1 The origins of the idea of Indonesia

Before the twentieth century, there was no Indonesia and thus no Indonesians. In the archipelago that stretched between continental Asia and Australia, states and statelets abounded, some loosely articulated by slowly gathering Dutch imperial power, but localism remained the predominant motif of political and cultural identity. There was 'not a single flag but many flags'.[1] Equally, there was in the archipelago nothing by way of broadly conceived, modern, decisive, indigenous leadership. The political idea of 'Indonesia' (that is, that there was an archipelago-wide state, and that it might have other forms of existence than as the colony of a cold, wet little country facing the North Sea) was very slow to develop in comparison with thinking of a similar kind in, say, China or India or Vietnam. Indeed, no one knew quite what to name the region until the early decades of the twentieth century. Non-Dutch travellers and officials called it 'the Eastern Seas', 'the Eastern Islands', 'the Indian Archipelago', to name a few. The Dutch sometimes employed terms like 'the Indies', 'the East Indies', 'the Indies possessions', or even, later, 'Insulinde' (the islands of the Indies), and as their political connection with the region grew, 'the Netherlands (East) Indies', and they saw it as part of 'tropisch Nederland' (the tropical Netherlands).

The word 'Indonesia' was first manufactured in 1850 in the form 'Indu-nesians' by the English traveller and social observer George Samuel Windsor Earl. He was searching for an ethnographic term to describe 'that branch of the Polynesian race inhabiting the Indian Archipelago', or 'the brown races of the Indian Archipelago'. But, having coined his new term, he immediately rejected it – it was 'too general' – in favour of what he deemed to be a more specific descriptor, 'Malayunesians'. A colleague, James Logan, undeterred by Earl's decision, decided that 'Indonesian' was in fact a more telling and correct usage, to be employed primarily as a geographical rather than an ethnographic term:

[1] Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, *Sumatran sultanate and colonial state: Jambi and the rise of Dutch imperialism, 1830–1907*, trans. Beverley Jackson (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 2004), p. 34.

I prefer the purely geographical term Indonesia, which is merely a shorter synonym for the Indian islands or the Indian Archipelago. We thus get Indonesian for Indian Archipelagian or Archipelagic, and Indonesians for Indian Archipelagians or Indian Islanders.[2]

Distinguishing between geographical and ethnological uses of words, Logan was the first person to employ the name 'Indonesia' to describe, however loosely, the geographical region of the archipelago. He proceeded to make relatively free but not exclusive ('the Indian Archipelago must remain') use of the words 'Indonesia', 'Indonesian' and 'Indonesians' in this basic geographical sense here and in later writings. Indeed, he divided 'Indonesia' into four distinct geographical regions, stretching from Sumatra to Formosa.

His use of 'Indonesia' was not immediately followed. Only in 1877 did E. T. Hamy, a French anthropologist, employ the word 'Indonesians' to describe specific prehistoric and 'pre-Malay' racial groups within the archipelago. In 1880, the British anthropologist A. H. Keane followed Hamy's usage. In the same year, a more properly geographical sense of the term, along Logan's lines, was employed by a British linguist, N. B. Dennys, a practice adopted by W. E. Maxwell two years later.[3] Adolf Bastian, the famed German ethnographer, well apprised of Logan's earlier use of the term, employed the term in his five-volume *Indonesien oder die Inseln des Malayischen Archipel*, published in 1884–94.[4] Given Bastian's scholarly eminence, his adoption of the term gave it a previously unknown respectability.

Apparently encouraged by Bastian's usage of the term, the brilliant Dutch ethnologist and former Indies official G. A. Wilken, from September 1885 professor at the University of Leiden, adopted in that year the terms 'Indonesia', 'Indonesian', 'Indonesians'. Himself a prodigious scholar, Wilken was familiar with and highly appreciative of Bastian's work – he spoke of Bastian as 'the prince of ethnologists'[5] – and also acquainted with Logan's earlier efforts. He employed the usage both in its geographic sense (the 'Indonesian' archipelago) and (much less

[2] J. R. Logan, 'The ethnology of the Indian archipelago: embracing enquiries into the continental relations of the Indo-Pacific islanders', *JIAEA* 4 (1850), 254n.

