofd, P., "De ethische koers in de koloniale politiek". Amsterdam, 1901.
6. Brugmans, I.J., *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indie*. Groningen-Batavia: J.B. Wolters Uitgevers Maatschappij N.V., 1938.
7. Brugmans, I.J., *Het Volksonderwijs en de Volkstelling*. G.Kolf & Co. – Weltevreden, *Overdrukuit Koloniale Studien* 1-14de jaargang Februari 1934.
8. Brugmans, I.J., "Politik Pengajaran", in H. Baudet, I.J. Brugmans (eds.), *Politik Etis dan Revolusi Kemerdekaan*, Translated by Amir Sutaarga, Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1987
9. Brumund, *Het Vakonderwijs onder de Javanen*. Batavia: Van Haren Noman & Kolff, 1837.
10. Burgers, Herman, *De Garoeda en de Ooievaar: Indonesie van koloniale tot Nationale staat*. Leiden: KITLV – Uitgeverij, 2011
11. Day, Clive, *The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java*. New York: 1904.
12. Djajadiningrat, P.A.A., *Herinneringen van Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat*. Amsterdam-Batavia, 1936
13. Furnivall, J.S. *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India*. Cambridge: University Press, 1948
14. Goovaarts-Tjia, M.T.N., *Hollands Onderwijs in een koloniale samenleving. De Chinese ervaring in Indonesië 1900-1942*. Leiden, 1999.
15. Groeneboer, Kees, *Weg tot het Westen. Het Nederlands voor Indië 1600-1950*. Leiden, 1993.
16. Habbema, J., "Een pleidooi voor het Inlandsch Onderwijs" *De Indische Gids*, 1900, II.
17. Hartgerink, H.J.H., *De Staten-Generaal en het Volksonderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indie (1848-1918)*, Groningen-Batavia: J.B. Wolters Uitgevers Maatschappij N.V., 1942.
18. Kartodirdjo, Sartono et al. ed., *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia V*. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1975
19. Kats, J., *Overzicht van het onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indie*. Batavia, 1915.
20. Keuchenius, L.W.C., *Handelingen der Regeering en der Staten Generaal betreffende het Reglement op het beleid der regeering van Nederlandsch Indie, 3 Delen*, Utrecht, 1857.
21. Klooster, H.A.J., *Indonesiers schrijven hun geschiedenis: De ontwikkeling van de Indonesische geschiedbeoefening in theorie en praktijk, 1900-1980*. Verhandelingen van het KITLV No. 113, Dordrecht –Holland/Cinnaminson-USA: Foris Publications, 1985.
22. Kraemer, H., 'Het Volksonderwijs en de Crisis', in *Koloniale Studiën*. Tijdschrift van de Vereeniging voor studie van Koloniaal-Maatschappelijke Vraagstukken. Batavia 1933.
23. Mangoensarkoro, S., 'Het Nationalisme in de Taman Siswa-beweging', *Koloniale Studiën*. Tijdschrift van de Vereeniging voor studie van Koloniaal-Maatschappelijke Vraagstukken. Batavia 1937.
24. Mansveldt, W.M.F., 'Onderwijs en Communisme', *Koloniale Studiën*. Tijdschrift van de Vereeniging voor studie van Koloniaal-Maatschappelijke Vraagstukken. Batavia 1928, 1/2.
25. Neijs, K., *Westerse Acculturatie en Oosters Volksonderwijs*. Leiden: Drukkerij Luctor et Emergo, 1945.
26. Nurtjahjo, Andry, *Peranan Sekolah Dokter Jawa Pada Masa Pergerakan Nasional 1898 -1913*. Research report Faculty of Letters, Gadjah Mada University Yogyakarta 1988-1989.
27. Poerbakawatja, Soegarda, *Pendidikan dalam alam Indonesia Merdeka*. Djakarta: Gunung Agung, 1970
28. Soeratman, Darsiti, "Politik Pendidikan Belandadan Masyarakat di Djawa Pada Achir Abad 19 " dalam *Seminar Sedjarah Nasional II*. P. IV/26. Jogjakarta 26-29 Agustus 1970.
29. Stibbe, D.G., W.C.B. Winstgens, F.M. Uhlenbeck, *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie*, 6 delen, Tweede druk, s'-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1919.
30. Surjomihardjo, Abdurrachman, Budi Utomo Cabang Betawi. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1980
31. Sutherland, Heather, *Terbentuknya Sebuah Elit Birokrasi*. Translated by Sunarto. Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1983.
32. Van den Berg, L.W.C., "De Mohammedaansche geestelijkheid en de Mohammedaansche goederen op Java en Madoera", T.B.G. XXVII, 1882

33. Van Deventer, C.Th., "Een Eereschuld", *De Gids*, 1899.
34. Verslag omtrent het Middelbaar en Lager Onderwijs Voor Europeanen en met deze gelijkgestelden in Nederlandsch Indië over 1892. Batavia Landsdrukkerij 1895
35. Vickers, A., *A History of Modern Indonesia*. Cambridge, 2005.
36. Waart, A.De, "Vijf-en-zeventig Jaren Medisch Onderwijs te Weltevreden" dalam Gedenkboek der STOVIA Ontwikkeling van het Geneeskundige Onderwijs te Weltevreden 1851-1926. Uitgegeven tot Herdenking van het 75 Jarig Bestaan van de STOVIA Weltevreden: G.Kolff.& Co., 1929
37. Wal, S.L. van der, *Het Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië 1900-1940*. Groningen 1963.
38. Wertheim, W.F., *Indonesian Society in Transition, A Study of Social Change*, 2nd edition. Bandung :Sumur Bandung, 1956.