[3] H.Th. Fischer, 'Indonesië en Indonesiërs', in H. Hoogenberk (ed.), *Cultureel Indië: bloemlezing uit de eerste zes jaargangen 1939–1945* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), p. 203; Jan B. Avé, '"Indonesia", "Insulinde" and "Nusantara": dotting the i's and crossing the t', *BKI* 145 (1989), 222, 227.

[4] *Encyclopaedië van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 1 ('s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, n.d. [1896]), pp. 126–7. This first edition of the *Encyclopaedië* has no entry for 'Indonesië'.

[5] G. A. Wilken, 'De vrucht van de beoefening der ethnologie voor de vergelijkende rechtswetenschap' [1885], in F. D. E. Ossenbruggen, *De verspreide geschriften van Prof. Dr. G. A. Wilken* (Semarang: G. C. T. van Dorp, 1912), vol. 2, p. 93.

frequently) in a broader cultural sense (the peoples sharing cognate languages and cultures, extending as far as Madagascar to the west and Taiwan to the north). But he much preferred 'Indies Archipelago', and only occasionally employed the word 'Indonesia(n)'. Nonetheless, his example was followed about the same time by Dutch colleagues, including the linguist H. Kern, and thereafter by G. K. Niemann, C. M. Pleyte and others. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, the eminent Islamologist, spoke of 'Indonesians' and 'Indonesia', albeit very sparingly – he much preferred the common term *Inlander* (native).[6] A. C. Kruyt, the noted missionary and ethnographer, made use of the terms 'Indonesia' and 'Indonesians' in his 1906 writings on animism, again in a purely cultural sense.[7]

Some indication of the limited acceptance of the term may be gained from an analysis of the terms used for the archipelago by ethnographers, geographers and travel writers in the last part of the nineteenth century. A scan of the voluminous *Repertorium* under the rubric 'anthropologie–ethnographie: de Indische Archipel' indicates that such terms as 'Indonesia/Indonesien/Indonesier/Indonesischer/Indonesische/Indonesisches/Volkern Indonesiens' were used just four times in the titles of learned articles between 1866 and 1893, another four times between 1894 and 1900, and three times between 1901 and 1905.[8] The broad cultural sense of the term predominated, so that the ethnographer Kern could assert that 'the northerly island group of Indonesia is formed by the Philippines'.[9] Somewhat similarly, the second volume of the *Encyclopaedië van Nederlandsch–Indië* (1899) remarked that

> in a geographic sense the terrain of the Malay race is the world of islands, which divides itself into the sub-sections Indonesia, New Guinea, Melanesia, Polynesia, Micronesia, the Philippines, New Zealand and Madagascar, to which must be added the Melaka peninsula and the interior of Formosa. The population size of the people and groups of these islands is about 45 million, of which no less than 33 million belong to the Netherlands Indies.[10]

[6] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1889), vol. 2, pp. xii, 347; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*, vol. 2 (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1894), pp. viii, ix, 7, 12, 18, 295, 308; Snouck in E. Gobée and C. Adriaanse (eds.), *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889–1936*, vol. 2 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1959), pp. 1383, 1410, 1412, 1413.

[7] Jan B. Avé, 'Supplementary remarks on Russell Jone's [sic] article on "Indonesia"', *Archipel* 12 (1976), 228.

[8] A.Hartmann, *Repertorium op de literatuur betreffende de Nederlandsche koloniën, voor zoover zij verspreid is in tijdschriften en mengelwerken* (3 vols., 's Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1895, 1901, 1906).

[9] H. Kern, 'Rassen en talen in den archipel', in H. Colijn (ed.), *Neerlands Indië: land en volk, geschiedenis en bestuur, bedrijf en samenleving* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1911), vol. 1, p. 105.

[10] *ENI*, vol. 1 [1899], p. 86.

What is notable about these usages from the time of Bastian is not just their vagueness and generality, but also their emerging function as a descriptor of a region seen to be occupied by people of roughly similar ethnic characteristics and cultural traits – languages, physical features, customs. 'Indonesian' was the adjective used to denote such traits, while 'Indonesians' were the peoples (sometimes thought to stretch from Madagascar to Formosa) possessing these general characteristics, and 'Indonesia' the place(s) they occupied. There was no necessary connection between this dominant cultural sense of 'Indonesia' and the specific territory of the Netherlands East Indies, and no usage of the term in any political sense at all.

The gathering state

At the same time as this arcane story was being played out, the processes that would lead around the turn of the twentieth century to the emergence of a more-or-less coherent and identifiable state of the Netherlands East Indies were being played out. If the first glimmerings of the idea were based on ethnological understandings of broad cultural similarities across the archipelago and beyond, Indonesia as a political idea owes its origins to the creation by Dutch colonial power of a roughly united and relatively economically integrated Netherlands East Indies.

The process essentially took two forms. The first was the horizontal elaboration of Dutch power across the archipelago so that, within a period of thirty years or so after about 1870, that huge swathe of the archipelago previously politically independent of Dutch power was brought under effective (if sometimes legally vague, nominal or nominally indirect) colonial control as component parts of the 'Netherlands East Indies'. The process came with tacit British approbation and developed from a geographically narrow base; for the greater part of the nineteenth century the Indies had comprised not much more than Java. It happened quickly, especially after 1898 when the splendidly simple device of the Short Declaration, under which 'native' states recognised Dutch sovereignty and pledged obedience to the colonial government, came to replace the tiresome and awkward ordeal of negotiating so-called Long Contracts. The consequences of this process were slow to grip imaginations; Resink has remarked that 'the view that the archipelago as a whole had been under Dutch domination for ages had so little currency late in the nineteenth century and even early in the twentieth that many Dutchmen in many regions still looked upon themselves as aliens and considered large parts of the outlying islands as foreign, independent

territory'.[11] Snouck could speak of the region of Aceh, on the northern tip of Sumatra, as 'that country ... that old pirate-state', and the American traveller Eliza Scidmore of 'the brave, liberty-loving Achinese'.[12] Within a decade Aceh, however unwillingly, was finally subjugated, its focus recalibrated from the Malay world and the Indian Ocean to Java, and its future rendered unmistakably as a part of the Netherlands Indies; its wealth and independent-mindedness could not be tolerated by the gathering abrasiveness of Dutch empire. Meanwhile, the Dutch had claimed, fragmentarily, sometimes accidentally or purposelessly but nonetheless efficiently, what remained of unclaimed Sumatra, and pushed eastwards to integrate the mosaic of powers and dependencies in the eastern archipelago and even to the unknown, unexplored densenesses of western New Guinea. But by the time J. B. van Heutsz had completed his term as Governor-General in 1909, Dutch authority had been 'established in the farthest nooks and crannies of the Archipelago'. The huge monument unveiled in Batavia in 1932 in Van Heutsz's honour proclaimed grandiosely if partly misleadingly that 'he created order, peace and prosperity and brought the peoples of the Netherlands Indies into a unity'.[13]

The second aspect of the process was the vertical and ever more dense integration of the whole, a result of enhanced transport infrastructures, notably the railways and roads of Java and the shipping networks woven by that extraordinary Dutch shipping line the Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij, of a unified currency, and of centrally driven, centripetally minded administrative, taxation and legal systems. No longer could places like Yogyakarta, Makasar, Medan or even Kupang be thought of as 'centrally isolated'. Such a development, and the elaboration of both Dutch-directed and indigenous economic activity across the archipelago, stimulated the large-scale temporary movement of people across the landscape, notably to the expanding plantations of East Sumatra, as well as transmigration, both state-sponsored and self-motivated. The result was 'more contact between the different races in Indonesia with each other, and thus a greater appreciation in place of the earlier competition'.[14] The usage of the Malay language, as well, began to spread more broadly across the archipelago.

[11] G. J. Resink, *Indonesia's history between the myths: essays in legal history and historical theory* (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1968), p. 75.
[12] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, trans. A. W. S. Sullivan (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1906), vol. 1, p. v; Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore, *Java, the garden of the East* (New York: The Century Co., 1907), p. 11.
[13] J. C. Lamster, *J. B. van Heutsz* (Amsterdam: P. N. van Kampen, 1942), pp. 28, 173.
[14] Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, *Het communisme in Indonesie: naar aanleiding van de relletjes* (Bandung: Algemeene Studieclub, 1927), p. 8.

Nevertheless the time has arrived when a distinctive name for the brown races of the Indian Archipelago is urgently required, and it should be made to accord as closely as possible with the terms by which that portion of the world is most generally known, namely "Indian Archipelago" or "Malayan Archipelago." By adopting the Greek word for "islands" as a terminal, for which we have a precedent in the term "Polynesia," the inhabitants of the "Indian Archipelago" or "Malayan Archipelago" would become respectively Indu-nesians or Malayunesians. I have chosen the latter for several reasons. The first term would be too general, and might be thought equally applicable to the Ceylonese and to the natives of the Maldives and Laccadives. The latter, on the other hand, will show on the face of it that it is intended to apply only to the brown races of the Archipelago, and it would be some acknowledgement of the enterprise of the Malayans in having extended their voyages over the entire Archipelago previous to the arrival of Europeans. Their language, too, is spoken at every sea-port, with the exception of those of the Northern Phillipines. I would suggest, however, that I do not propose offering the term for general use, but have merely adopted it for my own convenience in illustrating the subject now under review.

1 Earl's use of the term 'Indu-nesians', 1850

The forging of a kind of political unity maligned, ignored or uncoupled and remade existing archipelagic economic and cultural connections. Java's colonial economy was the model, focussed on the tropical-produce-importing nations of the West. The remainder of the archipelago, previously turning about Singapore (and, to a lesser extent, Penang) and through that island port integrated with the wider world of international commerce, was forced to mimic Java's pattern. The whole was not created ex nihilo; rather, from the outset it was a Java-centred state to which things were added from the outside. That pattern had special implications for what became eastern Indonesia, depriving it of contact with the world further afield, so that the area became 'in time a Dutch lake'.[15] The qualities of statecraft that had led to this turn of events were to be enduring: the state was strong, highly centralised, thoroughly bureaucratic, directed from and patterned upon the experience of Java.

By the first decade of the twentieth century, the Indies was much more state than dependent colony, much more an identifiable political entity on its own account. That character was most strongly manifested in the enhanced financial independence and 'legal personality' granted the Indies in 1912, as well as in the establishment of a Netherlands Indies consulate in Jeddah. Van Heutsz, indeed, his term as Governor-General behind him, began speaking of a broader form of political and financial autonomy for the Indies. Across a much larger canvas, the Dutch thinker S. Ritsema van Eck was speculating in 1912 on a new kind of great

[15] Howard Dick, 'State, nation-state and national economy', in Howard Dick, Vincent J. H. Houben, J. Thomas Lindblad and Thee Kian Wie, *The emergence of a national economy: an economic history of Indonesia, 1800–2000* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2002), pp. 14, 18, 22.

Netherlands imperium, composed of ethnically based states – in the case of the Indies, Java, Aceh, Sunda, and so forth – on a more or less equal footing, but rejecting any notion of an Indies political unity or the unity of the country's indigenous inhabitants.

With strengthening identity came discussions on the virtue of instituting a special council in the Indies, 'of a more or less representative character',[16] to deal with the budget and provide advice of a more general character to the Indies government. Such a chamber eventually took shape in the form of a 'People's Council', the Volksraad, partly elected from a very narrow constituency and partly appointed, and with Indonesians in the minority. The Indies state was well on the way to that later stage, boasted of by a Dutch scholar-official, of enjoying 'a completely equipped and modern apparatus of state . . . already no single aspect of government care, such as most modern Western states know, can be mentioned for which there is not a still growing equivalent in the Dutch East Indies'.[17] Such inclusivist, unitarist thinking, however, had its opponents, notably the highly conservative soldier, politician and businessman Hendrikus Colijn, protégé of Van Heutsz, who argued that local cultures, communities and identities needed nurturing lest the generalising tendencies bring all of the Indies under the sway of the Javanese.

Inevitably there arose the desire to find an appropriate name for the indigenous inhabitants of this new state-in-becoming. Scidmore, discussing the different populations of the different islands, spoke of 'all Indonesians as they are, under the rule of the one governor-general of Netherlands India, representing the little queen at The Hague'.[18] Scholars of the period, especially those associated with Indology at Leiden, appear to have used the term with increasing alacrity, and sometimes in Scidmore's more limited sense. Using the same rough index as before, the *Repertorium*'s section on anthropology and ethnography, I calculated that at least one of the words 'Indonesia/Indonesian/Indonesië/Indonesien/Indonesiër/Indonesiërs/Indonesisch' appeared in the titles of journals twenty-two times between 1911 and 1925, compared to thirty usages of 'Inlander/Inlanders/Inlandsch' in the same period.[19]

[16] S. de Graaff, *Parlementaire geschiedenis van de wet op de staatsinrichting van Nederlandsch-Indië, 1925 (Indische staatsregeling)* ('s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1938), p. 3.
[17] A. D. A. de Kat Angelino, *Colonial policy*, trans. G. J. Renier (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), vol. 2, pp. 56–7.
[18] Scidmore, *Java*, p. 76.
[19] W. J. P. J. Schalker and W. C. Muller, *Repertorium op de literatuur betreffende de Nederlandsche koloniën in Oost en West-Indië, voor zoover zij verspreid is in tijdschriften en mengelwerken* (4 vols., 's Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1912, 1917, 1923, 1928).

A new indigenous identity

For our purposes, the most significant of this shaping clutch of developments was the (highly limited) expansion of quality Dutch education to Indonesians themselves from the later nineteenth century. Raden Ajeng Kartini, educated aristocrat with a strong sense of noble obligation towards social inferiors, put it best: 'knowledge of Dutch language is the key which can unlock the treasure houses of Western civilization and knowledge'.[20] Western education – even if it was originally perceived with some measure of anxiety (mixed with fascination and deep longing) by Indonesia's elite because of its potential for cultural dislocation – provided the analytical tools for reforging a new indigenous consciousness and the means, however confusing and alienating, of grappling with and mastering modernity.

Inevitably there were signs of a new, slowly emerging indigenous identity within the Indies, stimulated though not created by Dutch imperialism. A self-reflectiveness and impetus to reform were manifested in – and multiplied by – the popularity amongst the Indonesian elite of new journals such as *Bintang Hindia*, *Retnodhoemilah* and *Pewarta Prijaji*, which opened larger vistas of existence. *Bintang Hindia*, for example, a highly popular government-sponsored Malay-language fortnightly compendium, showed its readers both the world outside the Indies and the commonalities within the various parts – now conceived as component parts – of the Indies itself. It popularised the startlingly novel concept of an Indies people (*bangsa Hindia*, *anak Hindia*). The broad reach of *Retnodhoemilah*, under the editorial hand of the enthusiastic Javanese reform-minded thinker, 'native' doctor and editor Wahidin Sudirohusodo, was similarly influential.

At the same time in the Netherlands, a tiny number of Indonesian students – just twenty-three by one 1909 estimate[21] – were coming for higher study. Most were early representatives of a modernising and socially entrepreneurial class of Javanese aristocrats, the so-called new *priyayi*, as well as a disproportionate number of West Sumatrans, traditionally mobile and open to new streams of thinking and action. In October/November 1908, encouraged by the retired, revered Indies official J. H. Abendanon, an emerging sense of solidarity amongst them was

[20] Kartini, 'Give the Javanese education!', in Joost Coté (trans.), *Letters from Kartini: an Indonesian feminist 1900–1914* (Clayton: Monash Asia Institute in association with Hyland House, 1992), pp. 534–5.

[21] Noto Suroto, quoted in Harry A. Poeze, with contributions by Cees van Dijk and Inge van der Meulen, *In het land van de overheerser: deel I: Indonesiërs in Nederland 1600–1950* (Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1986), p. 64.

expressed in the formation of a small social group, the Indies Association (Indische Vereeniging – IV). IV's major aim was 'to promote the common interests of the Indiërs in the Netherlands and to keep in touch with the Netherlands East Indies. By Indiërs is understood the native inhabitants of the Netherlands East Indies.'[22]

An important but separate branch of identity-formation came from a wholly different source, the pilgrimage to Mekka. Snouck had noted that 'our Indonesians distinguish themselves in their special interest' in making the long and hazardous voyage to fulfil their religious obligations, and in contributing to an 'important Indonesian colony'[23] in Mekka that went under the name 'Jawi', comprising 'the peoples of the East Indian archipelago and Malaya'.[24] In Mekka pilgrims inhaled the sense of the Islamic world-community in its most dramatic and spiritually and intellectually powerful manifestations – the comprehension, as Laffan puts it, of 'an Islamic ecumenism'[25] – so that, Snouck reported, no Indonesian returned 'without a deep impression of the hitherto unknown world'. Paradoxically, however, at the same time they developed a clearer and more acute sense of their own special identity. Snouck remarked that:

> On the sea-voyage, and still more in Mekka Jâwah pilgrims come together from the most remote parts of the Archipelago: their exchange of ideas acquires a deeper significance because their country-folk, settled in Mekka, give them a certain definite lead. In a very mixed Jâwah society, one Javanese settled in Mekka will enquire of the Achehnese present, as to the progress of events in their home.[26]

In Mekka, pilgrims from the archipelago drank deeply of the Reformist and modernising strands of Islam ascendant there. In some cases, too, they imagined what might have been had they joined their forces to oppose the establishment of the *kafir* colonial state, and whiffed the airs of pan-Islamism, variants of which thought of establishing a Muslim empire in the archipelago. In Cairo, too – a more refreshingly intellectual site than the Hijaz – the notable Islamic university Al-Azhar hosted many Indonesian students who imbibed the early twentieth-century modernist thinking of scholars like Muhammad Abduh which

[22] Article 2 of IV's statutes, as quoted in Poeze et al., *In het land*, p. 64.
[23] C. Snouck Hurgronje, 'Het Mohammedanisme', in Colijn (ed.), *Neerlands Indië*, vol. 1, pp. 256, 259.
[24] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century: daily life, customs and learning of the Moslems of the East-Indian-archipelago*, trans. J. H. Monahan (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1931), p. 6.
[25] Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic nationhood and colonial Indonesia: the* umma *below the winds* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), p. 3.
[26] Snouck, *Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century*, p. 244.

emphasised thoughtful and innovative personal interpretation (*ijtihad*) rather than dull, passive and unimaginative submission to authority (*taqlid*) as the way to modernise Islamic thinking. The sense of Jawi community developed there as well, strongly influenced by the Syrian-born publisher, scholar and nationalist Muhammad Rashid Rida, and finding one important expression in a small student association founded in 1912, the Jamiah Setia Pelajar (Loyal Association of Students). More broadly and importantly, in the early twentieth century such thinking began to find expression in the Malayo-Muslim world of the archipelago itself in publications like the Singapore-based *al-Imam* which carried vague yearnings for the freedom of those homelands.

The same slowly developing sense of broadening and reshaping identity found expression in other ways in the Indies themselves, such as the Hadrami community's Western-style mutual help and educational association Jam'īyyah Khayr (The Benevolent Society), formed in Batavia around 1901. More significant, the triumph of Dutch imperialism brought some young elite indigenous products of limited Dutch nurturing to consider the weakness of their own culture, and how it might be strengthened. The result was the formation in May 1908 of Budi Utomo (BU – Glorious Endeavour), created by young students of associationist bent at the native medical school (STOVIA – School for the Training of Native Doctors) in Batavia but inspired by the passion and persistence of Wahidin. The date is revered in official Indonesian history as the first sign of an Indonesian 'awakening'. 'The wonder has happened', remarked the famed Dutch ethicist C. Th. van Deventer:[27] 'Insulinde, the beautiful sleeper, has awoken. Still half-dreaming, she raises herself on her bed, roofed by palms and bamboo foliage, and brings her hand to her eyes to shield off the fierce sunlight.'[28] It was not, however, the awakening of a broad and wholly new sense of self, since BU's goal was 'to promote cooperation in the harmonious development of the land and peoples of Java and Madura'.[29] It toyed with the notion of 'assist[ing] the development of the Netherlands Indies as a whole, so that the Netherlands Indies can develop altogether and the inhabitants of the country be united',[30]

[27] 'Ethicism' denotes the movement amongst reformist minded Dutchmen around the turn of the century to adopt a more 'ethical' approach to the administration of the Indies, focussing on improving the standard of living of the indigenous population rather than simple exploitation.

[28] C. Th. van Deventer, quoted in Anon., *Gedenkboek 1908–1923 Indonesische Vereeniging* (n.p.: n.p., n.d. [1924]), pp. 9–10.

[29] Quoted in Akira Nagazumi, *The dawn of Indonesian nationalism: the early years of the Budi Utomo, 1908–1918* (Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, 1972), Appendix IV, p. 165.

[30] *Verslag Boedi Oetomo*, 1909, quoted in ibid., p. 52.